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the United States Constitution

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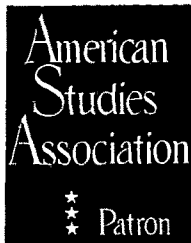
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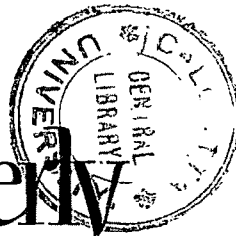


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P 2252

RICHARD M. GUMMERE

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The Classical Ancestry of the United States Constitution

THE OUTSTANDING FEATURE OF OUR AMERICAN COLONIAL PERIOD, IN WHICH practice went hand in hand with theory, and ideas were regarded as more important than techniques, was its political activity. In no field were Greek and Roman sources more often invoked; and at no time were they more frequently cited than during the preliminary discussions, the debates on the Constitution, the ratifying conventions, the *Federalist* papers and such publications as John Dickinson's *Fabius Letters*. The framers of the Constitution did not merely echo or imitate this ancient material: they applied it to the task in hand and transmuted it into workable form. In many cases, given themes from antiquity supplied arguments for both sides of a debate. It is solely with this Great Document in its relation to the classics that we are here concerned. There is no attempt to settle certain problems of Colonial history, or to put the Greco-Roman ideas in competition with modern political scientists, with whom they were of course familiar.

Perhaps a remark of Alfred North Whitehead may throw some light:¹ "I know of only two occasions when the people in power did what needed to be done about as well as you can imagine its being possible. One was the framing of your American Constitution. They were able statesmen: they had access to a body of good ideas: they incorporated these principles into the instrument without trying to particularize too explicitly how they should be put into effect; and they were men of immense practical experience themselves.² The other was in Rome, when Augustus called in the 'new men' of new ideas."

These delegates of 1787 were praised by Pitt, by Otto the French attaché, by Chastellux and by Lord Camden. Jefferson, perhaps with his

¹ Lucien Price, *Dialogues of Alfred North Whitehead* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1954), pp. 161, 203.

² "Men of experience in popular assemblies as well as theorists,"—John Adams in Z. Haraszti, *John Adams and the Prophets of Progress* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), p. 220.

tongue in his cheek, called these friends of his "demi-gods."³ Many of them had set themselves tasks of extensive reading and study in the classical literature of political science. Jefferson shipped from Paris to Madison, a former graduate student of John Witherspoon at Princeton, and to George Wythe, a finished Greek and Latin scholar who "could hardly refrain from giving a line from Horace the force of an act of Assembly," copies of Polybius and sets of ancient authors. Popularized digests were accessible, such as the younger Gronovius' *Thesaurus Anti-quitatum Graecarum*, or the *Opus Chronologicum* and *Vetus Graecia Illustrata* of the Dutch historian Ubbo Emmius. Vattel, Montesquieu and the standard works were at hand in collections loaned for the use of delegates, as well as Adam Ferguson and the Abbé Mably. Franklin was self-taught in Latin; and non-college men like Roger Sherman made up for lost time by systematic reading. Most of the Convention delegates were at home in Latin, and in some cases Greek.⁴ It is impossible to take seriously the remarks of certain scholars⁵ that the Colonial leaders were ignorant of the ancient sources in the original languages, or that Madison and Wilson had to fall back on translations, or that Adams and Jefferson relied on second-hand material.⁶ The speeches of James Otis alone⁷ would be proof enough. John Adams testified to "his promptitude of classical allusions"; and a study of his writings reveals that his references to Greek and Roman originals numerically exceed his appeals to any other single source. He published in 1760 a *Rudiments of Latin Prosody*, and left in manuscript a treatise on Greek versification. It might almost be said of him that he *thought* in Latin.

The delegates to the Convention assembled at a time when the influence of the classics was at its height. It represented much more than mere "window-dressing." Washington was "Fabius"; Henry was "the

³ M. Farrand, *Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1911), III, 15, 76.

⁴ For this view (undoubtedly the correct one), see G. Chinard, "Polybius and the American Constitution," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, I (1940), 40; Haraszti, *John Adams and the Prophets of Progress*, pp. 15-16, 24; John Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History* (Boston, 1902), pp. 266 ff.

⁵ For example, E. A. Freeman, *History of Federal Government in Greece and Italy* (London, 1893), p. 249; T. R. Glover, *Democracy in the Ancient World* (Cambridge University Press, 1927), p. 135.

⁶ For the impressive range of reading and knowledge of both Greek and Latin, see the reminiscent correspondence between two statesmen who were absent in England and Europe at the time of the Convention: *The Adams-Jefferson Letters*, ed. Lester J. Cappon (2 vols.; Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959).

⁷ For this absorbing interest of Otis, see C. F. Mullett, *Some Political Writings by James Otis* (Columbia, Mo., 1929); *id.*, *Fundamental Law and the American Revolution* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933); *id.*, "Classical Influences on the American Revolution," *Classical Journal*, XXXV (1939), 92-104.

Forest Demosthenes"; tag-ends and slogans without number can be regarded as popular superficialities. Many readers recognized quotations. Plenty of hidden references struck home, as in James Wilson's phrase describing the perils of the Shays Rebellion in Massachusetts: "We walked on ashes concealing fire beneath our feet,"—which every reader of Horace remembered. So much of this atmosphere was habitual that Abbot of North Carolina, at the state ratification meeting, asked his colleagues, with grim humor: "By whom are we to swear, since no religious tests are required, whether by Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Proserpina, or Pluto?"⁸ The heroica had to run their course. But we may settle for general approval of Jonathan Mayhew's statement in a sermon on the repeal of the Stamp Act, which made a deep impression on the Colonials: "Having been initiated in youth into the doctrines of civil liberty as they were taught by such men as Plato, Demosthenes, and Cicero among the ancients, and such as Sidney, Milton, Locke, and Hoadley among the moderns,—I liked them: they seemed rational."⁹ In the reading lists of Jefferson, Adams, Madison and others we note almost every legal and political scientist from Bracton to Blackstone, and every Greek or Latin author of importance.

The debates before, during and after the Convention of 1787 can be better understood if the doctrines of three ancient authorities—Aristotle, Cicero and Polybius—are first clarified in relation to the establishment of our national government. Their testimony underlies all the suggested patterns of the new Republic.

No eighteenth-century statesman could escape the fine Hellenic hand of Aristotle, the student of politics rather than the metaphysician who puzzled the brains of undergraduates in our early colleges. His *Politics* is as relevant today as it was when he defined and discussed over one hundred constitutions. His formula was not the first; but it is the best and clearest:¹⁰ "Our customary designation for a monarchy that aims at the common advantage is 'kingship'; for the government of more than one, yet only a few, 'aristocracy' (either because the best men rule or because they rule with a view to what is best for the state); while when the multitude govern the state with a view to the common advantage, it is called by the name common to all the forms of constitution, 'constitutional government,' i.e., *politeia*, a republic. Deviations (*parecbaseis*,

⁸ J. Elliot, *Debates on the Constitution* (Washington, D. C., 1836), IV, 192.

⁹ *The Snare Broken* (Boston and London, 1766).

¹⁰ *Politics* 1279 a and b (trans. Rackham in Loeb Classical Library, 207). Also 1273b, where Aristotle calls Solon's classification a "mixture" of Areopagus, oligarchy (or aristocracy), elected officials and popular democratic law-courts. The famous Persian episode is described by Herodotus iii. 80-83, where Darius cast the deciding vote for a monarchy.

'perversions') from the constitution mentioned are tyranny from kingship, oligarchy from aristocracy, and democracy from constitutional government. For tyranny is monarchy ruling in the interests of the monarch, oligarchy government in the interest of the rich, democracy government in the interest of the poor; and no single one of these forms governs with regard to the profit of the community." This is the outline according to which all types of political theory may be examined and identified. It appears almost uniformly in many later writings—in Francis Quarles, the "best-seller" of the seventeenth century; in James Logan's political philosophy; in the "text" which Wilson elaborated for the delegates and in a statement by Charles Pinckney of South Carolina, who, unlike Wilson, acknowledged his debt to William Paley, "a deacon of Carlisle." The most casual reading, for example, of James Wilson's speeches and the *Esprit des Lois* of Montesquieu will reveal the indebtedness of these experts to the "Maestro di color che sanno." It is easy to generalize; but John Corbin reached the root of the matter when he wrote:¹¹ "The theory of our Constitution derives from Aristotle, and was put into successful practice in Ancient Rome, in eighteenth-century England, and in our early state constitutions, before it was given perhaps its most perfect embodiment by the Convention of 1787."

We shall see that much of Aristotle's sense of balance appealed to the delegates. The tyrant and the mob were equally dangerous. The "Superior Man" should head the government on a basis of intelligence and character rather than power or wealth. "The judgment of the many is usually better than the judgment of the one." "The middle group is the best." "The State is a partnership." "Democracies are safer than oligarchies." Both Madison and John Adams emphasized the recommendation of the Greek savant that "the more perfect the admixture of the political elements, the more lasting will be the state."¹²

Cicero's ideas on this subject run like a stream underground through our Colonial writings. He defines the best state in similar terms:¹³ "I consider the most effective constitution to be that which is a reasonably blended combination of the three forms,—kingship, aristocracy, and democracy." His "perversions" are *reges* into *tyranni*, *optimates* into *factio*, *libertas* into *licentia*. The mob, when it gets out of hand, is *immanius belua*, "more dangerous than a wild beast," as the poet Horace, and numerous Colonial leaders, including the Puritan John Winthrop

¹¹ *The Saturday Review of Literature*, Dec. 20, 1930.

¹² For these various statements, selected out of many, see *Politics* 1288a, 1286a, 1295b, 1252a, 1302a, 1297a.

¹³ See his *De Re Publica* ii. 41 (quoted by Nónius); also *De Legibus* iii. 28.

and the conservative Alexander Hamilton believed. Cicero's *Potestas in Populo, Auctoritas in Senatu* was a sound doctrine, not always observed in the history of his country. So was his appeal to the Divine and Natural Laws, invoked time and time again during the provincial period. Perhaps the most frequent of ancient traditions, from the Puritan Jonathan Mitchell to the Declaration of Independence, was Cicero's version of "the Law coeval with mankind, superior in obligation to any other. It is binding all over the globe, in all countries and at all times. No human laws are of any validity if contrary to this: and such of them as are valid derive all their authority, mediately or immediately, from this original."¹⁴ These are also the words of Blackstone, lifted bodily from the Latin, in his introduction to the *Commentaries*, and repeated by Hamilton in his attack on Seabury (*The Farmer Refuted*) in 1775.

Polybius was of special interest to the framers of the Constitution, who studied him intensively as the leading authority on the Greek city-states.¹⁵ He is the ancient counterpart of the Spenglers and Toynbees who analyze the cycles of progress and decay of nations. He has high praise for the Roman system at its best: "the nearest to perfection at the time of the Hannibalic War," when there was a complete balance of consuls, senate and populace. "The *mixture*," he declared, "was so effective that it was impossible even for a native to pronounce whether the procedure was aristocratic (senate), democratic (people), or monarchical (consuls)." It is clear that not only was there a system of checks and balances, but a separation of powers. Colonials credited Bolingbroke with the doctrine of Checks and Balances, and Montesquieu with Separation of Powers. But Polybius, praising the program of Lycurgus and still more that of Rome in the heyday of the Republic, when consuls, senate and people worked well together, leaves no doubt of his meaning: "When one part, having grown out of proportion to the others, aims at supremacy and tends to become too dominant . . . none of the three is absolute . . . the purpose of the one can be counter-worked and thwarted by the others, none of them will excessively outgrow the others or treat them with contempt . . . any aggressive impulse is sure to be checked." This makes, he declared,

¹⁴ *De Re Publica* iii. 33 (quoted from Lactantius *Inst. Divin.* vi. 8. 6-9), and his *De Legibus* ii. 8—"a Law not devised by the mind of man, but rather from eternity," *aeternum quiddam*. For Cicero's concept of Stoicism and statecraft, see R. M. Wenley, *Stoicism and Its Influence* (Boston, 1924; *The Debt to Greece and Rome* series), pp. 31-37. Also, Cicero *De Legibus* i. 18—*Ratio summa insita in Natura*.

¹⁵ Polybius *Histories* vi, esp. chaps. 18, 11, 2-5, 9-10, 43-51 (trans. W. R. Paton, L.C.L.); G. Chinard, *Journal of the Hist. of Ideas*, I (1940), 38-58; Kurt von Fritz, *The Theory of the Mixed Constitution in Antiquity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954); F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* (Oxford, 1957).

for "an equilibrium like a well-trimmed boat." Here are both Balance and Separation.

Polybius puts his finger with accurate diagnosis on the weaknesses of the great nations. Sparta appealed to him; but the wisdom of Lycurgus was ruined by "Spartan aggression towards the rest of the Greeks" and by their extreme militarism. Thebes failed because she depended on two great men, Epaminondas and Pelopidas, rather than on the laws. Athens was handicapped because the populace "resembled a ship without a commander." Crete suffered through an oligarchy seeking little besides wealth. Carthage ultimately allowed the "multitude to have the main voice in deliberations," and her military resources were mainly mercenary. The Roman regime, best of all at the high point of their republic, would ultimately follow the inevitable cycle of greatness and decline.¹⁶ No encomia are more eloquent than that found years later by the traveler Pausanias: "A tablet in a temple of Artemis was inscribed with these words 'Greece would never have fallen at all if she had obeyed Polybius; and when she met disaster, her only help came from *him*.'"¹⁷

These three authorities—Aristotle, Cicero, Polybius—are given special emphasis because of their underlying relationship to the American Constitution. There were many others, some of them even more frequently appealed to; but the end results of the 1787 convention show that the essence of this great triad entered into our national document. One finds in the discussions Plutarch, Demosthenes, Thucydides, Sallust, Xenophon, Tacitus, Livy, Dio Cassius and the *Roman Antiquities* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, referred to in various connections. There were scattered "single-speech" sources, to be found in the libraries of squires, lawyers, merchants and officials. Farmers and workingmen, agrarian and industrial, borrowed classical material at second hand.

The question naturally arises: "Why was Plato almost entirely absent from these debates on the Constitution?" The answer is that he was consulted by the Colonials as a spiritual adviser rather than a political scientist.¹⁸ Divines like Samuel Johnson of Connecticut, Jonathan Edwards, the Mathers, Mayhew and Witherspoon rate him as the first of non-Christian writers. Although worshiped by Cicero as a philosopher, and much used by Milton and the "Classical Republicans" in England, he rarely appeared in Colonial America as an authority on government

¹⁶ All these cases, at various times, were discussed in connection with the Constitution.

¹⁷ *Description of Greece* viii. 30, 37 (trans. W. H. S. Jones, L.C.L.).

¹⁸ Polybius vi. 47. 7-9; Aristotle *Politics* 1261a, 1264b; J. K. Hosmer, *Life of Thomas Hutchinson* (Boston, 1896), p. 88; J. Adams, *Works*, ed. C. F. Adams (Boston, 1856), X, 18, 102; Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. P. L. Ford (1905), XI, 396 and XII, 141; W. C. Greene, *Platonism and Its Critics*, Harvard Studies in Classical Philology (1953), LXI, 63-64.

matters. Jefferson and John Adams agreed that he was too visionary for practical purposes. "Plato," said Elbridge Gerry solemnly, "was not a Republican." Polybius, as usual, summed up the situation: "It is not fair to introduce Plato's *Republic*, which is belauded by some philosophers. For just as we do not admit to athletic contests artists or athletes who have not been in training, so we have no right to admit this constitution for the prize of merit, unless it first give an exhibition of its actual working." Governor Hutchinson of Massachusetts, one of our best Colonial historians, held that Plato's was an ideal creation, but that his characters were not found in real life.

Throughout the Colonial period a preference was expressed for the Greek concept of a colony, with its freedom from the domination of the mother-city, in contrast to the tightly centralized Roman system. As provincial interrelationships increased, the history of the Greek city-states became a debate topic for the type of government desired by the founders of the new Republic. Arguments pro or con culminated in the question whether the Articles of Confederation were sufficient for national purposes, or whether a completely new document should take their place. This was the most frequently invoked topic before, during and after the Convention of 1787.

The time-hallowed Amphictyonic tribal centers of religious worship, which supervised the sacrifices, the periodic games, the guardianship of the temple treasure, sacred wars and sacred truces, and financial requisitions—these go back into the dawn of history. Their headquarters were at Thermopylae, Delphi and other shrines, with local delegates attending a general council. Other such associations, less religious, were the Achaean, Lycian, Aetolian and similar leagues federated on a more political basis, and in many cases representative.¹⁹

During the decade before the Revolution these ancient models had been hunted out and, for the most part, praised as samples of republican polity. Benjamin Church (later a turn-coat), Joseph Warren, General Stephen, the Reverend Phillips Payson, Joseph Hawley and George Mason, were all attracted by the Amphictyonic idea. Mason, later an opponent of the Constitution, spoke with approval of "the little cluster of Grecian republics which resisted and almost constantly defeated the Persian monarchy."

¹⁹ For a clear proof that *Representation* was known to the Greeks and Romans, and that our Founding Fathers erred in calling it a purely modern principle, see J. A. O. Larsen, *Representative Government in Greek and Roman History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955), esp. pp. 18, 31, 41, 69, 83, 105, 111, 120; A. H. J. Greenidge, *Handbook of Greek Constitutional History* (London, 1920), pp. 223, 233; Sir Ernest Barker, *Greek Political Theory* (London, 1925), pp. 34-35.

John Dickinson, the "Pennsylvania Farmer," characteristically weighed both sides of the argument. Many years before, when he was urging Colonial unity against arbitrary taxation and the nonrecognition of provincial assemblies, he remarked: "Why were the states of Greece broken down into the tamest submission by Philip of Macedon and afterwards by the Romans? Because they contended for freedom *separately*." This was a fundamental criticism, which appears often later, and notably in the eighteenth *Federalist* paper. The Achaean League particularly appealed to Dickinson: "The wit of man never invented such an antidote against monarchical and aristocratical projects." But the "Farmer," who refused to sign the Declaration of Independence, urged the ratification of the Constitution: "We should not suppose that we, in the Argo lately constructed by us, have already reached the *Ultima Thule*."

Alexander Hamilton, however, with downright definiteness, had made up his mind early on this controversial subject:²⁰ As "Publius," in an essay of 1778, he declared that "the leagues among the old Grecian republics were continually at war with each other, and *for want of union* fell a prey to their neighbors." In his *Continentalist* paper of 1781 he struck the same note: "The commonwealths of Greece were a constant scene of the alternate tyranny of one part of the people over the other, or of a few usurping demagogues over the whole." In the memoranda he prepared for use at the Convention we find the same recurring theme. A "mixed" government should be planned; for, like Winthrop and others, he disapproved of a "state within a state," and regarded the Articles of Confederation as no less unstable than these Greek leagues. The Amphictyons "had ample powers for general purposes, to use force against delinquent members; but their decrees were mere signals of war." The ancient democracies resulted in tyrannies, and democracy was a delusion.

By May of 1787 this topic became a favorite debate subject for the delegates. Madison²¹ "pointed out all the beauties and defects of the ancient republics." He drew up a commentary on the Lycian Confederacy, interpreting it with minute care to the members, with Polybius and Strabo as firsthand sources, and Montesquieu as the modern advocate. In this republic there were twenty-three towns. The largest had three votes in the common council, those of average size two and the smallest one. Their assessments were proportioned to the number of votes. There was a "Lysiarch" as presiding officer, and special courts were designated. Their council, resembling somewhat the Amphictyons, settled wars,

²⁰ *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, ed. H. C. Lodge (New York, 1904), I, 217, 246; Elliot, *Debates*, II, 235.

²¹ *Writings of James Madison*, pub. by Congress (Philadelphia, 1865), I, 293 ff. Strabo *Geography* xiv. 33; Farrand, *Records*, I, 110.

peace, treaties, finances and administration, leaving local matters to the separate towns. La Boulaye in his introduction to Montesquieu's *Esprit des Lois*, states that an abstract of this plan was found among the papers of George Washington. James Wilson, a classical scholar who began his American career as a Latin instructor at the College of Philadelphia, "traced the causes and effects of every revolution from the earliest stages of the Greek commonwealths down to the present time."²²

In the end, however, Wilson acknowledged that "all these confederacies were formed in the infancy of political science." Madison, after his exhaustive researches, admitted that the Amphictyonic League resembled the Articles of Confederation "only in its nominal power."²³ "Foreign aid resulted in the demolition of their confederacy." Madison warned his friend Jefferson in a letter of March, 1786 of the danger "of having the same game played on our Confederacy by which Philip of Macedon managed that of the Grecians, by gaining over a few of the leading men in the smaller members."

One of the most vocal opponents of a "consolidated" government and consequently a defender of the Articles of Confederation was Luther Martin of Maryland. In a "long-distance" address to the Convention he fell back on the theory previously advanced by Samuel Adams, that the separation of the thirteen colonies from Britain placed them in a "state of nature," where each could frame its own code with a minimum of central control. As delegate from a smaller state he deemed it essential that all should have the same number of senators: "In the Amphictyonic confederation of the Grecian cities each, however different in wealth and strength, sent the same number of deputies, with an equal voice in everything that related to the common concerns of Greece."²⁴ Any change would be a mere transfer, Aesop-fashion, from King Log to King Stork. It was not any internal fault in the system that ruined this respectable council, but rather the ambition and the power of the three large states: Athens, Sparta and Thebes (and ultimately Macedon), with modern parallels in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Virginia, if mere numbers of voters were to prevail. Madison also had his doubts on this point, citing Plutarch's *Themistocles*:²⁵ "The Lacedaemonians insisted on excluding certain smaller nations, in order that they might tyrannize over them."

James Monroe of Virginia maintained that the Amphictyons and the city-state leagues were good models, but collapsed only for the same

²² Farrand, III, 92.

²³ Elliot, V, 219 and III, 129-30. *Federalist* no. 45.

²⁴ Farrand, III, 153, 184.

²⁵ Farrand, I, 441; Elliot, V, 252; Plutarch *Themistocles* xx.

reason that Martin had mentioned. Monroe quoted Polybius,²⁶ and declared that "one could not find a political system and principle so favorable to equality and freedom of speech as that of the Achaean League. For by reserving no special privilege for original members, and by putting all new adherents on the same footing, it soon attained the aim it had set for itself, being aided by two very powerful coadjutors, equality and humanity." Madison also had praise for this league in a letter of 1787 to Jefferson. But Martin and Monroe, with others who regarded the Articles of Confederation as adequate for a national government, merely served to make ratification a closer contest. Hamilton, who was defeated in his wish for life tenure in the case of the executive and the senate, and who also failed in his effort to reduce the states to "subordinate jurisdictions," had the last word on the Greek city-leagues. Some rough notes of his read: "Experience corresponds . . . Grecian republics . . . Demosthenes says Athens 73 years, Lacedaemon 27, Thebes, after Leuctra . . . Philip."²⁷ He stuck to his belief that the British system was the soundest: "Aristotle, Cicero, Montesquieu, Neckar." William R. Davie of North Carolina²⁸ gave these republics a respectable burial, with the words: "Such was the fate of the Achaean League, the Amphictyonic Council, and the ancient confederacies." Light-Horse Harry Lee felt likewise; and Hamilton had summed up the whole problem: "We are laboring hard to establish in this country principles more national and free from all foreign ingredients, so that we may be neither Greeks nor Trojans, but truly American." Impatient at the lapse of time before the Articles of Confederation were signed, he had argued that it was "as ridiculous to seek for models in the small ages of Greece as it would be to go in quest of them among the Hottentots and Laplanders."²⁹ Delegate Barrell, of Massachusetts, grew satirical over the current worship of Cicero and Demosthenes. One finds little comedy in these deliberations: but Randall of the Bay State must have lightened the proceedings when he remarked that "the quoting of ancient history was no more to the point than to tell how our forefathers dug clams at Plymouth."

These classical experiments in government did not convince the delegates of 1787; but they served to promote intelligent discussion. Franklin's advice ultimately prevailed: that it was irrelevant to follow the example of "those ancient republics which contained the seeds of their own dissolution." There must have been a haunting charm to them: for Calhoun used them as illustrations for his states'-rights theory; and Senator John

²⁶ *Histories* ii. 38 (trans. Paton, L.C.L. I, 337); Elliot, *Debates*, III, 209-11.

²⁷ Farrand, I, 307. From the Third Philippic of Demosthenes.

²⁸ Elliot, *Debates*, IV, 59.

²⁹ From *The Continentalist* (1782).

Sharp Williams of Mississippi suggested at the start of the first World War "a court or association of nations and an Amphictyonic Council of the civilized world."³⁰

Next in amount to the evidence of the Greek leagues was the almost universal feeling that the power of any individual should be strictly limited; and history was ransacked for warnings and examples of such abuse.³¹ It was conceded that certain great pioneers in statecraft should be regarded with respect and honor. Madison in the thirty-eighth *Federalist* made his bow to Minos of Crete, Zaleucus the Locrian, Lycurgus of Sparta, Romulus at Rome. Credit should be given to Aratus the stabilizer of the Achaean League. Solon's reforms lasted down into the Athens of Demosthenes. But these wise men were displaced by oligarchs or tyrants, or democrats whose activities were based on aggrandizement. The value of the new Constitution, with its collective security, lay in its prevention of such individual domination. In the fourteenth *Federalist* Madison pointed out the error of confusing a representative republic with "the turbulent democracies of Greece." The "Superior Man" whom Aristotle often mentions as a leader, should be defined in terms of character, integrity and ability. James Wilson's correlation of ancient and modern ideas on this subject was most acceptable to the delegates.³² He commented critically on cases in history where mere prominence or force enabled the ruler to do what he pleased. The *Vae Victis* of the Gallic Brennus and the sarcastic proverb of Thucydides, "You may rule over anyone whom you can dominate," were to him illustrations of violation of the Law of Nature and Cicero's *Consensus Iuris*.

Hamilton devoted his first *Federalist* paper to cautioning his readers against "men who have over-turned the liberties of republics, commencing as demagogues and ending as tyrants." In the sixth, he disapproved the action of the supposedly democratic Pericles, who attacked Samos and Megara, ultimately bringing on the Peloponnesian War. To the leeway which the Articles of Confederation granted to the separate states he compared the danger that Persia risked when the satraps of various provinces assumed too much power.³³ Roman army leaders made it clear

³⁰ G. C. Osborn, *John Sharp Williams* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1943), pp. 294, 330.

³¹ Many a provincial speech included the line from Juvenal vi. 223: *Hoc volo, sic iubeo; sit pro ratione voluntas*—"This is my will and my command; let my will be the voucher for the deed!" (trans. Ramsay in L.C.L.). These are the words of tyrants.

³² See the "the man of superior qualities," Aristotle *Ethics* 1102a. The topic is discussed more fully by R. M. Gummere, "Classical Precedents in the Writings of James Wilson," *Trans. of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XXXII (1937), 534.

³³ Farrand, I, 323; J. Adams, *Works*, IV, 492.

that the civil authority should be supreme. Hamilton, whose ambitions had been distinctly military, went on record emphatically: "Neither the manners nor the genius of Rome are suited to the republic or to the age we live in. All her maxims and habits were military: her government was constituted for war. We should not attempt a display of unprofitable heroism."³⁴ Wilson, in the earlier days of the convention, held that a too centralized control, with the states subservient, would produce "a General Government as despotic as even that of the Roman emperors."³⁵ George Mason of Virginia, whose views were more democratic than those of most planter-squires, was apprehensive about the domination of an army commander. Such a person could "surround the senate with 30,000 troops. It brings to my mind the remarkable trial of Milo at Rome."³⁶ This was a reference to the riots in the Forum between the hired gangs of Clodius and Milo, when Cicero, losing his nerve and failing to speak his oration on Milo's behalf, in fear of Pompey, was the cause of Milo's going into exile. Thacher of Massachusetts was equally sensational: "Are we not in danger? Will not some Sylla drench the land in blood, or some Cromwell or Caesar lay our liberties prostrate at his feet?" The Thirty Tyrants, the Gracchi, Catiline, Caesar and other trouble-makers, were on the lips of many delegates.

In the Convention there was an almost automatic reaction to the suggestion of a triple-executive regime. Wilson argued that this would be as perilous as a Roman triumvirate, with three officials contending until one alone became master: "first Caesar and then Augustus are witnesses of this truth. So are the kings of Sparta and the consuls of Rome. So also were the Thirty Tyrants and the Decemvirs."³⁷ Standing armies were called "nurseries of vice and the bane of liberty."

Two preventatives against despotic behavior appeared in three of the first state constitutions; but they were omitted in the national document. The Pennsylvania constitution of 1776 arranged for a group of "censors," to oversee the legality of all proceedings and the conduct of officials. This Roman position was abandoned as unsatisfactory in 1790. The states of Virginia and Delaware, as Hamilton noted in his thirty-ninth *Federalist*, provided for the impeachment of the chief magistrate if malfeasance were proved within eighteen months after retirement, though both agreed that the subject was "not impeachable until out of office." This would seem to be, like the censorship, a Roman loan, and a clear imitation of the law *De Repetundis*, aimed at extortion and misgovernment in the

³⁴ R. B. Morris, *Alexander Hamilton* (New York, 1957), p. 114.

³⁵ Farrand, I, 157.

³⁶ Elliot, III, 494 and II, 146.

³⁷ Farrand, I, 74, 254, 261.

provinces, especially Asia and Africa. Another suggestion, in the Greek tradition, was that of James Wilson, who would have the Presidential electors chosen by lot. This idea soon died a natural death.³⁸

Much of the discussion about a possible Man on Horseback was mere apprehensiveness. But on three occasions³⁹ there was talk of a dictatorship, touched off by the hard times of the Revolution, and mentioned in the eighth, twenty-fifth and seventieth *Federalists*. "Offering the crown to Caesar" was at once rejected by Washington; and the Cincinnati were criticized as near the borderline of monarchy. In 1776, with Patrick Henry as possibly the person in mind, the Speaker of the Virginia Assembly, Colonel Archibald Cary, had threatened "tyrannicide" to anyone so chosen. In 1781 the motion to create a dictator failed, and the members were satisfied to appoint a military leader for defensive purposes. The motion was lost by only six votes; and Henry, if Jefferson's account can be believed, had seconded it. At the state convention of 1788 Henry dwelt on the Roman heroes who saved the state in certain crises; but the unanimous choice of Washington cleared the atmosphere. The delegates solved the military problem with a state-chosen militia under Congressional control. Hamilton tossed another idea into the proceedings by citing the Spartan law which forbade the post of admiral to be conferred twice on the same person, and noted Lysander's trick of continuing as vice-admiral with full admiral's powers.⁴⁰

Foreign influence and its dangers prompted John Jay, in the fourth *Federalist*, to mention the weakness of the Articles of Confederation: like the Greek states, which could not or would not combine to resist attack, our own would be helpless in the face of such an offensive. The small cities in the neighborhood of Rome and Athens illustrated this principle. Pinckney quoted evidence to suggest a time limit before newcomers were eligible to the franchise, bringing up the Athenian law "which made it death for any stranger to intrude his voice into their legislative assembly."⁴¹ "Foreign influence," declared Hamilton, "is truly the Grecian Horse to a republic,"—a phrase worn threadbare by the end of the Colonial period.⁴² A remark of Gunning Bedford, a Delaware delegate,

³⁸ John Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History* (Boston, 1902), p. 333. Farrand, II, 103.

³⁹ For this episode, which is somewhat vague because of its critical implications, see *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Memorial Edition, 1903), II, 173 ff. and XIV, 170-71; W. C. Rives, *The Life and Times of James Madison* (Boston, 1859), I, 284; Elliot, *Debates*, III, 160; Farrand, I, 329.

⁴⁰ Plutarch *Lysander* vii; *Federalist*, no. 25; Elliot, *Debates*, V, 466 and II, 520.

⁴¹ Elliot, *Debates*, V, 398.

⁴² R. B. Morris, *Alexander Hamilton*, pp. 378, 537.

caused heated disapproval by Rufus King of Massachusetts. Bedford accused the three large states of self-interest, with a possibility of "the sword and the horrors of war."⁴³ The small states would need to confederate: "sooner than be ruined, there are foreign powers who will take us by the hand." Needless to say, this un-Americanism died at its birth. France's assistance of the previous decade was evidently another matter.

Whether or not the name "senate" was a consciously classical touch, as were undoubtedly the "censors" in the Pennsylvania state constitution, there seems to have been little hesitation in establishing the "second chamber." When the great compromise, of two senators and proportional representation in the House, was achieved, and when a few delegates, including Franklin, abandoned their pleas for a single legislative body, the debates centered on its functional importance in the threefold grouping of offices. Ruler, Lords and Commons had had their counterpart in Colonial governor, council and assembly. The upper houses of Rome, Carthage, Athens and Sparta were regarded with approval; and Randolph's Virginia Plan, modified to suit the new conditions, fitted into the combination.

John Dickinson, in his fifth *Fabius* letter,⁴⁴ had stressed the importance of a strong senate: he ascribed the subversion of liberty in Carthage and Rome to popular encroachment on its authority. Wilson, who had received his legal training in Dickinson's office, spoke several times to the same effect. Hamilton cited Sparta, Rome and Carthage as satisfactory samples of aristocratic representation. Madison in the sixty-third *Federalist* devoted himself to the importance of the second chamber: "There was no long-lived republic that did not have a senate: Sparta, Rome, and Carthage thus protected themselves against 'popular fluctuations.'" In another paper (number 55) he criticized what he regarded as unwise democracy in Athens: "Had every Athenian citizen been a Socrates, every Athenian assembly would still have been a mob." The Spartan ephors and the Roman tribunes caused much discussion both pro and con: one group held that they weakened the government and encouraged "faction" (an ill-omened word in those days); the others hailed them as protectors of freedom. The majority felt that the tribunes and ephors, as well as special officials such as triumvirs and decemvirs, contributed to the enfeebling of the senate and should be no part of the American system.⁴⁵

⁴³ Elliot, *Debates*, I, 471-72; Farrand, *Records*, I, 490-93 and I, 310.

⁴⁴ P. L. Ford, ed. *Pamphlets on the Constitution of the U. S.* (Brooklyn, 1888), pp. 189-90.

⁴⁵ Aristotle had noticed this problem: *Politics* 1265b and 1270b.

Madison suggested a small but authoritative upper chamber, on the order of the Athenian Areopagus. Dickinson, however, believed that a reasonably large number brought better results and reached more of the citizens. Wilson concluded that two legislative branches would avoid such errors as those made by the city-states and leagues.⁴⁶

Much of the debate centered round this point, whether an upper house, in close alliance with a strong executive, would not weaken the principle of democratic freedom. Richard Henry Lee⁴⁷ expressed the opinion that extreme federalism would "render the state governments as feeble and contemptible as was the senatorial authority under the Roman emperors: the *name* existed, but the *thing* was gone." Elbridge Gerry, who refused to sign the final document, declared that "the Constitutionalists were sailing down the Pactolean [rich man's] channel."⁴⁸ Noah Webster answered the radicals, who feared collusion, with a statement that "the American senate was more of a people's affair than the House of Lords or the Roman Senate." But many speakers contrasted this supposed weakness with the heyday of Roman senatorial authority in the middle of the second century B.C., with Polybius as the source of their information.⁴⁹

One of the last hurdles which had to be cleared before the signing of the document was an objection emphasized by Patrick Henry. Hamilton had stated, in the thirty-fourth *Federalist*, that Rome was at its zenith when the *Comitia Centuriata* and the *Comitia Tributa* were working in balanced harmony. But Henry saw in this a dangerous parallel—a rich Senate and a subordinate popular House.⁵⁰ In Rome, the former body voted according to a property classification, weighted in favor of well-to-do citizens, while the latter were more indefinite in their powers, dependent on initiative by a magistrate and subject to senatorial veto. Charles Pinckney pointed out that America did not classify citizens according to wealth, as Solon did: hence the comparison was vain.⁵¹ Henry seemed to be making the most of the contrast between rich and poor, illustrated by the activities of ephors and tribunes. The final opinion was that such special officials were not necessary, that the conflict of patricians and plebeians should be avoided. Even the conservative Gouverneur Morris regarded the ephors as a hindrance: they simply "encroached on the popular branch of the government."

⁴⁶ Elliot, *Debates*, V, 167; Farrand, *Records*, I, 151, 153.

⁴⁷ *Letters of R. H. L.*, ed. J. C. Ballagh (New York, 1911), II, 472.

⁴⁸ For similar comments, see P. L. Ford, *Pamphlets on the Constitution*, I, 7, 42, etc.

⁴⁹ *Histories* vi. 11. 1.

⁵⁰ Elliot, *Debates*, III, 175-76.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, I, 443; II, 259; III, 568.

This essay has purposely limited itself to the classical ideas which the framers of the Constitution applied to the making of a new nation, in the discussions preceding and during the sessions of 1787 and in the subsequent ratifying state conventions. Not only the story of the Greek city-states, but an extensive amount of Hellenic and Roman material served the delegates for their illustrations. These sources were invoked, pro or con, as a help in settling immediate problems. They were debated from a contemporary point of view, in the language of the Colonials themselves, as practical rather than theoretical evidence.

We do not presume to enlarge on any of the more general questions which the American historian must deal with, such as, for example, the aristocratic or democratic tendencies of the Great Document, or the various theories of government which deal with the period under discussion. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century political scientists are left in their deserved prominence. The grammar-school and college education of the large majority of delegates of course plays a part in the classical atmosphere; but it is not introduced as a *sine qua non* for the twentieth century. Quite important, whatever their training, was the experience of these leaders in their local and provincial *Real-Politik*. But there is no doubt that the Greco-Roman tradition was one of the basic contributors to the Constitution.



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The Straight-Cut Ditch: Thoreau on Education

WHEN THOREAU, IN 1859, WAS ASKED TO MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TOWARD a statue of the recently deceased Horace Mann, he declined—not for lack of interest in education or lack of respect for the great school reformer who had become secretary of the first Massachusetts state board of education just a few months before Thoreau graduated from Harvard, but only because he thought “a man ought not any more to take up room in the world after he was dead.”¹

To the author of *Walden* (“particularly addressed to poor students”) education, broadly conceived, was always a subject of cardinal concern, although like Emerson, who resolved that in order to be a true minister one must leave the ministry, he but dedicated himself more wholly to the theory and practice of pedagogy by walking out of the schoolroom. “I have thoroughly tried school-keeping,” he explained (a few weeks in Canton, a brief fling in the Concord elementary school, a private venture with brother John, and a few months as tutor to Emerson’s nephew on Staten Island comprised the experience), but “as I did not teach for the good of my fellow-men, but simply for a livelihood, this was a failure” (II, 76-77). Though “attracted . . . to youth generally,”² he found himself very early humming

Pens to mend, and hands to guide.

Oh who would a schoolmaster be? (C, p. 13)

And not long before he gave up the Staten Island tutorship, where, he

¹ *The Writings of Henry David Thoreau* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1906), XVIII, 355. Further references to this edition will be indicated by volume and page numbers in parentheses in the text.

² *The Correspondence of Henry David Thoreau*, eds. Walter Harding and Carl Bode (New York: New York University Press, 1958), p. 112. Further references to this volume will be indicated by C and page numbers in parentheses in the text.

admitted, "I do not feel myself especially serviceable to the good people with whom I live, except as inflictions are sanctified to the righteous" (C, p. 112), he firmly rejected his eldest sister's suggestion that he might start a brand-new "institution for the development of infant minds" (C, p. 147). Henceforth he would bend his energies to the endless task of self-schooling and to incisive, often acid commentary contrasting the educational process as he saw it at work in the United States with the ideal and not necessarily institutional schooling he pictured in his mind's eye.

Since many words in Thoreauvian semantics meant otherwise than they did to his neighbors, we could hardly expect so value-loaded a term as *education* to escape redefinition. Most New Englanders, he found, are so bemused by the word itself that if you simply use it as the title of a lecture "they will think that they have heard something important" (XIX, 145); yet the kind of education to which they pay such abject lip-service along with their taxes often "makes a straight-cut ditch of a free, meandering brook" (VIII, 83). So inferior is a straight-cut ditch to nature's unengineered path that "many a poor, sore-eyed student that I have heard of would grow faster, both intellectually and physically, if, instead of sitting up so very late to study, he honestly slumbered a fool's allowance" (VIII, 159). A liberal education—not the servile learning of trades and professions—"originally meant one worthy of freemen. Such is education simply in a true and broad sense" (XIX, 15). If this can be conferred in the schoolroom, so much the better, but it is more likely to come through conversation, the serious interchange of ideas and intellectual stimulation between persons of all ages. "It is the highest compliment to suppose that in the intervals of conversation your companion has expanded and grown. It may be a deference which he will not understand, but the nature which underlies him will understand it, and your influence will be shed as finely on him as the dust in the sun settles on our clothes. By such politeness we may educate one another to some purpose. So have I felt myself educated sometimes; I am expanded and enlarged" (VII, 254-55).

Simple and economical though this sounds, it leaves Mark Hopkins often in sole occupancy of his log, whistling none too hopefully for an interlocutor with a mind *capable* of freedom. "How rarely I meet with a man who can be free, even in thought! . . . I take my neighbor, an intellectual man, out into the woods and invite him to take a new and absolute view of things, to empty clean out of his thoughts all institutions of men and start again; but he can't do it, he sticks to his traditions and his crotchets. He thinks that governments, colleges, newspapers, etc., are from everlasting to everlasting" (XV, 362).

But even if a larger proportion of minds were free from tradition, cant, enslavement to institutions, what kind of knowledge should we try to impart to them? what is the nature of the learning process? to what extent, indeed, is it possible ever to teach anyone anything that really matters? To these questions Thoreau often addressed himself in his journal, though his answers, as might be expected, are not always consistent with one another.

On the one hand, his theory seems to reject as useless machinery all books, exercises and teachers—even Mark Hopkins and the log. “Knowledge does not come to us by details but by *lieferungs* from the gods” (VIII, 291). The gods, of course, need no intermediaries, no professors: “It is only when we forget all our learning that we begin to know. I do not get nearer by a hair’s breadth to any natural object so long as I presume that I have an introduction to it from some learned man. . . . If you would make acquaintance with the ferns you must forget your botany. You must get rid of what is commonly called *knowledge* of them” (XVIII, §71). The gods, in fact, have built into our make-up a chance-operated barrier against the assimilation of knowledge from outside ourselves; when the barrier is down, knowledge flows in willy-nilly, but when it is up we only deceive ourselves if we think something of value has sifted through its impenetrable mesh. “A man receives only what he is ready to receive, whether physically or intellectually or morally, as animals conceive at certain seasons their kind only. We hear and apprehend only what we already half know” (XIX, 77). Again:

How vain to try to teach youth, or anybody, truths! They can only learn things after their own fashion, and when they get ready. I do not mean by this to condemn our system of education, but to show what it amounts to. A hundred boys at college are drilled in physics and metaphysics, languages, etc. There *may* be one or two in each hundred, prematurely old perchance, who approaches the subject from a similar point of view to his teachers, but as for the rest, and the most promising, it is like agricultural chemistry to so many Indians. They get a valuable drilling, it *may* be, but they do not learn what you profess to teach. They at most only learn where the arsenal is, in case they should ever want to use any of its weapons. The young men, being young, necessarily listen to the lecturer in history, just as they do to the singing of a bird. They expect to be affected by something he may say. It is a kind of poetic pabulum and imagery that they get (XIX, 67-68).

So negligible a premium have the gods placed on the usual sort of knowing that “a man’s ignorance sometimes is not only useful but beautiful, while his knowledge is oftentimes worse than useless, besides

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being ugly. In reference to important things, whose knowledge amounts to more than a consciousness of his ignorance? Yet what more refreshing and inspiring knowledge than this" (VIII, 150). The only kind of knowledge worth owning comes to us as "a novel and grand surprise, or a sudden revelation of the insufficiency of all that we had called knowledge before; an indefinite sense of the grandeur and glory of the universe" (VIII, 168). To promote such revelations we must cultivate freedom of the senses; we have, for example, in the convex lens of the eye an instrument to introduce us to the world of things, but we must not try to force or direct it, except, perhaps, to keep it trained on things near at hand. His own eye, says Thoreau, "is educated to discover anything on the ground, as chestnuts, etc. It is probably wholesomer to look at the ground much than at the heavens" (XVI, 125). But neither terrestrial nor celestial objects should be *studied*: "I must let my senses wander as my thoughts, my eyes see without looking. . . . What I need is not to look at all, but a true sauntering of the eye" (X, 351). Any teaching of nature comes to us quite literally as an *influence*, and as such "must steal upon us when we expect it not, and its work be all done ere we are aware of it. If we make advances, it is shy; if, when we feel its presence, we presume to pry into its free-masonry, it vanishes and leaves us alone in our folly" (VII, 28). Moments of true learning, when they do come, do not so much add to our stock of knowledge as revolutionize it; "When any real progress is made, we unlearn and learn anew what we thought we knew before" (VII, 24).

This kind of learning, he sometimes felt, can only be assimilated in youth, before the mind and body lose their elasticity, before "what was flexible sap hardens into heart-wood, and there is no further change" (IX, 203). Yet at other times he felt less certain that the child is father to the man; and, while granting that the mind may have some qualities which, like the size and strength of the bones, cannot be altered by the will of their possessor, he noted that most of its traits are "less stubborn and in more rapid flux like the flesh,"³ and hence presumably capable of being molded through an act of will. What one botanical analogy—the hardening of youth's flexible sap into the rigid heart-wood of maturity—could establish, another could refute: as when he contrasted the "pale, rudimentary, infantine, radicle-like thoughts of some students" with those of the grown man, who "sends down a tap-root to the centre of things" (VIII, 202-3). Just as infants only gradually and with astonishment discover their fingers and toes, so men, potentially at least, may go

³ *Consciousness in Concord*, ed. Perry Miller (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1958), p. 191.

on indefinitely discovering new faculties within themselves. The door to discovery may remain forever unlocked; for while Thoreau said he had seen men who "appeared never to have found their heads, but used them only instinctively, as the negro who butts with his, or the water-carrier who makes a pack-horse of his" (VIII, 441), yet in one of his earliest journal entries—at age twenty—he noted, "I yet lack discernment to distinguish the whole lesson of to-day; but it is not lost,—it will come to me at last" (VII, 9), and at the not-so-doddering age of thirty-four he was exclaiming, "How few valuable observations can we make in youth! What if there were united the susceptibility of youth with the discrimination of age!" (IX, 378).

So there is, after all, a possibility of orderly progression in the pursuit of truth: "I glimpse one feature to-day, another to-morrow; and the next day they are blended" (VII, 9). And since "no faculty in man was created with a useless or sinister intent" (VII, 16), who is to say by what path or through the use of what faculty the perception and the blending are best achieved? One can find good words even for study, for the kind of knowledge that comes from paper and ink rather than ferns and fungi. "Think of the art of printing, what miracles it has accomplished! . . . He who cannot read is worse than deaf and blind, is yet but half-alive, is still-born" (XIV, 203).

Much study a weariness of the flesh, eh? But did not they intend that we should read and ponder, who covered the whole earth with alphabets,—primers or bibles,—coarse or fine print? The very débris of the cliffs—the stivers [?] of the rocks—are covered with geographic lichens: no surface is permitted to be bare long. As by an inevitable decree, we have come to times at last when our very waste paper is printed. Was not He who creates lichens the abettor of Cadmus when he invented letters? Types almost arrange themselves into words and sentences as dust arranges itself under the magnet. Print! it is a close-hugging lichen that forms on a favorable surface, which paper offers. The linen gets itself wrought into paper that the song of the shirt may be printed on it. Who placed us with eyes between a microscopic and a telescopic world? (XII, 132-33).

Fifteen years or so after his graduation he found that "many college text-books which were a weariness and a stumbling-block when *studied*, I have since read a little in with pleasure and profit" (XII, 130). And the man who lived some thirty years on this planet without having heard a syllable of valuable or even earnest advice from his seniors confided to his journal some years later that "he who speaks with most authority on a given subject is not ignorant of what has been said by his predecessors. He will take his place in a regular order, and substantially add his own

knowledge to the knowledge of previous generations" (XIX, 68).

In all this rather unexpected defense of the conventional educational faith there is, in fact, only one *caveat*: we must exercise selection in our study and observation, lest we clutter the mind's chambers with bric-a-brac, profane them by the habit of attending to trivia. "We should treat our minds as innocent and ingenuous children whose guardians we are,—be careful what objects and subjects we thrust on their attention. . . . How many things there are concerning which we might well deliberate whether we had better know them! Routine, conventionality, manners, etc., etc." (VIII, 289-91).

With or without such a reservation, however, Thoreau would hardly have listed school-attendance or scholarship as indispensable ingredients of education. The best he could say for his own early schooling was that he had been "fitted, or rather made unfit, for College, at Concord Academy and elsewhere, mainly by myself, with the countenance of Phineas Allen, Preceptor" (C, p. 186); and in his first book he wrote that men have "a respect for scholarship and learning greatly out of proportion to the use they commonly serve" (I, 108). They produced "barren accomplished gentlemen who seemed to have been to school all their lives and never had a vacation to live in" (XIII, 503). The discipline of schools or business could never contribute so much to moral and intellectual health as "a constant intercourse with nature and the contemplation of natural phenomena" (VIII, 193). The huckleberry fields, for example—at least when he could have them to himself—he found an incomparable kindergarten, academy, campus and adult-education center rolled into one. "I served my apprenticeship and have since done considerable journey-work in the huckleberry-field, though I never paid for my schooling and clothing in that way. It was itself some of the best schooling I got, and paid for itself" (XVIII, 299). As a man in his forties he complained bitterly of neighbors who, though they would never dream of taking their children out of school to go huckleberrying, thought nothing of asking him to renounce his cherished privacy of exploration and join a party: "Why should not I, then, have my school and school hours to be respected?" (XVIII, 333). And thinking sadly of occasions when he had failed to carry out a planned expedition to the berry-fields or woods or swamps, he lamented: "How many schools I have thought of which I might go to but did not go to! expecting foolishly that some greater advantage or schooling would come to me!" (XV, 36-37).

Such schooling, of course, would be hard to come by except in the country or in a village like Concord where a few minutes' walk in any direction would bring the student to open fields. He pitied the mis-education of a city boy like Goethe, who was "even too *well-bred* to be thor-

oughly bred. He says that he had had no intercourse with the lowest class of his towns-boys. The child should have the advantage of ignorance as well as knowledge, and is fortunate if he gets his share of neglect and exposure" (I, 349-50). It was a different sort of neglect and exposure that he had in mind, however, when he complained, after meeting a party of ill-mannered Boston boys and girls on the Hingham boat: "What right have parents to beget, to bring up, and attempt to *educate* children in a city? . . . A true culture is more possible to the savage than to the boy of average intellect, born of average parents, in a great city" (VIII, 342).

With an eye to the curricular value of rural experience he observed a farmer hoeing potatoes on a midsummer day, and reflected: "What a pleasant interview he must have had with them. What a liberal education with these professors! Better than a university" (VIII, 282); and seeing farm boys at work in the woods the following winter: "It is a good school the farmers' sons go to these afternoons, loading and hauling great mill-logs bigger than any cannon" (IX, 193). He himself, in the spring of 1856, spent some time gathering maple sap and boiling it down to one and a half ounces of sugar which, as his father pointed out, he could have bought cheaper at a shop. "I made it my study," he replied; "I felt as if I had been to a university" (XIV, 217).

Nothing delighted him more than to puncture the balloons of scholarship by pointing to examples of untutored excellence: e.g., one day at Emerson's, during a serious discussion of American literature Thoreau loftily remarked that he had found a poet in the woods but it had feathers and had not been to Harvard.⁴ Old George Minott's infallible ear for bird calls he attributed to the fact that "he has not spoiled his ears by attending lectures and caucuses, etc." (XVI, 265). In orators, he found the commonest difference between the self-made and those who had had the advantage of higher education in the popular sense was that "the former will pronounce a few words, and use a few more, in a manner in which the scholars have agreed not to, and the latter will occasionally quote a few Latin and even Greek words with more confidence, and, if the subject is the derivation of words, will maintain a wise silence" (XIX, 82-83).

But the biggest salvo in his anti-classroom barrage was fired in honor of John Brown, whose Harpers Ferry raid so electrified this inveterate disparager of news that during the next week he read all the newspapers he could get his hands on. Brown "did not go to the college called Harvard; he was not fed on the pap that is there furnished. As he phrased it, 'I know no more of grammar than one of your calves.' But he went to

⁴ Henry Seidel Canby, *Thoreau* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1939), p. 345.

the great university of the West, where he sedulously pursued the study of Liberty, for which he had early betrayed a fondness, and, having taken many degrees, he finally commenced the practice of Humanity" (XVIII, 420-21). Not only in manly resistance to oppression but in command of language did John Brown put scholarly accomplishments to shame. "See what a work this comparatively unread and unlettered man has written within six weeks [after his capture]! Where is our professor of *belles-lettres*, or of logic and rhetoric, who can write so well? . . . This unlettered man's speaking and writing in standard English" (XIX, 10-11).

What a contrast to "the hypercritical quarrelling about grammar and style, the position of the particles, etc., etc. . . . The grammarian is often one who can neither cry nor laugh, yet thinks that he can express human emotions. So the posture-masters tell you how you shall walk,—turning your toes out, perhaps, excessively,—but so the beautiful walkers are not made" (XVII, 386). In one of his last comments on style, Thoreau returned to the charge against artificial rules for correct English, such as "that a sentence must never end with a particle," and observing how implicitly even the learned obey them he thought:

Any fool can make a rule
And every fool will mind it (XIX, 125) .

Even in America, he noted sadly, schoolboys "study the metres to write Latin verses, but it does not help them to write English" (VII, 357); and the Old World carries such academic folderol even further:

When I think of the thorough drilling to which young men are subjected in the English universities, acquiring a minute knowledge of Latin prosody and of Greek particles and accents, so that they can not only turn a passage of Homer into English prose or verse, but readily a passage of Shakespeare into Latin hexameters or elegiacs,—that this and the like of this is to be liberally educated,—I am reminded how different was the education of the actual Homer and Shakespeare. The worthies of the world and liberally educated have always, in this sense, got along with little Latin and less Greek (X, 287).

From the earliest school-grades up, the pedagogues tend to put the cart before the horse. "Every child should be encouraged to study not man's system of nature but nature's" (VII, 471). Studies at best furnish us but with a "mimic idiom" (C, pp. 93-94) which does not help us to speak the truth. Academic discipline leads to such specialization that "the lover of art is one, and the lover of nature is another. . . . It is monstrous when one cares but little about trees but much about Corinthian columns, and yet this is exceedingly common" (XVI, 80). With New England's oak

groves rapidly disappearing under the axes of the lumbermen, "it would be worth the while to introduce a school of children to such a grove, that they may get an idea of the primitive oaks before they are all gone, instead of hiring botanists to lecture to them when it is too late" (XX, 210). The sense of children may or may not be developed in school, but certainly not the senses, which alone can "lay up a store of natural influences. . . . He that hath ears, let him hear. See, hear, smell, taste, etc., while these senses are fresh and pure" (VIII, 330). Take the sense of color, for example: "It is remarkable that no pains is taken to teach children to distinguish colors. I am myself uncertain about the names of many" (IX, 245). Yet nature, particularly in autumn, sets out her lavish and tax-free demonstration for both schoolchildren and practicing artists, "and by these teachers even the truants are caught and educated the moment they step abroad. . . . Surely trees should be set in our streets with a view to their October splendor. Do you not think it will make some odds to these children that they were brought up under the maples? Indeed, neither the truant nor the studious are at present taught colors in the schools. . . . Instead of, or besides, supplying paint-boxes, I would supply these natural colors to the young" (XVII, 219). The eyes of painters, cloth and paper-manufacturers, etc., may be "educated by these autumnal colors. . . . If you want a different shade or tint of a particular color, you have only to look further within or without the tree, or the wood. The eye might thus be taught to distinguish color and appreciate a difference of tint or shade" (XVII, 240).

Nature, needless to say, has equipped her schoolroom as richly with audio-visual aids in Massachusetts as in London or Zanzibar; the fruits of New England, no less noble and memorable than those of foreign lands, "educate us, and fit us to live in New England. Better for us is the wild strawberry than the pineapple, the wild apple than the orange, the hazelnut or pignut than the cocoanut or almond, and not on account of their flavor merely, but the part they play in our education" (XX, 274). Even Paris, at best, could only be "a school in which to learn to live here, a stepping-stone to Concord, a school in which to fit for this university" (XIV, 204). Those Americans who go to Europe to "finish their education" may make the acquaintance of a few foreign noblemen, possibly even such pundits as Lord Ward, "the inventor and probably consumer of the celebrated Worcestershire sauce" (XVIII, 336), but beyond this they seldom acquire anything more than a "correct"—i.e., British—pronunciation of English. "They pronounce with the sharp precise report of a rifle, but the likeness is in the sound only, for they have no bullets to fire" (XI, 345). Educators should set up a protective intellectual tariff against these foreign agents who, calling themselves American schol-

ars, try to purge their native speech of all Americanisms and restrict it to imported symbols:

When I really know that our river pursues a serpentine course to the Merrimack, shall I continue to describe it by referring to some other river no older than itself which is like it, and call it a *meander*? It is no more *meandering* than the *Meander* is *musketquidding*. . . . What if there were a tariff on words, on language, for the encouragement of home manufactures? Have we not the genius to coin our own? Let the schoolmaster distinguish the true from the counterfeit (XVIII, 389-90).

Not only for learning to see, hear and speak, but for learning practically to *do*, our immediate surroundings offer us endless opportunities, of value out of all proportion to their homely humbleness. The man whose pungent seven-word counsel to would-be reformers was "Rescue the drowning and tie your shoestrings" (II, 86-87) was speaking from personal experience; when he finally learned that for years he had been tying his own shoes with a granny instead of a non-slipping square knot he queried: "Should not all children be taught this accomplishment, and an hour, perchance, of their childhood be devoted to instruction in tying knots?" (XI, 335). Even humanitarianism can best, though paradoxically, be learned through experience in hunting: "We cannot but pity the boy who has never fired a gun; he is no more humane, while his education has been sadly neglected" (II, 235). So too has that of the Harvard graduate who has run his father irretrievably into debt while studying Ricardo and Adam Smith in a rented room in Cambridge, cutting his finger on a Rogers' penknife while attending lectures on metallurgy instead of digging and smelting ore and forging a blade himself. If the foundation of a college were actually laid by the students themselves, not only would the money-cost of getting an education be cut but the quality of the education would be improved.

"But," says one, "you do not mean that the students should go to work with their hands instead of their heads?" I do not mean that exactly, but I mean something which he might think a good deal like that; I mean that they should not *play* life, or *study* it merely, while the community supports them at this expensive game, but earnestly *live* it from beginning to end. How could youths better learn to live than by at once trying the experiment of living? Methinks this would exercise their minds as much as mathematics. If I wished a boy to know something about the arts and sciences, for instance, I would not pursue the common course, which is merely to send him into the neighborhood of some professor, where anything is professed and practised but the art of life (II, 56-57).

By 1847, however, Thoreau happily reported to Emerson that even

Harvard was not irremediably tangled in academic cobwebs; it was about to establish a scientific school with practical training in chemistry, zoology, mechanics and engineering, it was "really beginning to wake up and redeem its character and overtake the age." True, it had been "foolish enough to put at the end of all this earnest the old joke of a diploma," but this gave Thoreau a chance to twist the old joke into a new one: "Let every sheep keep but his own skin, I say" (C, p. 190).

Science-training per se, however, came in for its spankings along with its hurrahs. "The man of science makes this mistake, and the mass of mankind along with him: that you should coolly give your chief attention to the phenomenon which excites you as something independent on you, and not as it is related to you. The important fact is its effect on me" (XVI, 164-65). While more primitive folk like the Indians approach nature intimately, emotionally, modern man has resolved to study botany, zoology and geology, "lean and dry as they are" in a vain attempt to "come at" the essence of animals and stones and trees. "It is ebb-tide with the scientific reports, Professor ——— in the chair. . . . Our scientific names convey a very partial information only" (XVI, 293-94). Looking over the report of the doings of a scientific association, Thoreau deplors the dry parcel of technical terms: "I cannot help suspecting that the life of these learned professors has been almost as inhuman and wooden as a rain-gauge or self-registering magnetic machine. They communicate no fact which rises to the temperature of blood-heat" (XII, 237-38). In their "haste to kill a bird or quadruped and make a skeleton of it," scientists reminded him of the "fable of the man who killed the hen that laid golden eggs, and so got no more gold. . . . Every fowl lays golden eggs for him who can find them, or who can detect alloy and base metal" (XX, 109). He himself once killed a terrapin "for the sake of science," and found not only that he could not excuse himself for the murder but that such actions would even "affect the quality of my observations" (XII, 452). In fact, though Harvard's new science curriculum might suggest that the college was beginning to wake up, and though men sometimes spoke as if the study of the classics would at length make way for more modern and practical studies, "the adventurous student will always study classics, in whatever language they may be written and however ancient they may be" (II, 112).

So much for the broader problems of educational theory; for Thoreau as a practical member of society there still remained a number of questions of bread-and-butter and methodology. Where, and under what kind of supervision, should the student make his acquaintance with science and the classics? How should his achievement be evaluated? Who will pay for the construction of school buildings, for the salaries of teachers?

In answering these questions Thoreau offered both prescriptions and proscriptions.

In his first application for a regular teaching post, subscribing unreservedly to the Pestalozzi-Alcott pedagogical line, he proposed to make education a pleasant and cooperative enterprise for both teacher and scholar: "We should seek to be fellow students with the pupil, and we should learn of, as well as with him, if we would be most helpful to him" (C, p. 20). Nearly twenty years later he described himself as "still a learner, not a teacher" (C, p. 423), and expressed surprise that "men are in such haste to get fame as teachers rather than knowledge as learners" (XIV, 205). The best way to prepare oneself to be a teacher was to follow the precept of Confucius: "Conduct yourself suitably toward the persons of your family, then you will be able to instruct and to direct a nation of men" (C, p. 446).

Presumably the ideal teacher must be rather young, since "age is no better, hardly so well, qualified for an instructor as youth" (II, 9). Whatever the master's age, however, the relationship between him and his pupil should be like that between the sun and the moon; the latter "acquires an almost equal respect and worship by reflecting and representing him, with some new quality, perchance, added to his light, showing how original the disciple may be who still in midday is seen, though pale and cloud-like, beside his master" (VIII, 299). Needless to say, the master must never seek to exert his influence via the strap or rod. From his earliest teaching days Thoreau was "disposed to regard the cowhide as a nonconductor. Methinks that, unlike the electric wire, not a single spark of truth is ever transmitted through its agency to the slumbering intellect it would address" (C, p. 20). Before long, faced with an ultimatum from the Concord school board to restore the time-honored practice of flogging, he chose a half-dozen pupils at random, gave them a token thrashing, and sent in his resignation.

If he was opposed to the literal use of the stick, he presumably objected also to the carrot of grades, which could also serve as a psychological stick. At any rate, during his freshman year at Harvard he was one of the signers of a petition to abolish the College's ranking system, which, said the petitioners, tends to produce envy, jealousy and superficial scholarship, and to induce the student "not so much to become thoroughly acquainted with a subject as to study it in such a manner as will best insure his success in the recitation room." A good mark, they found, "has become in a great degree the primary and sole object and with its attainment, in whatever manner, all exertion ceases."⁵

⁵ *The Emerson Society Quarterly*, No. 8, III Quarter 1957, p. 17.

Getting down to still more mundane essentials—since even the most dedicated teacher must still have an income and a proper building in which to hold classes—Thoreau berated his fellow-countrymen for their niggardliness. “They venture a little, run some risks, when it is a question of a larger crop of corn or potatoes; but they are commonly timid and count their coppers, when the question is whether their children shall be educated” (XX, 306). Under a statute of 1797 the standard procedure for financing an “academy” in Massachusetts was to endow it with a large tract of public land, and in 1858 (incidentally, the year following the introduction of the Morrill Land-grant Act in Congress) Thoreau commented ironically: “The State commonly grants a tract of forest to make an academy out of, for such is the material of which our institutions are made, though only the crudest part of it is used, but the groves of the academy are straightway cut down, and that institution is built of its lumber, its coarsest and least valuable part. Down go the groves of the academy and up goes its frame,—on some bare common far away” (XVI, 297). As for Massachusetts’ first institution of higher learning, he observed sardonically: “Harvard College was partly built by a lottery. My father tells me he bought a ticket in it. Perhaps she thus laid the foundation of her Divinity School. Thus she teaches by example” (XIII, 150). The many contributions and bequests which Harvard had since received, however, suggested to him that local school benefactors might well donate a forest or a huckleberry field not to finance but to grace the school building. “To attend chiefly to the desk or schoolhouse while we neglect the scenery in which it is placed is absurd. If we do not look out we shall find our fine schoolhouse standing in a cow-yard at last” (XVIII, 387).

It was pitiful, but perhaps after all appropriate, that the academic community should signalize the annual culmination of its efforts by that great wind-blown American institution the commencement exercise, for which Thoreau reserved some of his most biting jibes. First, in a very early journal entry, with the memory of his own graduation still freshly rankling, he wrote:

One goes to a cattle-show expecting to find many men and women assembled, and beholds only working oxen and neat cattle. He goes to a commencement thinking that there at least he may find the men of the country; but such, if there were any, are completely merged in the day, and have become so many walking commencements, so that he is fain to take himself out of sight and hearing of the orator, lest he lose his own identity in the nonentities around him (VII, 37).

Twenty years later, not mellowed in the least toward colleges and other

institutions which "express the superficial activity of a few," with the mass either conforming or paying no attention, he observed that "the newspapers have just got over that eating-fullness or dropsy which takes place with the annual commencements and addresses before the Philomathean or Alpha Beta Gamma societies. . . . The boys think that these annual recurrences are part and parcel of the annual revolution of the system" (XVII, 86). And a week or so later he could breathe with relief: "Think what refuge there is for me before August is over, from college commencements and society that isolates me!" (XVII, 126).

A still more fundamental error, however, was the assumption that education, even of the academic sort, should take place only in school buildings and should end with the graduation ritual. Adult education has had no more vehement advocate than Thoreau, who felt that just "as boys are sometimes required to show an excuse for being absent from school, so . . . men should show some excuse for being here" (XX, 307), and that "having learned our letters we should read the best that is in literature, and not be forever repeating our a b abs, and words of one syllable, in the fourth or fifth classes, sitting on the lowest and foremost form all our lives" (II, 116). The town of Concord, which could spend \$16,000 on a town hall for political meetings, found no funds for adult libraries, for subscriptions to newspapers like the *London Times*, for art-works or scientific instruments. Even the Lyceum, "important as it is comparatively, though absolutely trifling," was supported by individuals, not by the taxpayers (IX, 24-27). In his eloquent plea for "uncommon schools" he called upon villages to become universities, "and their elder inhabitants the fellows, with leisure—if they are indeed so well off—to pursue liberal studies as long as they live. . . . New England can hire all the wise men in the world to come and teach her, and board them round the while, and not be provincial at all" (X, 323-25).

In the absence of the utopian university-village, even the "absolutely trifling" Lyceum offered some grains of food to hungry minds, and Thoreau viewed the lecture-platform, from both sides of the rostrum, with keen interest and a highly critical eye. In theory it was supposed, as his classics professor, Cornelius Felton, sonorously put it, to spread through society "a vivacity of intellectual habit" which would kindle "a life and glow, that contribute no less to happiness than improvement; that promote morality no less than knowledge by diminishing that taste for gossip and scandal so generally prevalent wherever the mind and heart have no noble objects for their enlightened devotion."⁶ But in practice

⁶ C. C. Felton, *Address Pronounced on the Anniversary of the Concord Lyceum, Nov. 4, 1829* (Cambridge, 1829), pp. 26-27.

Thoreau found most lectures, as well as most essays, disappointing: "I had expected the authors would have some life, some very private experience, to report, which would make it comparatively unimportant in what style they expressed themselves, but commonly they have only a talent to exhibit" (XVI, 228).

It was not this alone, however, that led him to regard lectures with diluted enthusiasm. First, there was the competing attraction of the outdoors; after seeing some mice-tracks in the snow, he remarked, "There is a still life in America that is little observed or dreamed of. Here were possible auditors and critics which the lecturer at the Lyceum last night did not think of" (XV, 223). When Emerson and Alcott invited him to go with them to hear a Dr. Solger lecture on geography at five o'clock one afternoon, his reaction was indignant: "What, to be sitting in a meeting-house cellar at that time of day, when you might possibly be out-doors! I never thought of such a thing. What was the sun made for? If he does not prize daylight, I do. Let him lecture to owls and dormice. He must be a wonderful lecturer indeed who can keep me indoors at such an hour, when the night is coming in which no man can walk" (C, p. 499). By Thoreau's exacting standard, there simply were not enough wonderful lecturers, or even passably good ones, to make up a winter's course; for this reason he declined to serve as curator of the Concord Lyceum in 1853. "We commonly think," he noted, "that we cannot have a good journal in New England, because we have not enough writers of ability; but we do not suspect likewise that we have not good lecturers enough to make a Lyceum" (XI, 506).

But if good lecturers were in short supply, so too were properly-qualified audiences, upon whose active cooperation Thoreau felt the success of a lecture partly depended. "It is the duty of the lecturer to team his hogshead of sweets to the depot, or Lyceum, place the horse, arrange the ropes, and shove; and it is the duty of the audience to take hold of the ropes and pull with all their might" (XVIII, 10). This did not mean oral participation by audience-members, but simply interested attention and readiness to follow the speaker's line of thought no matter into what unfamiliar, even stormy seas it might lead. Thoreau had the experience only too often, in addressing either private or public audiences, of seeing his hearers "standing on their *terra firma*, the quaking earth, crowded together on their Lisbon Quay, and compassionately or timidly watching my motions as if they were the antics of a rope-dancer or mountebank pretending to walk on air" (XV, 237-38). Since the ones with the most education (by the popular standard) were often the timidiest, he tried in his lectures rather "to affect uncultivated natures than to affect the most

refined, for all cultivation is necessarily superficial, and its roots may not even be *directed toward* the centre of the being" (XVIII, 32). But most discouraging of all audience traits was a general lack of seriousness, a groveling appetite for profitless jest and amusement. "Next to a good dinner, at least, they love a good joke,—to have their sides tickled, to laugh sociably, as in the East they bathe and are shampooed. Curators of Lyceums write to me:—DEAR SIR,—I hear that you have a lecture of some humor. Will you do us the favor to read it before the Bungtown Institute?" (XIII, 89). Thoreau, needless to say, was having his wry little private joke; although he had once titillated a Concord audience with his reminiscences of Cape Cod,⁷ neither Bungtowners nor Bostonians were clamoring to have him tickle their sides, much less to have him wake them up like Chanticleer from the rooftops. Near the close of 1853 he lamented that while he could get plenty of surveying jobs, which a hundred other men in the county could do as well as he, he had had no invitations to lecture during the previous winter and only one (without pay) in the current one; yet "it is not boasting much to say that a hundred others in New England cannot lecture as well as I on my themes" (XII, 21). A year later he had only slightly more engagements to report, but was beginning to develop a defensive shell:

After lecturing twice this winter I feel that I am in danger of cheapening myself by trying to become a successful lecturer, *i.e.*, to interest my audiences. I am disappointed to find that most that I am and value myself for is lost, or worse than lost, on my audience. I fail to get even the attention of the mass. I should suit them better if I suited myself less. I feel that the public demand an average man,—average thoughts and manners,—not originality, nor even absolute excellence (XIII, 79).

Returning to the subject a month or two later, he noted somewhat belligerently:

Many will complain of my lectures that they are transcendental. "Can't understand them." "Would you have us return to the savage state?" etc., etc. A criticism true enough, it may be, from their point of view. But the fact is, the earnest lecturer can speak only to his like, and the adapting of himself to his audience is a mere compliment which he pays them. If you wish to know how I think, you must endeavor to put yourself in my place. If you wish me to speak as if I were you, that is another affair (XIII, 197).

And there is more than a hint of sour grapes in this observation early in 1857:

⁷ See letter from Emerson (C, p. 255).

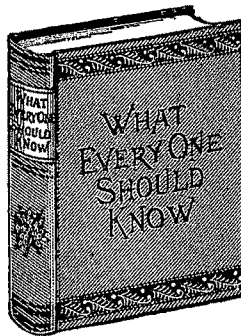
For some years past I have partially offered myself as a lecturer; have been advertised as such several years. Yet I have had but two or three invitations to lecture in a year, and some years none at all. I congratulate myself on having been permitted to stay at home thus, I am so much richer for it. I do not see what I should have got of much value, but money, by going about, but I do see what I should have lost. . . . I cannot afford to be telling my experience, especially to those who perhaps will take no interest in it. . . . As for the lecture-goers, it is none of their business what I think (XV, 214-15).

He was not invariably disappointed by his reception; an audience in Amherst, where he lectured in the basement of the orthodox church "and I trust helped to undermine it," listened to him closely, which was all he asked. "Generally, if I can only get the ears of an audience, I do not care whether they say they like my lecture or not" (XV, 187-88). But mostly his experience with audiences ranged between the apathy of Worcester, where the only criticism he received on his lecture on Autumnal Tints was that he assumed his hearers "had not seen so much of them as they had" (XVII, 457) to the petrification of an unnamed New England town which he found "sealed up hermetically like a molasses-hogshead," and which infuriated him to a thunderous journal entry denouncing "the craven priest looking round for a hole to escape at, alarmed because it was he that invited me thither," the "sluggards that want to have a lullaby sung to them," etc. (XVII, 324-29). So that it was very nearly with the tone of a valedictory to the platform, and hence to his public educational activities, that he wrote in 1859: "'What do you get for lecturing now?' I am occasionally asked. It is the more amusing since I only lecture about once a year out of my native town, often not at all; so that I might as well, if my objects were merely pecuniary, give up the business" (XVIII, 111).

Actually, time was running out for him; although it would be hard to imagine Thoreau voluntarily giving up as long as two or three might be earnestly gathered together to hear what he had to say, he was not to be permitted much longer either to take part in or to comment upon the education of his fellow-men. Indeed, this lover of paradox must already have been fatigued if he could pass up the temptation to pun on the "business" of speaking to lecture-goers, of whom he had testily remarked a couple of years before that what he thought was "none of their business." But no matter how much he might feel himself cramped by the formal demands of the lecture-platform or the schoolmaster's desk, he could no more give up his concern with education than he could, in this life, give up breathing.

So what it comes to is this: while pedagogues may spoil the grace of many a spirit by taking out its natural curves and forcing it to run through a straight-cut ditch, even a free, meandering (or musketaquidding) brook may be the better for having its channel deepened, its banks cleared of overgrowing weeds, its source kept pure and uncontaminated, its entire course protected from use as a sewer for waste. This, metaphorically, is what Thoreau was advocating in these many animadversions on the care and feeding of the human mind.

In one sense, school, drill, lecture, study and commencement were dirty words to him; but he would gladly have assented to the proposition that our education never ceases as long as we make nature our school-house, attend her lectures, study her paradigms with tireless patience and (without oratory) make every day a commencement day.



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Daniel Webster and Technology

A MAN'S PRIVATE LIFE IS NOW THOUGHT OF AS REAL, AND HIS PUBLIC LIFE as a mere projection of that private life, as second-hand and conventional.¹ As one consequence, "oratory" for us signifies a somewhat shady business of manipulating commonplaces or a defunct kind of hyperdramatics, and "rhetoric" connotes empty talk. The greatest of our orators, Daniel Webster, is about to be consigned to oblivion. The few scholars who make oratory their study still rank Webster with Demosthenes and Cicero,² but the rest of us can't see much importance to such ranking, even if deserved. Webster's most recent biographer, Richard Current, baffled by a platform manner which extended all the way to a grandly dramatic deathbed scene, concludes that his subject was, basically and at heart, a player of roles.³ Richard Hofstadter, deciding that Webster had no important part in *The American Political Tradition*, suggests that he should be remembered only as the "quasi-official rhapsodist of American nationalism,"⁴ i.e., as a mere orator.

Surely Webster, the rhapsodist, the player of roles, is, as alleged, an orator. His speeches abound in the commonplaces of his time: civilization is progressing, and America leads the way. Again and again he says,

No schemes can be suggested to us so magnificent as the prospects which a sober contemplation of our condition . . . fairly spreads before

¹ Romantics, Freudians and Marxists have in their several ways debased the very words one wants to use to describe what is here intended by the word "public." I have in mind our intentionally conventional civil life, what Webster lauded as "respectability," what we have for the past half-century condemned for being "genteel." "Public" life has to do with the quality of social manners and morals, and with generally agreed upon convictions as to the nature of the good, the true and the beautiful.

² For a recent estimate of Webster by rhetorical critics see the article by Wilbur Samuel Howell and Hoyt H. Hudson, in *A History and Criticism of American Public Address*, ed. William N. Bragance (New York, 1943), II, 666-733.

³ *Daniel Webster and the Rise of National Conservatism* (Boston, 1955), pp. 180-83.

⁴ (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), p. 68.

us. A country of such vast extent, with so much public spirit and private enterprise, with a population increasing so much beyond former example, with capacities of improvement not only unapplied or unexhausted, but even, in a great measure, as yet unexplored,—so free in its institutions, so mild in its laws, so secure in the title it confers on every man to his own acquisitions,—needs nothing but time and peace to carry it forward to almost any point of advancement. [5, 64]⁵

Here is rhapsody, and we can guess that on the platform Webster was wonderfully dramatic. And no one can mistake this passage for “original” thought or expression, for the whole message is a commonplace. But it had to be if it was to reach its audience. As Richard M. Weaver argues, repetition of these commonplaces did not necessarily make them hackneyed, as we have been taught to suppose; from the right man in the right place they constituted a vital, meaningful expression of communal tradition.⁶ Webster’s published orations sketch for us the postures of contemporary public belief.

In this essay we will limit our discussion to what Webster said about technology and its public consequences. We already know how he began opposed to, and later took the side of, governmental support to manufactures. This development of his politics is only incidentally our concern. We are interested, rather, in the development of his rhetoric. The coming of steam and of factory production was a novelty, and of almost imponderable consequence. Because of their public effect, steam and the factory had to be dealt with. Because of their novelty, they demanded a novel rhetoric. This rhetoric, to be effective, had to be congenial to Webster’s auditors and subservient to his own objectives, his own reasons for appearing before them. As literature, Webster’s remarks about technology lack coherence. We will try to show how as oratory they fall into place.

In his earliest political speeches, Webster represented commerce and agriculture as companion interests. “Indissoluble bonds connect him who ploughs the land with him who ploughs the sea” [15, 541]. But it is wrong, the young orator declared, to take the side of an exclusive agrarianism against the rights of commerce: the United States is not “a great land animal, whose walks are confined to his native forests, and who has nothing to do with the ocean but to drink at its shores, or sooth its slumbers by the noise of its waves” [15, 541]. As spokesman for New Hampshire commerce, we would expect Webster to make some such

⁵ References in brackets are to volume and page numbers of the National Edition of *The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster* (Boston, 1903).

⁶ See Weaver’s *The Ethics of Rhetoric* (Chicago, 1953), pp. 164-85.

2. remarks. Confronted with the possibility of a growth in manufactures, however, he drops any distinctions he may have made between commerce and agriculture, and identifies himself with agrarian values.⁷

In 1814, Webster secured the repeal of federal prohibitions on commerce. Manufacturing had thrived on those prohibitions.⁸ The true policy of government, Webster had then argued, was "to suffer the different pursuits of society to take their own course, and not to give excessive bounties or encouragements to one over another" [14, 15]. So far as manufactures themselves are concerned, Webster affects to be disinterested. "I am not, generally speaking, their enemy. I am their friend, but I am not for rearing them, or any other interest, in hot-beds." America is not yet ready for heavy industry, and anyway, "I am not in haste to see Sheffields and Birminghams in America" [14, 43].

This last remark is transitional and marks a shift of ground. The issue thereafter becomes moral rather than political and economic. The populous manufacturing city, says Webster, brings with it vast capital investment, minute subdivision of labor and the employment of masses of children. Immorality, dependence and despotism follow in their train. Much better that America stay a country of farms (and farm homes):

I am not anxious to accelerate the approach of the period when the great mass of American labor shall not find its employment in the field; when the young men of the country shall be obliged to shut their eyes upon external nature, upon the heavens and the earth, and immerse themselves in close and unwholesome workshops; when they shall be obliged to shut their ears to the bleatings of their own flocks, upon their own hills, and to the voice of the lark that cheers them at the plough, that they may open them in dust, and smoke, and steam, to the perpetual whirl of spools and spindles, and the grating of rasps and saws. [14, 43-45]

Webster argues against protection (and at some remove, for commerce) by appeal to radically agrarian values.

In 1816, Webster moved from New Hampshire to Massachusetts. It seemed likely, in 1820, that Congress was going to boost tariff rates. Boston shippers and importers called a protest meeting in Faneuil Hall. Webster gave the main speech.⁹ The thesis of the speech is that the proposed tariffs would ultimately prove fatal to the small merchants,

⁷ I derive my notion of ante-bellum agrarian value and myth from Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land* (New York: Vintage Books, 1957), chaps. xi and xii.

⁸ Current, p. 20, describes the legislative battle between Webster and Calhoun, the South Carolinian taking the side of protection.

⁹ For a description of the occasion see Claude Moore Fuess, *Daniel Webster* (Boston, 1930), I, 272.

and seem so intended. As in 1814, Webster, to defend commerce, upholds agrarian ideals, but in this later speech (as a protest meeting would demand) the contrast between farming and factory work is lurid. *Any* family man, proclaims our orator, would move beyond the Rockies—in 1820!—to maintain the “respectability and the independence of a freehold,” rather than go into a factory, “taking the chance of the ignorance and the vice, the profligacy and the poverty, of that condition, although it were the best manufactory in the world.” The tariff issue is therefore critical. Two generations of the protective tariff “would change the face of New England society.” “Of all public measures it was among the last,” Webster said, “to which he should give his approbation” [13, 16-19].

This climactic agrarian statement is followed by an anticlimactic and conciliatory conclusion, which argues that the manufacturers have adequate protection under existing laws. This conclusion is appropriate. As in 1814, Webster is not attempting any reform. He is not trying to exclude manufacturing, but to prevent its undue encouragement and to protect commerce. His radical agrarian arguments serve just such modest ends. Four years later Webster leaves the way open for his subsequent endorsement of manufactures.

At the outset of his speech on the 1824 tariff, Webster identifies himself to the House as a representative of a district “highly commercial, and deeply interested in manufactures also” [5, 95]. The proposed tariff on cotton gives many of his constituents advantages, Webster concedes, but “they are greatly counterbalanced by other advantages enjoyed by other portions of the country. I cannot but regard the situation of the West as highly favorable to human happiness . . .” Webster then describes the happy state of “him . . . who cultivates his own fee-simple inheritance” [5, 136]. Notice that he is balancing interests between manufacturing and farming, and that agriculture is now depicted as a Western and so, like manufacturing, a sectional interest. He argues from expediency rather than from morality and nature: the earlier radical agrarianism is abandoned. Webster votes against the 1824 tariff because he supposes commerce the dominant interest among his constituency, but his argument leaves him free to vote for protection once manufactures take first rank.

When Webster addressed the Boston Mechanics' Institution in 1828 (the year he first votes for a protective tariff), he found the conventions of formal discourse awkward means of eulogizing the technology he was on the platform to promote. His address begins in a tone redolent of profound and liberal scholarship: “The visible and tangible creation into which we are introduced at birth, is not, in all its parts, fixed and

stationary. Motion, or change of place, regular or occasional, belongs to all or most of the things around us . . ." Step by rational step Webster arrives at his subject. Motion is the result of force; force and its practical application is the province of mechanical philosophy; mechanical philosophy thus takes its place among the sciences—it is suited to "the elevated rank and dignity of reasoning beings." Mention of dignity supplies adequate occasion for praise of the most dignified of reason's accomplishments, higher mathematics, which Webster praises for "penetrating into the secret principles which hold the universe of God together" [2, 30].

But the penetration of God's secret principles makes Webster uncomfortable. He changes tone as argument flounders. He immediately reassures his audience that man can never unmask all the secrets of nature. Even if the reach of reason is "indefinite, though not . . . infinite," the number of secrets is "indefinite also, if not infinite." "The field, then [11], is vast and unbounded" [2, 31]. The quibbling between indefinite and infinite, and the very tenuous logic which attends it, is symptomatic. Webster wants the infinite. The "vast and unbounded" excites wonder; it puts off to one side, if it does not quite banish, the specter of God to earthly eyes unveiled.

What the quibbling suggests, Webster's handling of the history of technology confirms. Our orator traces machinery back beyond knowledge to wonder. The Greeks are praised for their known contributions, but the burst of eloquence comes in the praise of the vast and wondrous pyramids of Egypt. We don't know, we can only wonder, what marvelous machines may have constructed those pyramids, and so to our moral:

God seems to have proposed his material universe as a standing, perpetual study to his intelligent creatures; where, ever learning, they can yet never learn all; and if that material universe shall last till man shall have discovered all that is now unknown, but which by the progressive imprisonment of his faculties he is capable of knowing, it will remain through a duration beyond human measurement and beyond human comprehension. [2, 32]

The moral is curious but consistent with what had preceded it. Webster reaffirms the values of science and of progressive knowledge, but on behalf of enduring mystery.

His history of technology concludes with a depiction of the myriad activity of America's spindles and wheels and saws, involving a eulogy of steam as the tremendous new power behind it. In earlier years this power and activity was invidiously contrasted with life on the farm; now Webster makes the new steam power complement a sentimental empha-

sis upon human frailty. He has steam, personified, say to man, "Leave off your manual labor, give over your bodily toil; bestow but your skill and reason to the directing, and I will bear the toil,—with no muscle to grow weary, no nerve to relax, no breast to feel faintness" [2, 35-36].

The unfaint breast reasserts the presiding sentimental tone, and the rest of the discourse aims at regaining the polite altitude at which it commenced. In a properly dignified conclusion, architecture is praised as an art involving both technology and politely classical taste. Webster suggests that America might give peculiar emphasis to *domestic* architecture, as a final grace note to the performance.

Clearly the formal conventions appropriate to the occasion were incongenial to the subject matter. Perhaps because of this, very little of Webster's discourse on mechanical philosophy ever gets to its subject. But in spite of the conventions Webster does make out a case for the industrial arts—a rhetorical or platform case, as the occasion required. So far as his speech succeeded, we can imagine Webster's auditors going away feeling that the new technology was more dignified, and even a more fit subject for wonder and tenderness, than they had up to then supposed.¹⁰

From the Hayne debate (1830) to his death, Webster became for many Americans the champion of the Union as over and against the section and state. His ambitions were national; he hoped, from 1836 to 1852, for the Presidency. In geographical fact, however, the industrial and commercial interests to which he was committed were markedly sectional. If he were to attain national prominence and still publicly support those interests, he had somehow to sell them to an audience that was better than eighty per cent agricultural. This selling job was to require every bit of his rhetorical ingenuity.

Webster would sometimes argue that even if his interests were sectional, they complemented rather than competed with the interests of other sections: "Why the chief consumption of wheat flour in this country is in the East, where the great manufacturing interests are carried on . . ." [3, 288]. But more typically he tells his audiences that the non-agrarian interests he represents are really the interests of the nation as a whole. To make his argument he has to circumvent the very agrarianism he had appealed to in earlier years, an agrarianism still dear to the populace he addresses. Webster effects this circumvention by identifying farmers and factory workers, all the "laborious, industrious, and productive classes," with what he calls "labor." This makes labor, in effect, the national

¹⁰ Webster delivered a somewhat similar address before the Society for Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in 1836, but apparently his audience was more miscellaneous, and he made less effort after polite elegance.

interest. "Strike out the laborers of the United States . . . and you reduce the population of the United States from sixteen millions to one million" [3, 24-25].¹¹ Webster, as spokesman for "labor," speaks for the nation, and so at least qualifies for the Presidency.

In 1824 Webster's praise of American labor (as against European serfdom) derives from an agrarian bias, the dignity of the native workingman depending upon a safety valve of arable land, and that dignity compromised, already and in America, in our "large cities" [2, 141-42]. Before a convention of Whigs at Andover, Massachusetts, in 1843, the agrarian bias is gone, or, rather, transformed. Here is Webster's "rhetoric of labor" as finally perfected:

There is, indeed, no subject which so much requires an essay to set forth all its prominence, importance, and peculiarity, as American labor; there is nothing like it on the globe; and there never was any thing like it. . . . Gentlemen, the labor of the United States is respectable. We are emphatically a country of labor; and labor with us is not reluctant drudgery. It is cheerful, contented, spirited, because it is certain of its reward. Labor everywhere mixes itself with capital. The fields around us, how many are occupied by their owners! The shops in our towns, how many are occupied by their proprietors, for the convenient pursuit of their callings! Hence, in the United States, we see labor and capital mixed together in a degree unequalled in the world. What is the value of a hundred acres of land at the feet of the Rocky Mountains . . . ? Nothing at all. There is no value till man has mixed his labor with it. But the moment an American laborer drives his plough through these acres, or fells a tree upon them, that moment he creates a capital, which every step he takes, and every stroke he gives, constantly augments. He thus not only lives by labor, but every day's work, while it gives him subsistence, adds to his means, his property, his capital. Where else in this world shall we find the same state of things to such a degree? [3, 175-76].

This passage defends labor in general, but gains its imaginative charge from agrarian rhetoric. The American laborer (like the yeoman) is *uniquely* happy, a concrete realization of the age-old American dream. The American laborer and yeoman are, in contrast to their European counterparts, eminently respectable. American shops, like American farms, are owned in fee simple. Our laborer is not servile, works for his own gain: as Webster had said in an earlier speech, our laborers have

¹¹ Webster affects to be indifferent to capital, so far as government policy is concerned, expressing his concern instead for the workingman. Typically he argues (against Jackson-Van Buren money policy) that the laborer is the one victimized by economic dislocation—capital can take care of itself [2, 256].

an interest in "the soil they cultivate, . . . the fabrics they produce" [3, 25]. Webster's illustration of how American labor "mixes" itself with capital is the yeoman, and I suspect that the phrase itself borrows resonance from an agrarian rhetoric where the yeoman's mixing his labor with the soil suggested a mystical communion with nature.¹² The very virtues of Webster's laborer—he is "cheerful, contented, spirited"—are the virtues which Jefferson and Crèvecoeur had identified with American yeomanry. For a nation of independent farmers Webster asks his audiences to substitute a nation of independent labor-capitalists. The American laborer is rhetorically construed as the yeoman (on and) off the farm.

Throughout his public life, Webster had to argue the cause of non-agricultural interests to audiences with strong agrarian prejudices. In Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Webster had simply to ally his commerce with the popular agrarianism to make his argument against manufactures. Once committed to manufactures, however, Webster's rhetorical task is much more difficult. The agrarian rhetoric, invented to express antipathy to the Birminghams and Sheffields of the old world, was made by indirection to argue for the Walthams and Lowells of the new.

Modern readers, who have been taught to look to the semantics of words and to slight their rhetoric, may see in the appropriation of an agrarian bias to a non-agrarian cause a kind of disingenuousness. But as we have been suggesting, Webster had to appeal to the agrarian prejudices of his audiences to even begin to carry his case. Further, the "rhetoric of labor" was consistent with Webster's mature political convictions, which took the side of a wide distribution of property (as had the agrarian myth), of the interdependence of the nation's several interests (all of whom "labor" represented) and of government aid to business and industry, which Webster supposed the best way to further the interests of the nation as a whole. Finally, it seems likely that Webster

¹² I am enquiring after the rhetorical source of the phrase, why Webster chose to use it on the platform, and not after its literary origin. It happens, however, that in this case the relationship between literature and rhetoric is unusually direct. Locke defines property as that part of nature with which human labor has been "mixed" (*Second Treatise of Government*, chap. v, par. 27). A. Whitney Griswold demonstrates that Jefferson's theory of property was exactly coincident with Locke's, and in all probability derived from it. But, as Professor Griswold expresses it, Jefferson found "confirmation . . . not inspiration" in Locke (*Farming and Democracy* [New York, 1948], pp. 37-43). The inspiration—and the rhetoric—were American, Locke's abstract state of nature in the new world transformed into an agrarian ideal of individual independence and social democracy. Henry Nash Smith's *Virgin Land* (pp. 195-96) traces the further influence of Locke's theory of property to George Henry Evans' National Reform movement and to the Homestead Act.

had his own agrarian prejudices;¹³ and, in any event, his "rhetoric of labor" extends, it does not subvert, agrarian ideals. It is characteristic of the conservatism informing Webster's whole career that he should keep sympathy with the old, that he should attempt consolidation of the new with the old, rather than allow—much less promote—a rupture between the two. If we conceive of his early agrarian rhetoric as a defense against such rupture with what had been a commercial-agricultural past; and if we give due weight to his conciliatory statement of that rhetoric and to its progressive amendment and transformation; then, at least when technology is his subject, the whole course of Webster's rhetoric, like that of his politics, follows the same conservatively progressive pattern. What we have been studying is not "mere" rhetoric, then, mere manipulation and talk, but rather a potent public expression of private conviction.

This argument can be further buttressed by a closer examination of the polite discourse before the Mechanics' Institution. That discourse is different from the other speeches which we have examined in that it is only indirectly political in its objective. It is what classical rhetoric calls demonstrative oratory, having as its object the persuasion of the audience to the honor (or blame) of the orator's subject. As we have seen, Webster found the discourse no easy assignment. Apparently his audience was unsure as to where honor in general (let alone in the particular of technology) belonged. Webster presumes polite science, higher mathematics, cosmic pride; at the very moment of presumption a transmutation occurs, and Greece loses itself in Egypt, higher mathematics in mystery, pride in humility. The pattern here is not unique to Webster. Emerson's

¹³ Webster gloried in his country estate at Marshfield, and his many and minutely detailed letters home to his farm overseers testify that his interest in agriculture (of the manorial variety, anyway) was genuine and spirited. In addition to this manifest sympathy with agriculture, Webster very occasionally gives inadvertent expression to an agrarian aversion to the new technology. In a speech commemorating the opening of a railroad, he makes mention of the "thunder" and "screams" made by the train, and of the "awkward and ugly embankment" defacing what had been a "finely rounded field"; but it's all passed off as a joke [4, 107-11]. There is a pastoral mood to Webster's description of his childhood home, part of a letter to President Fillmore written the year Webster died: "The place is a spot of absolute quiet. It is a valley, lying in the bend of the river. Railroad cars run across it three or four times a day, and that is all the motion which is seen or heard. There is no manufacturing; no coach, wagon, or cart, going along the highway, except very infrequently. The fields are quite green . . ." [18, 535]. To another correspondent Webster confides that he wants a grave where "the clatter of railroads and the bustle of business are not likely to break the silence" [13, 581-82]. Webster's misgivings about the new industrial order are of the kind described by Leo Marx in "Two Kingdoms of Force," *Massachusetts Review*, I (October, 1959), 62-95. My point is that any generalization about Webster's loyalties to commerce and industry *as against* agriculture must be made with great circumspection.

thought aspires to demonstrate that the admitted progress of the sciences is transmuted evidence of the genius of poetry. Emerson, like Webster, attempts to reconcile the apparently incommensurate claims of head and of heart. I am arguing that Webster's transcendence of polite intention and scheme by appeal to sentiment is a public (crude and expedient) equivalent to the method of Emerson's transcendental philosophy.¹⁴ Both men address themselves to what was fast becoming a radical bifurcation in American values. Here again, then, we do not have "mere" rhetoric—the issues are live as can be.

We don't need to be reminded that Webster differs grossly from Emerson in the attitude he takes toward, in the use he makes of, the issues he confronts. His performances are only accidentally contributions to literature or philosophy: he is concerned to exploit issues for immediate and practical public effect. This essay began with the declaration that we today have lost our respect for such dignifying of public effect, such attention to public expediency. So far as that is the case, we must remind ourselves that American respectability in Webster's time revered oratory as queen of the arts,¹⁵ by direct implication making its kind of guidance of public deportment the highest duty of the educated man. If we are able to study Webster's orations (and those of his more able fellow orators) in the spirit in which they were delivered, we make ourselves familiar with what was, for at least several decades of our national experience,¹⁶ a practical and powerful kind of popular education.

Such has been the assumption behind this discussion of Webster. The gradualness with which he perfects his "rhetoric of labor," the tentativeness in his effort to make technology a suitable subject for formal discourse, have been described as natural consequences of the orator's need to stay with his audience. And I trust it has been made evident that his need is our good fortune. First and incidentally because that nearness to audiences gives the speech document a peculiar immediacy. Since the recorded speech is a function of the rhetorical situation in which it occurred, it makes the whole situation come alive—the excitement of the Faneuil Hall protest meeting, the pretentious formality before the

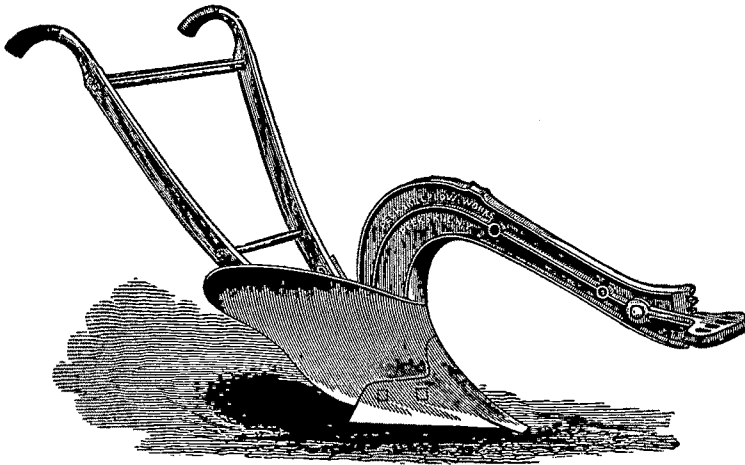
¹⁴ Bronson Alcott's orphic pronouncements, in *Nature*, are perhaps the Emersonian equivalent to Webster's eulogy of the pyramid-building. With Alcott, Emerson would like us to believe, we leave behind the admittedly valid but "digested systems" of positive sciences and soar into the "undiscovered regions" of the soul.

¹⁵ For an appraisal of the status of oratory in the early years of Emerson's life, see F. O. Matthiessen, *American Renaissance* (New York, 1941), pp. 14-24.

¹⁶ Just which decades will have to be determined. In New England culture the long transition from theological to literary interests had a late middle phase of neoclassical influences, during which oratory flourishes wonderfully and the orator—Webster, or Everett—is supposed the type of high culture.

‘Mechanics’ Institution. Specialists in rhetorical criticism have always insisted upon, and treasured, the wonderful immediacy of the speech document. They have not, however, shown enough awareness of the larger cultural context of the speech.¹⁷ Because the orator has to stay with his audience, his oration reveals that audience; the *continuing* efforts of the orator, audience after audience, reveal the American public. Our discussion of the persistent agrarian ardor of Webster’s audiences, and of the polite sentimentality of one such audience, has at least opened up larger questions of cultural context, of public belief. We have discussed only Webster and technology. For those years when oratory was a vital cultural institution, the investigation of other orators and other subjects should provide an illuminating record of the changing dispositions of public (as distinct from private) belief, at a time when public belief was supposed to have its own import and dignity.

¹⁷ I take the three-volume *History and Criticism of American Public Address* to be typical of contemporary rhetorical criticism, in its emphasis upon criticism of individual performances and in its indifference to oratory as a cultural institution. Marie Hochmuth describes the principles of rhetorical criticism in the introductory chapter to the third volume, and the bulk of the volumes is devoted to criticism of sundry American orators, pretty much according to those principles. But the attempt to give historical continuity to public address during antebellum years (“The Early National Period, 1788-1860,” I, 55-110) dissolves into a disconnected miscellany of generalization and anecdote.



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The Emmanuel Movement: A Variety of American Religious Experience

AS THE LAST DECADES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY GAVE WAY TO THE opening years of the twentieth, perhaps the most obvious phenomenon confronting American social observers was that of extreme wealth and extreme want. Among the American churches this gave rise to two rather incompatible philosophies of the Christian life. On the one hand, Episcopal Bishop William Lawrence of Massachusetts could assert that "Godliness is in league with riches"; on the other, the Rev. Washington Gladden, social-minded Congregational minister from Ohio, might aver that "in many of their ideas and methods, Socialists and Christians are in closest sympathy."¹ But whether one turns to the rationalizations of the Gospel of Wealth or to the criticisms of the Social Gospel, a common denominator emerges. The humanitarian thought of the American churches was addressed chiefly to man's environmental condition. In contrast to the urgent awareness of sociological and economic factors impinging upon religion and morality, concern over the extent to which individual physical and mental traits or disorders might affect religious and moral life was negligible.

During these same years the medical profession, the other traditional agency dedicated to the alleviation of human misfortune, was governed by an excessively materialistic view of its task. This is hardly strange considering that the remarkable advances in the last quarter of the

¹ William Lawrence, "The Relation of Wealth to Morals," in *Democracy and the Gospel of Wealth*, ed. Gail Kennedy (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1949), p. 69; Washington Gladden, *Tools and the Man: Property and Industry under the Christian Law* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1893), p. 280.

nineteenth century were in the area of somatic medicine.² These successes had released the profession from a melancholy period of "therapeutic nihilism," and gave it far better repute in the eyes of laymen than it had enjoyed at mid-century.³ When medical men turned their attention to psychopathology, therefore, they were naturally inclined to look for a physical basis of mental disturbances.⁴ Considerable headway was made with this approach, but a very large proportion of mental symptoms resisted any somatic explanation,⁵ and, consequently, were not effectively treated. Particularly in America, such individuals as did concern themselves with a psychical approach to mental illness (psychotherapeutics) were for the most part "studiously ignored" by their profession generally.⁶

But another vein of thought—antithetical to the foregoing—must be noted. It was this to which the reformer Ray Stannard Baker referred when he pointed to "a great wave of idealistic philosophy" passing over the nation.⁷ Josiah Royce was the most sophisticated exponent of these ideas, but this intellectual current was not restricted to such circles as the philosopher Royce might reach. Far more popular and influential aspects of this idealism were embodied in the flourishing Christian Science faith and in New Thought. The focal point of these cults was Boston, and before the turn of the century the term "the Boston craze" had become current.⁸ The tenets of the various groups comprised by this "craze" were by no means uniform, but in essence they were mental

² Richard H. Shryock, *The Development of Modern Medicine: An Interpretation of the Social and Scientific Factors Involved* (London: Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1948), chap. xiv, *passim*.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 205-6; chap. xvi, *passim*. "Therapeutic nihilism" is the term applied to an attitude prevalent among physicians in the mid-nineteenth century, characterized by doubt as to the value of traditional medical practices (especially the administration of drugs), and, consequently, by a reluctance to employ the same.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 291-93.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 293-94.

⁶ H. Addington Bruce, "Mental Healing of To-day," *Outlook*, XCIII (September 4, 1909), 32. Dr. Richard C. Cabot, M.D., asserted that a prime reason for America's lag behind Europe in this matter was that American medical men had been made especially suspicious of psychotherapy on account of its association with mental healing cults. Richard C. Cabot, "The American Type of Psychotherapy," in *Psychotherapy: A Course of Reading in Sound Psychology, Sound Medicine and Sound Religion*, ed. William B. Parker (New York: Centre Publishing Co., 1909), I, no. 1, 6. For a highly favorable view of the medical profession vis à vis psychotherapy, see "Reviews and Criticism: Mental Healing and the Emmanuel Movement," *The Psychological Clinic*, II (December 15, 1908), 218-23.

⁷ Ray Stannard Baker, *New Ideals in Healing* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co. [1909]), p. 8.

⁸ Horatio W. Dresser, *A History of the New Thought Movement* (New York: T. Y. Crowell Co., 1919), p. 132.

healing cults and were so regarded by the public. As one observer expressed it: "The 'New Thought Movement' represents, besides much simple wisdom, the belief that one powerful mind can, by 'concentration' in presence or absence, help another mind to overcome its wrong ways of thinking. When these are conquered, the cause of bodily trouble is removed and health ensues."⁹

It may be said, therefore, that, because of a strong bias toward environmental and physiological considerations, both the traditional churches and the medical profession were neglecting a large area of human misfortune that both might have claimed to be within their purview. The healing cults of the period may be seen, in part at least, as a response to this neglect.¹⁰

It is not the purpose of this article to discuss such relatively exotic strains as Christian Science and New Thought. Rather, the aim is to relate the expansion of the mental healing movement under the then uniquely joined auspices of a traditional Christian church and leading medical practitioners. This was the Emmanuel Movement; an endeavor of certain Episcopal clergymen and sympathetic physicians "to stem the tide [of the healing cults]," as one of them put it, "which is sweeping thousands and tens of thousands from the medical profession and from the Church."¹¹

Commencing in 1906 and spreading "like wildfire"¹² for about five years thereafter, this psychotherapeutic movement was much publicized throughout the United States. The name "Emmanuel Movement" was given it by the press,¹³ and was derived from the fact that for twenty-three years the movement had its center at Emmanuel Episcopal Church in Boston. The Emmanuel Movement, which quickly spread from coast to coast, was primarily the work of the Rev. Dr. Elwood Worcester, rector of Emmanuel from 1904 to 1929. It is to his earlier years that we must look for the seeds of the "Emmanuel idea."

After completing his theological studies in America, Worcester joined the ranks of American graduate students at German universities.¹⁴ From 1887 to 1889 Worcester matriculated at Leipzig, working in the areas

⁹ Max Eastman, "The New Art of Healing," *The Atlantic Monthly*, CI (May, 1908), 645.

¹⁰ Elwood Worcester and Samuel McComb, *The Christian Religion as a Healing Power: A Defense and Exposition of the Emmanuel Movement* (New York: Moffat, Yard & Co., 1909), pp. 26-27. See also Shryock, p. 223.

¹¹ Worcester and McComb, *The Christian Religion as a Healing Power*, p. 29.

¹² Baker, p. 42.

¹³ Elwood Worcester, *Life's Adventure: the Story of a Varied Career* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), p. 289.

¹⁴ Henry B. Washburn, "Worcester, Elwood," *DAB*, XI, Supplement Two (1958), 736.

of psychology, philosophy and Biblical studies.¹⁵ Although it was the fame of Wilhelm Wundt and his laboratory of experimental psychology that brought Worcester to Leipzig,¹⁶ it was undoubtedly Gustav Theodor Fechner, founder of the new physiological psychology—then in the last years of his career at the same institution—who exercised the greater influence on Worcester's thought.¹⁷ Despite his place at the beginnings of modern scientific psychology, Fechner's deepest interest was in his own largely idealist philosophy¹⁸—a fact which goes far to explain his appeal to one of a religious orientation such as Worcester. In later years, the founder of the Emmanuel Movement was to say that, "if the thinking world ever again wishes to break from the materialism which now enthralls and fetters it, it will find in Fechner its chief deliverer. . . ." ¹⁹

Together with the new psychology, another major intellectual current of the nineteenth century was felt by the young Worcester, namely, the higher criticism. At Leipzig, he studied with Franz Delitzsch, and he regarded Renan and Harnack as his "teachers."²⁰ It was as "a student of the New Testament and of early church history" that Worcester came to believe "that something valuable had been lost from the Christian religion," and it was this sense of loss that led him "to the healing ministry of Jesus."²¹ It is pertinent to note that in the course of his career, Worcester came to be regarded as a rationalist and a modernist, and, indeed, he did defend the Rev. Algernon Crapsey at his heresy trial in 1906.²²

Worcester received his doctorate in 1889, and, returning to the United States, was ordained a priest of the Episcopal Church. In 1904, he assumed the rectorship of Emmanuel Church.²³

At the time Worcester undertook his duties at Emmanuel, it was the leading Episcopal parish in the city.²⁴ Although the social composition

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ John C. Flügel, *A Hundred Years of Psychology* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1939 [1933]), p. 177; Worcester, *Life's Adventure*, p. 89.

¹⁷ Flügel, pp. 160-61; Worcester, *Life's Adventure*, pp. 90-91.

¹⁸ Flügel, pp. 97-99.

¹⁹ Worcester, *Life's Adventure*, p. 92.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 88-89; Worcester and McComb, *The Christian Religion as a Healing Power*, p. 10.

²¹ Worcester, *Life's Adventure*, p. 276.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 278; William W. Manross, *A History of the American Episcopal Church* (New York: Morehouse-Gorham Co., 1950 [1935]), p. 349; Worcester, *Life's Adventure*, p. 243.

²³ Washburn, p. 736.

²⁴ Worcester, *Life's Adventure*, p. 220; *The Emmanuel Movement, a Brief History of the New Cult, with Sermons from Prominent Ministers and Opinions of Laymen: Brooklyn Eagle Library*, [publication] no. 138 ([Brooklyn], 1908), p. 3.

of the parish was, to use Worcester's own words, "the élite of Boston,"²⁵ it would be a mistake to deduce from this that Emmanuel was lacking in that social awareness which so many in this period regarded as essential to a vital Christian ministry. Coming from Ray Stannard Baker, praise for Worcester's parish in this regard is especially significant: "No other church in Boston, and few in America, have gone further with institutional activities. . . . Its clubs, classes, camps, gymnasiums, its hospital work and other activities are widespread and highly developed. In Emmanuel Memorial house . . . it conducts what is to all intents and purposes a social settlement."²⁶ But it was not due to "institutional church" activity that Emmanuel took its place in American religious history, for her pastor had reservations in this matter. "The Church that surrenders to the lure of economic and social reform," Worcester warned, "and forgets that her commission is first and foremost to man as a spiritual being will eventually be found to have betrayed the cause of religion and humanity."²⁷

The immediate spur to the emergence of the Emmanuel Movement was a joint service undertaken in 1905 by Dr. Joseph Pratt of the Massachusetts General Hospital and Dr. Worcester to tuberculosis victims in the Boston slums. Under Pratt's direction, a weekly class provided advice and encouragement for the patients, while Emmanuel Church supported the project with funds and friendly-visitors. It was the success of this endeavor that moved Worcester "to undertake another service to a larger group of unhappy, unstable men and women, to persons suffering from psychical and nervous affections. . . ."²⁸

"There was much in this project that was radically new and original, chiefly that educated men, university scholars and critical students of the Bible had been willing to undertake it, and that they had induced scientifically trained physicians to work with them. In the history of 'Spiritual healing' this had not happened before. . . ."²⁹ It was unquestionably this novel feature that gave the Emmanuel Movement its importance. Cognizant of the potential implications of a movement uniting applied psychology and traditional religion, Worcester hesitated long before taking the step.³⁰ In addition to his academic pursuit of

²⁵ Worcester, *Life's Adventure*, p. 296.

²⁶ Baker, p. 3.

²⁷ Elwood Worcester and Samuel McComb, *Body, Mind and Spirit* (Boston: Marshall Jones Co., 1931), p. 355.

²⁸ Worcester and McComb, *The Christian Religion as a Healing Power*, pp. 13-14; Worcester, *Life's Adventure*, pp. 282-84; Elwood Worcester, "Letter of Resignation Submitted to the Wardens and the Vestry of Emmanuel Church, Boston, on January 26, 1929," published in Worcester, *Life's Adventure*, p. 354.

²⁹ Worcester, "Letter of Resignation," p. 355.

³⁰ Worcester and McComb, *The Christian Religion as a Healing Power*, p. 24.

psychological studies at Leipzig, Worcester had read widely in the literature of psychotherapy, and at least since the time of his close friendship with Silas Weir Mitchell, the eminent neurologist-literateur, he had nursed hopes for a fruitful ministry based on "sound religion" and "sound science."³¹

Not long after his arrival at Emmanuel, Worcester gained as an assistant Dr. Samuel McComb, a convert to the Episcopal Church from the Presbyterian ministry. McComb, who was subsequently ordained an Episcopal priest, had a deep interest in abnormal psychology, and, until 1916, he worked in close cooperation with Worcester at Emmanuel.³²

In November 1906, these two, after receiving the approval of leading medical men in such cities as Boston, New York and Baltimore, launched their movement with a series of Sunday evening lectures by Dr. James J. Putnam, a neurologist, and Dr. Richard C. Cabot, noted for his establishment of a social service unit at the Massachusetts General Hospital.³³ At the concluding lecture, Worcester announced that both he and McComb, accompanied by two psychiatrists, would be available for consultation in the parish house the following morning. Next day, one hundred and ninety-eight people awaited them, many suffering from ailments having little or nothing to do with the "moral problems and psychical disorders" with which the ministers felt prepared to deal. From this group, however, the physicians selected some cases which they believed the Emmanuel treatment might help and furnished Worcester with appropriate diagnoses. It was out of this impressive response to Worcester's invitation—surprising to the rector himself—that the movement sprang.³⁴

In considering the ideas and practices of the Emmanuel Movement it is important to remember that Worcester and his associates viewed it primarily in spiritual terms, and, indeed, as a reintroduction of the "healing ministry of Jesus" into the church. "I will plainly say," said Worcester, "that without faith in the reality of spiritual things I should not have concerned myself with psycho-therapy for so many years, for without the possibility of the renewal of life at its source and the regulation of life by spiritual principles and laws, psycho-therapy, even in

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25; John G. Greene, "The Emmanuel Movement, 1906-1929," *The New England Quarterly*, VII (September, 1934), 495-96.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 500-1.

³³ Elwood Worcester, Samuel McComb and Isador H. Coriat, *Religion and Medicine: the Moral Control of Nervous Disorders* (New York: Moffat, Yard & Co., 1908), p. 2; Worcester, *Life's Adventure*, pp. 285-86; Neva R. Deardorff, "Cabot, Richard Clarke," *DAB*, XI, Supplement Two (1958), 84. In *Religion and Medicine* (p. 2), Worcester makes reference only to the consultation of "several of the leading neurologists of New England."

³⁴ Worcester, *Life's Adventure*, pp. 286-87.

its most refined forms, seems to me only patchwork.”³⁵ With this as a starting point, the Emmanuel founders accepted the controversial concept of the subconscious and the admittedly uncertain distinction between functional and organic diseases.³⁶ Treatment was confined largely to functional illnesses, although occasionally physicians called upon the Emmanuel practitioners to attempt “to improve the mental and moral disposition” of patients suffering from essentially organic ailments.³⁷

At the outset, the principal medical agency to determine the suitability of the Emmanuel treatment for prospective patients was the church clinic established at Emmanuel. For two years the clinic’s physicians made their professional recommendations which were unquestioningly accepted.³⁸ In February 1909, however, the ministers and their board of medical advisers judged that it would be best to abandon the clinic, and new, more stringent “Rules Regulating the Co-operation of Minister and Physician” were adopted.³⁹ The new code admitted that the physicians in attendance at the clinic had “been unable to devote sufficient time to the subsequent medical treatment . . . of the patients examined by them.”⁴⁰ As a consequence, a more effective guarantee of sound medical supervision was decreed: every individual desirous of submitting to the Emmanuel treatment had to have the approval of his personal physician, who would remain “throughout in general charge of every case.”⁴¹

There were two principal institutions through which treatment was administered—the private conference and the health class. The rector’s study provided the background of the private conference. As one practitioner of Emmanuel methods described it, the patient might be “invited to be seated in a reclining chair, taught to relax all his muscles, calmed by soothing words, and in a state of physical relaxation and mental quiet the unwholesome thoughts and the untoward symptoms are dislodged from his consciousness, and in their place are sown the seeds of more health-giving thoughts and better habits.”⁴² Though the resemblance was slight, there was enough in the atmosphere of this to suggest the confessional, and one clergyman reported that his parish-

³⁵ Worcester and McComb, *Body, Mind and Spirit*, p. vi.

³⁶ Worcester, McComb and Coriat, *Religion and Medicine*, pp. 14, 14-15 n. 1; Worcester and McComb, *The Christian Religion as a Healing Power*, p. 18.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 22. These “Rules” are published *in toto* as Appendix “A” (pp. 119-23).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 121-22.

⁴² Lyman Powell, *The Emmanuel Movement in a New England Town: A Systematic Account of Experiments and Reflections Designed to Determine the Proper Relationship between the Minister and the Doctor in the Light of Modern Needs* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1909), pp. 12-13.

ioners "had an instinctive doubt concerning private interviews" for this very reason.⁴³ The techniques utilized in this period before Freud's American visit in 1909 included simple explanation and moral appeal, together with encouragement to resort to rest and/or work therapy as appropriate.⁴⁴ An important technique was that of suggestion—desirable attitudes of mind and behavior being depicted for the receptive patient with a view to their actualization.⁴⁵ In conjunction with suggestion, the inducing of an "hypnoidal state" was sometimes considered useful.⁴⁶ Patients were also informed of auto-suggestion, whereby they might suggest desirable states of mind to themselves.⁴⁷ In subsequent years, when Freud's psychoanalytic method became important in America, this too was employed.⁴⁸

Equally characteristic of the movement was the health class, which at Emmanuel was conducted as the mid-week service from October to May "for nearly twenty years."⁴⁹ The techniques relied upon were in many respects those employed in private treatment—religious appeals, suggestion, etc.—in so far as these were applicable to groups. Hymns, Scripture readings, prayers and instructions were all carefully chosen and centered about such themes as worry, grief, fear and the like.⁵⁰

One other feature of the program was the Emmanuel Social Service Association. Under the guidance of the ministers, physicians and trained social workers, this Association sought "to give to the environment of the patients care similar to that provided for their bodies by the physicians, and for their minds by the clergymen."⁵¹

The response to this attempt at religious healing under the auspices of a venerable Protestant body was nothing short of remarkable. While one enthusiast spoke of the Emmanuel Movement as "without doubt the most significant and far-reaching religious therapeutical movement of this or any other age since the time of Christ," Worcester himself regarded "the ideal and hope" of the movement as "second to none which

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 12; Herbert M. Hopkins, "Psychotherapy in a Small Parish," in *Psychotherapy: A Course of Reading*, II, n. 1, 90.

⁴⁴ Worcester and McComb, *The Christian Religion as a Healing Power*, p. 21.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁴⁷ Worcester, McComb and Coriat, *Religion and Medicine*, p. 93.

⁴⁸ Worcester and McComb, *Body, Mind and Spirit*, p. xii.

⁴⁹ Powell, *The Emmanuel Movement in a New England Town*, p. 10; Worcester, *Life's Adventure*, p. 287.

⁵⁰ Claude B. Runnalls, *Suggestions for Conducting a Church Class in Psycho-therapy* (Milwaukee: Young Churchman Co., 1915), p. 18; Powell, *The Emmanuel Movement in a New England Town*, pp. 10-11.

⁵¹ Worcester and McComb, *The Christian Religion as a Healing Power*, p. 126.

has been attempted since the Protestant Reformation.”⁵² In 1908, over six hundred were present at Emmanuel for the opening health class of the season, while between mid-October of that year and the end of April 1909, about five thousand applications for treatment were received.⁵³ So great were the demands upon the rector, that he felt compelled to confine his personal attention to “the moral and religious problems” that were presented—a compulsion to which he gladly yielded.⁵⁴

The means by which the Emmanuel idea spread were varied. Of major importance were the sermons and lectures given by Worcester and McComb throughout the country.⁵⁵ The latter’s visit to St. Paul’s Church, Cleveland, Ohio, in December 1908 was not only greeted by a large attendance, but was also rendered the more significant by the presence of the bishop himself.⁵⁶ New York City was the scene of Worcester’s propagandizing activity, and there developed one of the leading healing ministries inspired by the Emmanuel idea, the Healing Mission of St. Mark’s Church. One notes that a church which announced its intention to undertake the Emmanuel treatment apparently became the center of a kind of revival. When St. Mark’s conducted its first Emmanuel service in October 1908, it was reported that the church “was filled as it has not been on a Sunday night in years, the people coming long distances to attend.”⁵⁷ Another cleric launched the movement by announcing a series of Lenten “‘faith-cure conferences,’” which resulted in “an unusually large attendance, such as no ordinary service of a mid-week evening in Lent could have brought out.”⁵⁸

Perhaps the most elaborate implementation of the Emmanuel idea was undertaken in San Francisco in 1909. The activity in California is especially interesting, because it provides an example both of the rashness and of the caution which characterized the movement. Influenced by a visit from Worcester, the Episcopal authorities in San Francisco determined to establish a Department of Psychotherapy at St. Luke’s Hospital.

⁵² Thomas P. Boyd, *The How and Why of the Emmanuel Movement: A Hand-Book on Psycho-Therapeutics* (San Francisco: The Whitaker and Ray Co., 1909), p. xi; Worcester and McComb, *The Christian Religion as a Healing Power*, p. 26.

⁵³ *The Churchman*, November 21, 1908; Worcester and McComb, *The Christian Religion as a Healing Power*, p. 23.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

⁵⁵ Worcester, *Life’s Adventure*, p. 293.

⁵⁶ *The Churchman*, December 26, 1908.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, October 17, 1908; *Ibid.*, October 24, 1908. The latter issue also noted that two-thirds of the congregation were women. Cf. Cabot’s view that the religious orientation of the Emmanuel exponents was especially suited to filling the needs of women. Richard C. Cabot, “The Literature of Psychotherapy,” in *Psychotherapy: A Course of Reading*, III, no. 4, 24.

⁵⁸ Hopkins, p. 90.

There, with the cooperation of physicians, the Rev. Albert B. Shields was placed in charge of the work, and a training school for clergy, physicians and nurses was undertaken.⁵⁹ At the same time, however, the bishops of California noted the existence of "premature attempts among the clergy to practice the Emmanuel healing movement," and they declared that "no person will be officially commended as qualified to practice [it] . . . in the California dioceses who has not first obtained the training and diploma available at St. Luke's Hospital."⁶⁰

By 1909, in addition to the cities already cited, the Emmanuel Movement was reported in operation in Brooklyn, Buffalo, Detroit, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Seattle and elsewhere, while it was represented among such religious groups as the Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Unitarians and Universalists.⁶¹ Indeed, one medical critic was able to speak of the church clinic as a "fashionable fad."⁶² It is of interest that a Catholic work, entitled *Pastoral Medicine*, published under the joint authorship of a priest and a physician in 1905, was taken by Worcester as an indication that Catholicism, too, was "pushing investigation on lines not dissimilar to those of the Emmanuel Movement."⁶³ Emmanuel's rector even spoke of "several Christian Science practitioners" who had adopted the Emmanuel rules of treating only functional disorders and this only with medical approval.⁶⁴

The movement was not confined to the United States. It was to be found in such diverse areas as England, Ireland, Australia, South Africa and Japan.⁶⁵ In Great Britain the work was known more descriptively as the "Church and Medical Union."⁶⁶

An explanation of this ready response to the Emmanuel idea can be suggested. The inroad made by the mental healing cults into traditional religion and traditional medicine has been noted. Doubtless there is, then, considerable truth in Baker's assertion that the healing ministry, like evangelism and "institutional activities," was an attempt of the churches to regain lost prestige.⁶⁷ Such thinking was manifested in Wor-

⁵⁹ *The Churchman*, March 13, 1909.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, April 17, 1909.

⁶¹ "Notes and Collateral Reading: The Emmanuel Movement," in *Psychotherapy: A Course of Reading*, I, no. 1, 15; William B. Parker, "Editor's Survey: Psychotherapy in the Churches," in *Psychotherapy: A Course of Reading*, I, no. 2, 7-8.

⁶² Wharton Sinkler, M.D., "Psychotherapy and the Emmanuel Movement," reprint from *The Cleveland Medical Journal* (July 1909), p. 3.

⁶³ *The Churchman*, December 5, 1908.

⁶⁴ Worcester and McComb, *The Christian Religion as a Healing Power*, p. 19. See also Shryock, p. 223, n. 1.

⁶⁵ Parker, p. 8; *The Churchman*, November 21, 1908.

⁶⁶ Worcester and McComb, *The Christian Religion as a Healing Power*, p. 6, n. 1.

⁶⁷ Baker, p. vi.

cester's own writings, while a colleague noted that "the complaint is going up from everywhere that the church is losing its hold on practical, substantial men and women." ⁶⁸ While some ministers responded to Emmanuel because they saw in it "a return to the faith and practice of the Apostolic Church," others were less interested in spiritual healing as such than in determining how this novel association of religion and psychology might "deepen and strengthen their . . . ministry." ⁶⁹ Apparently, the effect of the movement on parish life could be quite tangible. One rector attributed to his Emmanuel program the fact "that during this year past I have paid eleven hundred parish calls as compared with one thousand the year before, the church closed the year 1907 with the largest surplus in its history, and received last Easter day the most generous Easter offering of which the treasurer's books have any record, and the organizations with but two exceptions have had the best year in their existence. . . ." ⁷⁰

In later years, as Worcester looked back upon his Emmanuel efforts, he commented, that "had we known the abuse, the misunderstanding, the notoriety to which we were to be subjected, I fear that we should not have had the courage to undertake this infinite task." ⁷¹ To be sure, he and his fellow-workers did not always have a good press, but much of the notoriety was the result of their own writings. First, there appeared *Religion and Medicine* (1908), a work jointly undertaken by Worcester, McComb and Isador H. Coriat, a leading American psychiatrist and early supporter of the Emmanuel idea. For nearly twenty-five years this book was the official exposition of the practice and philosophy of the movement. Cited by the Surgeon-General in his *Progress of Medicine During the Nineteenth Century*, "it was reviewed, criticized, censured or praised by every important newspaper in the country." ⁷² Of greater significance, perhaps, in bringing Emmanuel activities before a large reading public was the series of five articles by Worcester commencing in November 1908 in the *Ladies' Home Journal*. "These articles," asserted Worcester, "more than anything else, brought our work before the whole country." ⁷³ Publicity of a very different sort was accorded by the more sensational press, which, if it could find nothing "wild and

⁶⁸ *The Emmanuel Movement: Brooklyn Eagle Library*, [publication] no. 138, p. 5.

⁶⁹ Boyd, p. xiv; Worcester and McComb, *The Christian Religion as a Healing Power*, p. 6.

⁷⁰ Lyman Powell, "Notes and Collateral Reading: Effect of Emmanuel Work on Parish Activities," in *Psychotherapy: A Course of Reading*, I, no. 1, 97.

⁷¹ Worcester, *Life's Adventure*, p. 285.

⁷² Worcester and McComb, *Body, Mind and Spirit*, p. v; Worcester, *Life's Adventure*, p. 288-89.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

fanatical" in the activity at Emmanuel, would "invent" the same.⁷⁴ "If I spoke to the Health Conference about peace in the family . . .," the rector complained, "an article would appear the next morning stating that I claimed to have raised a woman from the dead. . . ." ⁷⁵ For about five years controversy raged around the Emmanuel Movement, and we must consider the nature of the criticisms and defenses offered.

When Worcester lectured in New York City in 1908, the presiding officer suggested that the audience consisted of three sorts—those who accepted the Emmanuel Movement implicitly, those who rejected it automatically, and " 'those who were convinced that there was something in it and wanted to find out what that something was.' " ⁷⁶ All three of these attitudes were represented among its more vocal critics and supporters, whether clerical, medical or lay.

One type of hostility directed against the Emmanuel Movement was unique. This emanated from Christian Science sources, and evoked from the Emmanuel spokesmen a singular reaction. For Worcester and his associates welcomed the attacks of Christian Scientists, seeing in them support for their own contention that Emmanuel stood for cooperation between science and religion.⁷⁷ For their part, so anxious were the adherents of Mrs. Eddy to establish their position that an authoritative statement was prepared by them for the New York *Evening Journal*. Specifically rejecting the " 'Emmanuel church method,' " the writer asserted that "Jesus did not operate in conjunction with physicians," nor did He "limit his healing work to 'functional nervous disorders.' " ⁷⁸

A greater cause for concern was the view taken by *The Psychological Clinic*, edited by Dr. Lightner Witmer of the University of Pennsylvania. This journal published a serious indictment of the movement to the effect that the Emmanuel idea was "based upon neither sound medicine, sound psychology, nor to our lay mind, upon sound religion." The writer was especially incensed at "the practice of hypnotism as proposed by Dr. Worcester." Such hypnotism he regarded as based upon principles subversive of Christian morality. By comparison with Emmanuel's advocacy of auto-suggestion, Witmer's journal declared, "the principles of Christian Science are a harmless bit of child's play." ⁷⁹

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 287.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 287-88.

⁷⁶ *The Churchman*, November 28, 1908.

⁷⁷ Worcester and McComb, *The Christian Religion as a Healing Power*, p. 3.

⁷⁸ V. O. Strickler in the New York *Evening Journal*, quoted in "The New Crusade in Behalf of 'Religious Therapeutics,'" *Current Literature*, XLIV (March, 1908), 291-92.

⁷⁹ "Reviews and Criticism: Mental Healing and the Emmanuel Movement," *The Psychological Clinic*, II (January 15, 1909), 249, 244, 245.

There is no doubt that various statements proceeding from exponents of the Emmanuel Movement gave justification to the charge that the religious philosophy underlying it tended toward superficiality. The comment of the Rev. Dr. Robert MacDonald, an Emmanuel practitioner in Brooklyn, is revealing: "The Emmanuel movement knows nothing about and cares less for either original sin, or any other such theoretical redemption."⁸⁰ Considerable attention was given to the therapeutic value of prayer, and one cleric advised his colleagues that "requests for prayer will increase according to the emphasis placed upon its therapeutic value."⁸¹ Of course, many clergymen perceived the danger. One Episcopal rector, himself an Emmanuel adherent, pointed out that "we must preserve the Christian virtue of resignation to God's will, which some are likely to forget."⁸² William James and Josiah Royce, both interested in the progress of the "mind-cure movement," were aware of the shallowness which such a movement exhibited when its values were exalted into a philosophy of life.⁸³ "Whoever, in his own mind," warned Royce, "makes the whole great world center about the fact that he, just this private individual, once was ill and now is well . . . such a person is, incidently, so to speak, still a patient, still not wholly cured."⁸⁴

One strain of criticism took the form of defensiveness on the part of some medical men. An example of this attitude appeared in *The Cleveland Medical Journal* in July 1909. There a hostile article accused the "Emmanuelites" of craving "all the credit and the glory" for the cures in which they participated, and—inaccurately—of having "no further use" for the physician once he had sent a patient to them. The author was at pains to assert that occupational therapy, reliance on social workers and suggestion itself were already the tools of medical men.⁸⁵ As Dr. Cabot pointed out, however, it was not the "elements" of psychotherapy

⁸⁰ Robert MacDonald, *Mind, Religion and Health: With an Appreciation of the Emmanuel Movement* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1908), p. 314.

⁸¹ Runnalls, p. 27.

⁸² Hopkins, p. 91.

⁸³ For James's criticism of "systematic healthy-mindedness" as a philosophical doctrine, see his *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature* (New York, London and Toronto: Longmans, Green & Co., 1928 [1902]), pp. 163-65. James regarded the "mind-cure movement" as a manifestation of the "Religion of Healthy-Mindedness." *Ibid.*, pp. 94 ff.

⁸⁴ Josiah Royce, "The Recent Psychotherapeutic Movement in America," in *Psychotherapy: A Course of Reading*, I, no. 1, 33. In this interesting essay Royce considered the psychotherapeutic movement in relation to his famous concept of "loyalty" and suggested that the flourishing health classes become "loyalty clubs, schools in social fidelity." *Ibid.*, pp. 26-36, *passim*.

⁸⁵ Sinkler, pp. 21-22.

that were new, but rather the "combination of elements" and "the particular spirit" characteristic of the new movement.⁸⁶

Although the medical profession remained for the most part dubious and even hostile, Cabot and others were more receptive to the possible value of religion in psychotherapy. They were more concerned with determining what exactly the clergyman's role should be in this area. Cabot felt that neither the treatment of disease nor the maintenance of clinics was the business of the clergy. Rather, "it is to carry out in relation to individuals, face to face, man to man, that task of moral and spiritual education which it has always been their business to attempt from the pulpit."⁸⁷ Dr. James Putnam thought that the churches' work was "mainly in the development of character and motives." "I should welcome the aid of the clergyman as of real value," he wrote, "but should deprecate the systematic entrance of representatives of the churches into the medical field."⁸⁸

Several individuals emphasized that mental healing groups were providing the impetus to the medical profession's involvement in mental illness. Pointing to the fact that "with some noteworthy exceptions, the medical men of the country have signally failed to profit by the discoveries of the psychopathologists," one observer asserted that "it has remained for the Emmanuel Movement to galvanize them into belated action."⁸⁹ Concerning all of this medical criticism, Worcester commented: "The criticism of physicians of sincerity and ability we always welcome. . . . But when physicians, professing to speak in the name of science, attack a work which is open to inspection without attempting to acquaint themselves with [it] . . . they bring scientific method into contempt, and show how slight a part science plays in the training of the average medical practitioner."⁹⁰

While a Baptist cleric placed the Emmanuel Movement with industrial reform, the temperance movement and evangelism as harbingers of "the coming of the kingdom of God," the leading Episcopal publication, *The Churchman*, expressed concern over "the rapidity with which what at best may be called an experiment is spreading and being adopted

⁸⁶ Cabot, "The American Type of Psychotherapy," p. 11.

⁸⁷ Richard C. Cabot, "Whose Business Is Psychotherapy?" in *Psychotherapy: A Course of Reading*, III, no. 4, 11. It is to be noted that Cabot later expressed disillusionment with the Emmanuel Movement. Greene, p. 503.

⁸⁸ James J. Putnam in *The Harvard Theological Review*, II (April, 1909), cited in *Psychotherapy: A Course of Reading*, III, no. 4, 17. Putnam also withdrew his approval of the Emmanuel Movement in time. Greene, p. 516.

⁸⁹ Bruce, p. 32. See also Eastman, pp. 645-46.

⁹⁰ Worcester and McComb, *The Christian Religion as a Healing Power*, pp. 3-4.

as a settled policy."⁹¹ Thus it is appropriate to inquire here as to Worcester's relations with his parish, his bishop and his church. Although he himself admitted that Emmanuel was an unlikely spot to serve as a center for his movement, Worcester attested that his associations with his vestry and parishioners "continued harmonious to the end."⁹² As to Bishop Lawrence, the rector asserted that that prelate had never made "the slightest public allusion to us."⁹³ At Worcester's death in 1940, Lawrence eulogized his "spiritual genius" and "his merciful service."⁹⁴ Worcester always remained thankful that he had not been forced to leave Emmanuel in order to carry on his healing ministry. In that event, he speculated, "we should probably have been forced out of the Episcopal Church" only to establish "another despicable and short-lived sect."⁹⁵

Within five years of its founding, the Emmanuel Movement had already begun to pass from the realm of public discussion.⁹⁶ Of major importance here was its widespread character which rendered the movement almost commonplace within a short time. When, in 1931, Worcester and McComb collaborated on *Body, Mind and Spirit*, the last important publication of the movement, it is significant that the book "found far more general acceptance" than had *Religion and Medicine*, and that it "evoked little unfavorable comment."⁹⁷

In 1929, Worcester retired from his parochial and healing ministries at Emmanuel after twenty-five years of service.⁹⁸ The latter ministry, however, he continued apart from his old parish in the "Craigie Foundation," a work which was essentially a continuation of the Emmanuel Movement in a new guise.⁹⁹ Even before his retirement from Emmanuel, Worcester had seen spiritual healing officially accepted by the American Episcopal Church and by the Church of England.¹⁰⁰ In recent years the Episcopal Church has accorded more recognition to the healing ministry than possibly any other traditional Protestant church. Diverse influences

⁹¹ Henry F. Huse to the editor of the Eagle Library, Springfield, Maine, March 25, 1908, published in *The Emmanuel Movement: Brooklyn Eagle Library*, [publication] no. 138, p. 35; *The Churchman*, November 14, 1908.

⁹² Worcester, *Life's Adventure*, p. 297.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

⁹⁴ Brochure, *In Memoriam: the Reverend Elwood Worcester, Ph.D. S.T.D., D.D.*, in the Archives of the Episcopal Diocesan Library of Massachusetts (Boston).

⁹⁵ Worcester, *Life's Adventure*, p. 297.

⁹⁶ J. G. Greene, an earlier student of the movement, placed the turning-point at 1911. Greene, p. 525.

⁹⁷ Worcester, *Life's Adventure*, p. 339.

⁹⁸ Worcester, "Letter of Resignation," p. 351.

⁹⁹ Worcester and McComb, *Body, Mind and Spirit*, p. v.

¹⁰⁰ Worcester, "Letter of Resignation," p. 356.

have had their roles in this, but certainly one of the important roots of this development was the Emmanuel idea.¹⁰¹

In the longer view of a half century, many of the expectations that were once voiced for the Emmanuel Movement seem exaggerated indeed. It is obvious that the undertaking did not usher in an era of general cooperation between religion and science. On the other hand, Worcester's desire to provide "a great object lesson" showing "that Religion and Science can co-operate to the benefit of human life"¹⁰² was accomplished to a considerable degree. As early as 1909, a cleric, speaking on "The Permanent Element in the Emmanuel Movement," contended that he did not expect that the clinics or the health classes would endure, but rather that the movement "would be the means of universalizing a closer co-operation of doctors and clergymen. . ."¹⁰³ With this in mind, it is relevant to note the judgment of a current scholar, that "the gradual assimilation of religious casuistry, scientific psychiatry, and secular ethics to each other, their willingness to meet each other in saving human lives and spirits in spite of their theoretical incompatibilities, is one of the major moral creations of the twentieth century."¹⁰⁴ It is clear that Worcester's movement was an important source of this *rap-prochement*, as a successor at Emmanuel recognized in his eulogy: "That he made Emmanuel internationally known for its application of psychology to religion and thus founded a movement which has done most to incorporate in all normal pastoral life the same principles of modern psychology is to have put the whole church in his debt."¹⁰⁵

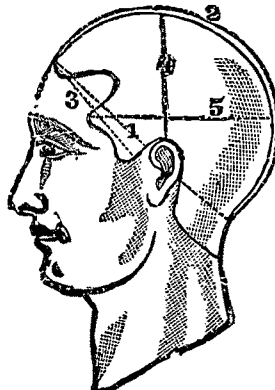
¹⁰¹ James T. Addison, *The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1791-1931* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), p. 314.

¹⁰² Worcester, *Life's Adventure*, p. 278.

¹⁰³ *The Churchman*, May 29, 1909.

¹⁰⁴ Herbert W. Schneider, *Religion in Twentieth Century America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), pp. 70-71.

¹⁰⁵ Phillips E. Osgood, "The Rector's Word" in Brochure, *In Memoriam: the Reverend Elwood Worcester, Ph.D., S.T.D., D.D.*



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Veblen and the Engineers

ONE OF THE STRANGEST PREDICTIONS IN THE HISTORY OF SOCIAL THEORY WAS that of Thorstein Veblen who concluded that the engineers would constitute the revolutionary class in America. "The chances of anything like a Soviet in America, therefore," he wrote, "are the chances of a Soviet of Technicians."¹ A group less likely to lead a revolution in America would be hard to imagine. The engineers have been one of the most conservative groups in the nation; surely it is no accident that Herbert Hoover has been their foremost spokesman. None of Veblen's critics has provided an adequate explanation of why Veblen was led to such an improbable belief, though one of them has suggested that the soviet of technicians was no more than an expository device through which Veblen could attack the business order.² Just as a fault in the earth's crust enables geologists to gain information about deeper lying strata, so too an examination of the causes of Veblen's error should be of interest not merely in clarifying one of his works, but also because it might provide a new perspective from which to re-evaluate his ideas and methods.

The root of Veblen's interest in engineers is deeply imbedded in one of his most fundamental theoretical assumptions, his notion of "instincts." Instincts, to him, were "innate and persistent propensities of human nature," which along with the material environment, conditioned the habits and conventions which were the very marrow of human institutions.³ Veblen imagined history as a great dialectic between two instincts: the predatory instinct, or "sportsmanship," and the creative instinct, or "workmanship." Workmanship was characterized by matter-of-fact think-

¹ Thorstein Veblen, *The Engineers and the Price System* (New York: Viking Press, 1934), p. 134.

² Forest G. Hill, "Veblen and Marx," in *Thorstein Veblen, A Critical Reappraisal*, ed. Douglas F. Dowd (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1958), p. 144.

³ Thorstein Veblen, *The Instinct of Workmanship* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1914), p. 2.

ing and behavior; sportsmanship by animism, class distinctions and ceremonial observances. Viewing the contemporary scene, Veblen saw an irrepressible conflict between business and industry. Business represented the predatory instinct; the businessman profited by interrupting or hindering production, that is by "sabotage." Industry represented the creative instinct. The "machine process" itself was a conditioning agency, educating those engaged in productive work in the values and modes of thought of workmanship. As they adopted workmanlike ideas, they rejected the pecuniary thinking of the dominant business culture. "In the nature of the case," Veblen asserted, "the cultural growth dominated by the machine industry is of a skeptical, matter-of-fact complexion, materialistic, unmoral, unpatriotic, undevout."⁴ Those conditioned by the machine process, therefore, were the revolutionary group in America.

Prior to 1919 Veblen placed no special emphasis on engineers. He expected modern technology to affect the thinking of the "working class" most markedly, since "they are the most immediately and consistently exposed to the discipline of the machine process."⁵ In his earlier works Veblen appeared to have only the haziest notion of who engineers were and what they did. He referred to engineers casually as one of the elements of the working class, lumping them with laborers and mechanics.⁶ However by 1919 Veblen's emphasis had shifted to engineers; other groups were relegated to a subsidiary role. "The industrial dictatorship of the captain of finance," Veblen wrote, "is now held on sufferance of the engineers and is liable at any time to be discontinued at their discretion, as a matter of convenience."⁷ Moreover, by this time Veblen's treatment of engineers had become more precise. He examined the structure of the engineering profession, distinguishing among consulting engineers, efficiency engineers, production engineers, and even between old and young engineers. And not content with analyzing the function of each type of engineer, Veblen also summarized their thinking. "Right lately," Veblen noted, "these technologists have begun to become uneasily 'class conscious' and to reflect that they together constitute the indispensable General Staff of the industrial system. Their class consciousness has taken the immediate form of a growing sense of waste and confusion in the management of industry. . . . So the engineers are beginning to draw together and ask themselves, 'What about it?'"⁸

⁴ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of Business Enterprise* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904), p. 372.

⁵ Veblen, *Instinct of Workmanship*, p. 318.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 346.

⁷ Veblen, *Engineers and the Price System*, p. 82.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

The evolution of Veblen's thought concerning engineers owed less to theory than to actual occurrences. Veblen was aware of and deeply influenced by a chain of events taking place from 1915 to 1920 within one particular engineering society, the American Society of Mechanical Engineers or A.S.M.E. In particular he was impressed by the activities of two mechanical engineers, Morris L. Cooke and Henry L. Gantt. The thoughts and deeds of these two engineers plus certain happenings in the A.S.M.E. provided the empirical foundation for *The Engineers and the Price System*.

Veblen's characterization of the engineers' thinking was an accurate description as far as mechanical engineers were concerned. As Veblen suggested, engineers were becoming class-conscious. *Mechanical Engineering* was full of articles indicating a growing awareness of engineers as a separate group with common ideals, interests and ambitions. Nor were these writers modest; they portrayed the engineer as the mainspring of progress, as the shaper of a new civilization, as something like a general staff. They displayed a boundless confidence in the engineering method, which as one engineer predicted, would carry society "far into the promised land of economic efficiency and social justice."⁹ Some engineers were concerned with waste and mismanagement in industry, and were beginning to plan an investigation of the nature and extent of such waste, to be conducted by the engineering profession.¹⁰ Veblen was also correct in asserting that the engineers were drawing together and asking "What About It?" Just two years before Veblen wrote, the leader of a dissident group in the A.S.M.E., Morris L. Cooke, published a pamphlet, *How About It?* and it was subtitled, *Comment on the 'Absentee Management' of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers and the Virtual Control Exerted Over the Society by Big Business—Notably by the Private Utility Interests*.

Morris L. Cooke was the most active leader of a group of young rebels who were questioning the status quo both in industry and the engineering profession. Cooke was enraptured by the idea of applying science to society—that is, what is usually termed "planning." He was convinced that the engineering method might be fruitfully used not only in industry, but in education and government as well, with enormous gains in efficiency. He got a chance to try out some of his ideas when he served as director of public works for the city of Philadelphia from 1911 to 1915. Cooke's efforts met determined opposition from the various utilities

⁹ "Aims and Organization of the Society," *Mechanical Engineering*, XLV, Pt. 1 (January, 1919), 12.

¹⁰ In 1921 the engineers conducted such an investigation. See Committee on Elimination of Waste in Industry, *Waste in Industry* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1921).

serving that city, which were loath to see profitable arrangements upset in the name of efficiency. In particular, Cooke got into a battle with the Philadelphia Electric Company over electric rates. Cooke was embittered on discovering that while the utilities were able to command the services of some of the most eminent members of the engineering profession, the city was virtually unable to obtain the assistance of competent and unbiased engineers.¹¹ In 1915 Cooke was elected vice-president of the A.S.M.E. and thus became a member of the society's ruling council. There Cooke had ample opportunity to observe something that he already suspected, namely, that the A.S.M.E. was dominated by big business, and especially by the utilities. Cooke was convinced that the low status of the engineering profession was due to this domination by selfish business interests.¹²

Cooke, always the man of action, tried to end the engineer's subordination. As early as 1908 he proposed that engineers should serve the public with the same loyalty that they had previously given to their employers. In 1915 Cooke presented a paper before the A.S.M.E. in which he criticized, in general terms, the pro-utility bias of the engineering profession, pointing out the harmful effect this had on the engineer's status. Engineers affiliated with the utilities attempted to prevent the reading of his paper, and, failing in this, they severely criticized it when presented. A former president of the A.S.M.E., Alexander C. Humphries, suggested that Cooke was unfit to be a member of a profession.¹³ Cooke supported his charges in a series of public lectures, which were printed as a pamphlet under the title, *Snapping Cords*. Previously Cooke had tactfully avoided personalities; now he attacked by name several of the most prominent consulting engineers engaged in the utility field, citing in each case specific examples of business bias. His critic Humphries was among those castigated; another was Dugald C. Jackson who had defended the Philadelphia Electric Company in its dispute with Cooke.¹⁴ The engineers attacked by Cooke were able to get him censured by the A.S.M.E. for allegedly unprofessional conduct. This, along with the success of the utility interests in stifling discussion of public policy questions in the A.S.M.E. led Cooke to issue his denunciation, *How About It?*

By 1917 Cooke had emerged as the leader of a faction bent on the

¹¹ Morris L. Cooke, "Some Factors in Municipal Engineering," *The Journal of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers*, XXXVII (February, 1915), 81-85. See also Kenneth E. Trombley, *The Life and Times of a Happy Liberal* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1954), pp.17-29, 36-47.

¹² See file "A.S.M.E.—Commercial Control," box 168, Morris L. Cooke Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

¹³ Cooke, "Some Factors in Municipal Engineering," 81-85.

¹⁴ Morris L. Cooke, *Snapping Cords* (n.p., 1915), pp. 15-16, 31-40.

overthrow of the pro-business oligarchy controlling the A.S.M.E. Through *How About It?* and other writings he rallied support from the rank-and-file members. In the period 1917-20 Cooke and his supporters achieved a large measure of success; the A.S.M.E. was virtually revolutionized. The rebels carried measures to democratize the society; they severed ties with business organizations; they adopted a new code of ethics which abandoned the old doctrine that the engineer's first professional obligation was loyalty to his employer; they took steps looking toward the unification of the entire engineering profession and its participation in politics. In 1919 a friend of Cooke's, Fred J. Miller, was elected president of the society. Thus by 1919 the rebels virtually controlled the A.S.M.E.

The aim of the insurgents was to engineer society; the reorganization of the engineering profession was no more than a means to that end. But the engineering of society was a sharp break with prevailing ideas, and a new social philosophy was clearly necessary. This new theoretical framework was provided by another mechanical engineer, Henry L. Gantt. Even more than his friend Cooke, Gantt was convinced of the inefficiency and incompetence of the "men of commercial instincts and training" who controlled American business.¹⁵ He estimated that the economic system was operating at only 25 per cent efficiency. During 1916, while groping his way toward a more satisfactory social philosophy, Gantt stumbled upon two writers who influenced him; one was Charles Ferguson, an eccentric who believed that experts should rule society, and the other was Thorstein Veblen.¹⁶

Gantt presented his new philosophy first as articles in the technical press, and then published them as a book in 1919. In these writings Gantt drew a distinction between profit and service analogous to Veblen's business and industry. "Production and not money," Gantt insisted, "must be the aim of our economic system."¹⁷ To achieve this end Gantt proposed that engineers be placed in control. He suggested that they could best operate the economy through public service corporations similar to those employed by the Federal Government during the First World War. Gantt himself had devised a system of charts which, he thought, would greatly facilitate centralized national planning.¹⁸

Gantt lacked a practical plan for putting his philosophy into practice. In December, 1916 he presented some of his ideas before a meeting of

¹⁵ Henry L. Gantt, *Industrial Leadership* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1916), p. 63.

¹⁶ Leon P. Alford, *Henry Laurence Gantt* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1934), pp. 259, 264.

¹⁷ Henry L. Gantt, *Organizing for Work* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Howe, 1919), p. 57.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-15, 78-97.

the A.S.M.E. and afterward held an informal gathering attended by 34 interested mechanical engineers. These men formed an organization, the New Machine, electing Gantt president and Charles Ferguson executive secretary. The aim of this group was the "acquirement of political as well as economic power."¹⁹ But the furthest the New Machine got in this direction was to send a letter to President Wilson urging that the control of industry be taken from "idlers and wastrels" and handed over to "those who understand its operations."²⁰ In 1919 Gantt died.

Veblen probably first became aware of the activities of Gantt and Cooke through a friend at Stanford, a professor of mechanical engineering, Guido Marx. Cooke sent copies of his more significant papers to Marx, and it is likely that he provided Marx with copies of Gantt's works as well.²¹ Marx and Veblen were also in the habit of exchanging papers.²² At any rate Veblen in 1919 became obsessed with engineers.

Veblen's interest in engineers is easily understood. The young rebels had virtually taken over the A.S.M.E. Gantt's New Machine was in effect a "soviet" of technicians, but without a positive program, and, after Gantt's death, without a leader as well. Veblen was aware that Gantt had proposed a study of waste in industry. When teaching at the New School for Social Research in New York, Veblen, through his disciple Leon Ardzrooni, contacted some of the members of the New Machine and suggested Marx as a leader to replace Gantt. Ardzrooni gained the impression that these engineers would be willing to meet with Marx once a week as part of a course at the New School. Veblen persuaded Marx to come to New York to guide the engineers. Marx modestly suggested that Cooke would be the logical man to replace Gantt, but Veblen and Ardzrooni preferred Marx, doubtlessly because he was already something of a convert to Veblenism.²³

Veblen's attempt to influence the engineers was not successful. This was certainly not due to any lack of energy on the part of Marx. Marx contacted Cooke and arranged for him to give one of the lectures for the course at the New School. He also obtained from Cooke a list of engineers who might be interested in the course and arranged a meeting between Veblen and Cooke. A meeting between the insurgent mechanical engineers and Veblen's group was held. But the engineers were unwilling to accept

¹⁹ Alford, *Gantt*, p. 264.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

²¹ Guido H. Marx to Morris L. Cooke, January 31, 1920, file 263, box 23, Cooke Papers.

²² Guido H. Marx to Thorstein Veblen, November 2, 1919, Papers of Guido H. Marx, in possession of Mrs. Barbara Givan, Palo Alto, California.

²³ T. Veblen to G. H. Marx, October 21, 1919; Leon S. Ardzrooni to G. H. Marx, December 11, 1919; G. H. Marx to L. S. Ardzrooni, December 18, 1919, Marx Papers.

the leadership of Veblen and Marx. Cooke, though friendly, regarded them as spokesmen for the "extreme left."²⁴ A group did gather at the New School, and they formed the "Technical Alliance," the ancestor of the technocracy movement of the 1930s; but they were without influence in the engineering profession.²⁵

The one lasting result of Veblen's contact with the engineers was his book, *The Engineers and the Price System*. This work is a monument to Veblen's misunderstanding of the events taking place within the engineering profession. Veblen viewed the engineers through the spectacles of his instinct psychology. He assumed that they were being led to reject business culture by the conditioning of the machine process; because they personified the instinct of workmanship they would constitute the spearhead of revolution.

However, the engineers' revolt betokened less a rejection of the traditional culture than an affirmation of it. The engineers' aim was to preserve their middle-class status. Between 1880 and 1920 the engineering profession grew from 7,000 to 136,000, an almost twentyfold increase.²⁶ But the enlargement of the engineering profession was accompanied by a threat to its status. Most of the new engineers were employees. The consulting engineer, an independent professional man, seemed to be on the road to extinction. Engineers hoped that through reform they might regain their old status. Only through public service, Cooke maintained, could the engineer pull himself out of the "hired servant" class.²⁷ The insurgent engineers were fighting commercialism, but they were doing so in the name of professional ideals. Professionalism, to the engineers, involved notions of rigid hierarchy and elaborate ceremonialism, and thus fell within the "predatory" culture in Veblen's typology.

Veblen was aware that the engineers had certain conservative tendencies, since he indicated that the vested interests need not fear a revolutionary overturn "just yet."²⁸ To Veblen these tendencies were merely holdovers from previous modes of thought, indicating that the conditioning process of the machine was not yet complete. But the engineers' con-

²⁴ M. L. Cooke to G. H. Marx, April 16, 1920; G. H. Marx to M. L. Cooke, January 3, 1920, February 25, 1920, April 6, 1920; M. L. Cooke to G. H. Marx, February 27, 1920, file 263, box 23, Cooke Papers.

²⁵ Joseph Dorfman, *Thorstein Veblen and His America* (New York: Viking Press, 1934), pp. 453-55, 459-60. Leon Ardzoorni, "Veblen And Technocracy," *The Living Age*, CCCXLIV (March, 1933), 39-42.

²⁶ U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census, Population. Comparative Occupational Statistics for the United States, 1870-1940* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1943), p. 111, table 8.

²⁷ M. L. Cooke to A. G. Christie, June 9, 1921, file 236, box 222, Cooke Papers.

²⁸ Veblen, *Engineers and the Price System*, p. 169.

servative ideas were the fundamentals upon which they based their thought. Their aim was to preserve traditional values, such as private property, individualism and Christian morality. They wished to save the existing society, not destroy it; to avert a revolution, not to start one. The engineering of society was no more than a means to this end. Like good designers they wished to use the engineering method to achieve certain "given" objectives with greatest efficiency. Veblen's theoretical bias led him to confuse means with ends. In so doing Veblen imputed to engineers a revolutionary potential which they did not possess.

Another source of Veblen's misunderstanding of engineers lay in his casual, unsystematic methods. Veblen's research does not seem to have gone far beyond the reading of the more prominent works of Gantt and Cooke. Ironically, Veblen was probably deceived by echoes of his own ideas and phraseology in the writings of these two engineers, such as Gantt's distinction between profit and service. Had Veblen read much further he might have arrived at different conclusions. For example, Veblen's analysis of the structure of the engineering profession bore little resemblance to reality. He asserted that it was the production engineers who were leading the revolt against pecuniary ideas, while the consulting engineers and efficiency engineers were the allies of the business leaders.²⁹ In fact the exact reverse was the case. Almost all of the insurgent engineers were consulting engineers. In the A.S.M.E. the most active leaders, including Cooke and Gantt, were disciples of Frederick W. Taylor, the founder of scientific management. In short the rebels were consultants and efficiency engineers. Veblen's characterization of consultants held for certain restricted cases, among which the most notable, perhaps, was the field of public utility valuation. The consultants in this area were allied with the utility interests; this was the purport of Cooke's complaint in *Snapping Cords*. For the profession as a whole, however, engineers holding managerial and supervisory positions in industry constituted the most important source of business influence.³⁰ They might well have been characterized as "production engineers."

Veblen called the engineers the "indispensable General Staff" of the industrial system.³¹ For some time engineers had been portraying themselves in similarly exalted terms. However, the engineers' statements were less literal descriptions than reflections of an emerging class consciousness. Far from indicating the power of engineers, these served as compensation for the insecurity and powerlessness which engineers actually

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 71-76.

³⁰ See, for example, file "A.S.M.E.—Commercial Control," box 168, Cooke Papers.

³¹ Veblen, *Engineers and the Price System*, p. 69.

felt. In fact, the engineers were relatively junior members of the industrial bureaucracy. Nor were they especially indispensable, at least for such short-run considerations as a revolutionary overturn. Veblen saw the engineer as a sort of superworker. In practice engineers typically were engaged in "staff" functions, such as research, design and planning, rather than the "line" activities directly related to production.³²

Veblen apparently based his generalizations concerning engineers almost wholly on the American Society of Mechanical Engineers. There were reformers active in other major engineering societies, but the essentially conservative character of the insurgent movement was much clearer outside the A.S.M.E. Cooke's counterpart in the American Institute of Mining Engineers, for example, was Herbert Hoover. Indeed by 1919 Hoover had emerged as the national spokesman for all the insurgent engineers. Cooke was a fervent admirer of Hoover, whom he called the "engineering method personified."³³ Shortly before meeting Veblen, Cooke endorsed Hoover for the Republican presidential nomination. "This opportunity to put a rugged, red-blooded, warm-hearted, common-sense, liberty-loving American in the White House," wrote Cooke, "seems well-nigh providential."³⁴

Veblen's misunderstanding of the engineers stemmed ultimately from his own position as a transitional figure in the development of social science. In his institutional approach Veblen made a sharp break with the older formalistic school of economics. But Veblen paid a penalty for taking the lead. His break with the past was incomplete. His supposed scientific objectivity provided only the thinnest of veneers for what was essentially a moral critique of the existing order. According to Veblen's instincts, workmanship stood for what was good in human nature and sportsmanship for what was bad. By means of these concepts Veblen introduced into his own theory the same sort of "animistic" thinking that he condemned in the received economics. Veblen's break with the past was incomplete in yet another sense. The institutional approach implied a new methodology—empirical, quantitative, controlled. Such techniques were adopted by Veblen's students, among others, but Veblen himself remained a member of the old speculative, "armchair" school of social scientists. Veblen, therefore, was like the insurgent engineers—the radical propensities of both served to conceal an underlying conservatism.

³² On staff and line bureaucracies, see Melville Dalton, "Conflicts Between Staff and Line Managerial Officers," *American Sociological Review*, XV (June, 1950), 342-51.

³³ Morris L. Cooke, "Public Engineering and Human Progress," *Journal of the Cleveland Engineering Society*, IX (January, 1917), 252.

³⁴ M. L. Cooke to the Editor of the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, March 23, 1920, file 253, box 23, Cooke Papers.

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The Concept of Nature in Frank Norris' *The Octopus*

PERHAPS I SHOULD IMMEDIATELY EXPLAIN THAT THE TERM "NATURE" IN MY title has little to do with the Zolaesque naturalism that conventionally serves as the basis for discussion of Norris' ideas. Rather, my thesis is that *The Octopus* is best explicated by examining it within the context of the late nineteenth-century American attempt to reconcile evolutionary science and religious faith. I hope to prove that the guiding system of ideas in the novel is an evolutionary theism which attributes to nature the powers and qualities usually assigned to a personal, supernatural deity. An understanding of this system is important because it frees the novel from its traditional charge of philosophical inconsistency, and because it indicates the native intellectual roots of a writer usually considered to be a prime example of foreign indebtedness.

First, a few words about evolutionary theism in late nineteenth-century America.¹ There were perhaps two major ways in which Christian evolutionists, as they were often called, attempted to reconcile evolution and religion. The first, and by far the more conventional and popular, was to assign to God the traditional role of first cause or designer—His was the master hand which had devised or was guiding the eternal processes of change. Natural law was therefore divine law, and since the evolution of man's soul was God's primary intent, man was returned to the center of the world's stage, and order, symmetry and direction were reestablished in cosmic affairs. The second method of reconciliation derived from Herbert Spencer, and was more radical, since it came perilously close to the heresy of pantheism. Spencer, arguing from the law of the conservation of energy, claimed that the basic constituent of the universe was force, though this force or energy took the correlated forms

¹ General discussions of the movement are: Herbert W. Schneider, *A History of American Philosophy* (New York, 1946), pp. 321-80 and Stow Persons, "Evolution and Theology in America," in *Evolutionary Thought in America*, ed. Stow Persons (New Haven, 1950), pp. 422-53.

of matter, motion, space and time. Evolution, to Spencer, was the universal process of change caused by the omnipresence and persistence of force. Though Spencer was an agnostic, a number of his disciples immediately recognized the possibility of identifying force with divine energy—that is, to attribute to God not only the function of first cause, but also of immanence in nature and in nature's processes and laws. Such an identification was particularly attractive to those who desired to reinvest nature with the qualities of a benevolent and apprehendable divinity, qualities which it appeared to have been deprived of by the initial shock of Darwinism.

American evolutionary theism, however, incorporated not only a teleology, but also an epistemology and an ethic. The epistemology leaned sharply toward the transcendental, since American liberal theology, from whose camp most evolutionary theists derived, still contained a powerful vestige of transcendentalism. Indeed, the idea of immanence was strikingly congenial to those transcendentially inclined, for immanence suggested the possibility of an immediate, intuitive perception of the divine knowledge present in nature.² Evolutionary theistic ethics, besides containing a number of traditional explanations of evil, moved in a somewhat new direction—new at least for most theists—in its conception of God as a kind of modified utilitarian. This conception resulted from the need to reconcile the evident hardships and suffering present in the struggle for existence with a faith in a God both immanent and benevolent. A belief in a divine utilitarianism was a means of achieving this reconciliation. Though individuals might experience pain and destruction in the struggle for existence, the species, race or society benefited from the presence of these evils, and the implication was that God selected and was immanent in a process which provided for the greatest good for the greatest number. Evil was therefore an inevitable but negligible and transient factor if one kept in view the larger cosmic movement toward good.³

² For accounts of this transcendental background and influence, see Persons, *loc. cit.*, and H. Burnell Pannill, *The Religious Faith of John Fiske* (Durham, N. C., 1957), pp. 43-53.

³ A belief in divine utilitarianism was of course contrary to Huxley's contention that it was impossible to reconcile Christian ethics with the law of the survival of the fittest. As with the idea of immanence, divine utilitarianism derived from a theistic adaptation of Spencer, who was a utilitarian in both cosmic and individual morality. Spencer argued, on the one hand, that the presence of evil in the struggle for existence was fully justified by the larger good which resulted from the progress brought about by that struggle. (It was this position which led to the doctrine described by later historians as social Darwinism.) Spencer also maintained, on the other hand, that individual moral choice was intuitively utilitarian—that is, that the racial experience of man had produced an inherited moral sense (Spencer was a Lamarckian) which was fundamentally utilitarian in nature. Spencer thus ingeniously combined the two

The particular system of ideas I have been describing—that is, one combining aspects of Spencerianism, transcendentalism and utilitarianism into an evolutionary theism—is perhaps most familiar to intellectual historians in the work of John Fiske. But there were numerous other popularizers of the philosophy, among whom the most important for my purposes is Joseph Le Conte, a professional scientist of international reputation, a long-time teacher at the University of California, and Frank Norris' instructor in zoology and geology.⁴ Le Conte subscribed to the views which I have just explained, and he expressed them both in his classroom, as he tells us in his autobiography,⁵ and in his major philosophical work, *Evolution: Its Nature, Its Evidences, and Its Relation to Religious Thought*, first published in 1888. Carefully attempting to distinguish between pantheism and immanence, he rested his evolutionary theism upon the premise that "God may be conceived as self-sundering his Energy, and setting over against himself a part as Nature."⁶ To Le Conte, therefore,

God is immanent, resident in Nature. Nature is the house of many mansions in which he dwells. The forces of Nature are different forms of his energy acting directly at all times and in all places. The laws of nature are the modes of operation of the omnipresent Divine energy, invariable because he is perfect. The objects of Nature are objectified, externalized—materialized states of Divine consciousness, or Divine thoughts objectified by the Divine will.⁷

major streams of nineteenth-century ethical theory, a combination which suggests the way in which transcendental and utilitarian ideas coexist without clashing in the beliefs of the evolutionary theists, Le Conte and Norris. But I have simplified a complex subject, since evolutionary theists also tended to avoid some of the harsher implications of cosmic utilitarianism by attributing to man the unique ability to progress by the practice of love (that is, through cooperation rather than conflict) as he evolved toward complete expression of the divine spirit within him. For example, the position of such an evolutionary theist as John Fiske (see his *The Idea of God* [Boston, 1885], p. 163) was that though strife was still a current mode of progress, "a stage of civilization will be reached in which human sympathy shall be all in all, and the spirit of Christ shall reign supreme throughout the length and breadth of the earth."

⁴ I discuss at length Le Conte's philosophical ideas, and Norris' knowledge and acceptance of them, in my "Evolutionary Ethical Dualism in Frank Norris' *Vandover and the Brute* and *McTeague*," *PMLA*, LXXVI (December, 1961), 552-60. For other discussions of Le Conte, see Persons, *loc. cit.*, and Eugene W. Hilgard, "Biographical Memoir of Joseph Le Conte," in *Biographical Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences*, VI (1909), pp. 147-218.

⁵ *The Autobiography of Joseph Le Conte*, ed. William D. Armes (New York, 1903), p. 257.

⁶ Quoted from Le Conte's comments on Josiah Royce's *The Conception of God: An Address Before the Union* (Berkeley, 1895). Le Conte, in this brief reply to Royce's address, sums up the basic position of his *Evolution*.

⁷ *Evolution* . . . (2d ed., rev.; New York, 1891), p. 353.

All nature to Le Conte is thus both natural—that is, available to scientific observation and describable by scientific laws—and supernatural, for “all is permeated with the immediate Divine presence.”⁸ Like Fiske, then, Le Conte believed that the road for man’s salvation lay *Through Nature to God*.⁹

Now the primary question is how this system of belief operates in *The Octopus*.¹⁰ I do not want to suggest that Norris was a student of contemporary philosophy. I believe, however, that he sufficiently understood and accepted the basic premises of evolutionary theism to recognize their applicability in a novel centering on man’s relationship to nature. He probably absorbed these premises from Le Conte during his Berkeley years, and then found confirmation or revitalization of them in the ideas of William Rainsford, a Christian evolutionist clergyman whom he knew in New York.¹¹ But whatever their source, the three aspects of evolutionary theism which I have sketched—immanence, transcendentalism and utilitarianism—function as a cohesive and unified system in the novel.

The structural and thematic center of *The Octopus* is the growth of a crop of wheat. This cycle of growth, from October to July, contains two large substructures of conflict, both of which are resolved within the forward thrust of the wheat’s growth. The first substructure deals with three young men—the poet Presley, the ascetic shepherd Vanamee and the rancher Annixter—each of whom undergoes a transformation in values and belief following a perception of the meaning of the process of growth.¹² The second substructure is that of the struggle for the wheat by the ranchers and the railroad, each seeking the largest possible profit

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 356. I omit in this brief summary of Le Conte’s evolutionary theism two of his major ideas—that of evolutionary stages and that of ethical dualism—both of which are more important for Norris’ early work than for the epic of the wheat novels.

⁹ John Fiske, *Through Nature to God* (Boston, 1899).

¹⁰ Although Franklin Walker pointed out in 1932 the possible influence of Le Conte on Norris, Robert D. Lundy is the only critic to discuss *The Octopus* in connection with Le Conte’s ideas. See Walker, *Frank Norris: A Biography* (Garden City, N. Y., 1932), pp. 58, 75 and Lundy, “The Making of *McTeague* and *The Octopus*” (Doctor’s thesis, University of California, 1956). Mr. Lundy’s basic intent is to suggest that Le Conte’s evolutionary optimism is the source of the artistic flaws in *The Octopus*; my purpose is to trace the unified system of ideas operative in the novel.

¹¹ For Rainsford and Norris, see Walker, *Frank Norris*, p. 256 and W. S. Rainsford, “Frank Norris,” *World’s Work*, V (April, 1903), 3276. Rainsford’s *The Reasonableness of Faith and Other Addresses* (New York, 1902) reveals his Christian evolutionism.

¹² My earlier article, “Another Look at *The Octopus*,” *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, X (December, 1955), 217-24, deals with this aspect of the novel. My concern at that time, however, was almost exclusively with the process by which this transformation is achieved, rather than with the kind of knowledge derived or the larger system of ideas in the novel.

from its growth. Let me discuss these substructures individually in order to indicate how each contributes to an evolutionary theistic conception of nature and of man's relationship to nature.

First, however, it is important to recognize that Norris establishes the cycle of the wheat's growth as an epitome of the divine energy or force present in all nature and in all natural processes. As Presley views the harvested fields toward the end of the novel, he "seemed for one instant to touch the explanation of existence." The explanation is that "FORCE only existed—FORCE that brought men into the world, FORCE that crowded them out of it to make way for the succeeding generation, FORCE that made the wheat grow, FORCE that garnered it from the soil to give place to the succeeding crop."¹³ This universal force inherent in the life processes of both human and nonhuman existence is finally characterized by Presley as "primordial energy flung out from the hand of the Lord God himself, immortal, calm, infinitely strong."¹⁴

Since the wheat and its cycle of growth are made objectifications of the divine, it is not surprising that two of the central characters experience what are basically religious conversions in the presence of the wheat, and that they find confirmation for their transcendently derived truths in the cycle of the wheat's growth. Both Annixter and Vanamee are initially isolated, troubled, fundamentally selfish men—the first dominated by fear of love, the second by hate of death. In parallel scenes each plumbs his soul in the presence of the just-emerging wheat and each struggles through to a basic truth of existence—that love is a universal benevolent force perpetually renewing life, that death of the individual is inconsequential in comparison with the continuity of life on earth. The two experiences—one centering on love, the other on death—sum up the meaning of the eternal cycle of reproduction, growth and death which man shares with all nature. On the basis of his new understanding of love, Annixter undertakes marriage in a spirit of kindness and generosity, whereas Vanamee, now accepting the transience of death, casts aside his all-absorbing grief and embraces life. Both are now whole men who have learned that the good life is one which transcends the narrowly selfish, and both can now participate in and contribute to life. Both, in other words, have seen God in nature, rather than in Bible, church or sermon, and have reaffirmed the reality of great religious truths, though they have discovered that these truths are in actuality the eternal natural processes of life. This reshaping of the supernatural into the natural is particularly clear in the case of Vanamee, who explicitly rejects the promise that his

¹³ *Complete Edition of Frank Norris* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1928), II, 343.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

dead Angèle will be spiritually reborn. With the appearance of Angèle's daughter, however, he at last recognizes the great truth that life is eternal, whether its continuity be expressed in a new crop of wheat or in a child. At the very moment of his perception of both the new crop and the daughter, he cries out the words of St. Paul, "'Oh, Grave, where is thy victory?'"¹⁵ His exultation, however, is evolutionary rather than Christian, for he believes that Angèle's daughter is "not the symbol, but the *proof* of immortality."¹⁶ Thus, to state it baldly, by means of the conversions of Annixter and Vanamee, Norris translates Christian love into propagation of the species, spiritual rebirth into persistence of the type. Finally, Norris presents the experiences I have been describing as moments of transcendental insight. They occur as religious experiences in which the individual imaginatively and emotionally plumbs his own soul and the natural world for the divine truths available there.

Presley, the third central character in the novel, also draws knowledge from the cycle of the wheat, but his perception is perhaps best taken up in connection with the second of the two large substructures I have indicated, that of the struggle for the wheat by the ranchers and the railroad. It should be clear, however, that the vital thematic conflict within this portion of the novel is not between the ranchers and the railroad, but rather between the natural law of supply and demand and those attempting to impede or excessively exploit that law for their own interests. This larger and more inclusive conflict is more obvious in *The Pit*, where the bulls and bears are similar, despite their superficial antagonism, in their use of the need to distribute wheat as a means of speculative gain.¹⁷ In

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

¹⁷ *The Pit* also contains a more extensive and simplified discussion of the omnipotence of the law of supply and demand in determining the production of wheat, an idea dramatized in *The Octopus* but introduced explicitly only briefly by Shelgrim. These few remarks of Shelgrim's, all of which derive from his idea that "'Where there is a demand sooner or later there will be a supply'" (II, 285), have caused much anguish among readers of the novel, since Presley appears to be wholly convinced by Shelgrim's defense of the railroad as but "'a force born out of certain conditions.'" What such readers fail to recognize is that within the context of the novel Shelgrim's use of the law of supply and demand as a defense of the railroad's practices is contravened in two major ways. First, the punishment of Behrman suggests that men are responsible for evil acts committed while participating in the fulfillment of natural laws. Secondly, Cedarquist's call for an aroused public to curb the excesses of the trust implies that such acts can be controlled to permit natural laws to operate more efficiently and with greater benefit. Norris, in other words, attributes to the railroad a conventional defense of its malpractices in order to demonstrate the falsity of that defense. Although Norris would accept Shelgrim's argument that the railroad and the farmers are inevitable forces which have risen to play necessary roles in the functioning of the law of supply and demand, he would deny Shelgrim's plea that individual railroads and individual farmers are not responsible for the ways in

The Octopus both the ranchers and the railroad greedily exploit the demand for wheat, the first by speculative "bonanza" farming, the second by monopoly of transportation. Both, moreover, engage in corrupt acts in their struggle for possession of the profitable land and its crop. There is no doubt, of course, that Norris considered the railroad trust the more culpable, and that he indirectly suggested means of alleviating its hold upon the community. But Norris' primary emphasis in his presentation of the struggle is that the cycle of growth and the fulfillment of demand by supply are completed regardless of whatever harm and destruction men bring upon themselves in their attempts to hinder or manipulate these natural processes for their own profit.

It is Presley who grasps the significance of the struggle for the wheat when at last that conflict is over and the crop is on its way to relieve a famine. Presley recalls the evil, pain and destruction which so disturbed him during the course of the struggle. But he now also realizes that the wheat survives as a benevolent nourisher of men. "The individual suffers," he concludes, "but the race goes on. Annixter dies, but in a far-distant corner of the world a thousand lives are saved. The larger view always and through all shams, all wickedness, discovers the Truth that will, in the end, prevail, and all things, surely, inevitably, resistlessly work together for good."¹⁸ Presley has reached this conclusion by reminding himself of Vanamee's earlier question: "What was the larger view, what contributed the greatest good to the greatest numbers?"¹⁹ In other words, Presley at last realizes that though individual evil and its consequences exist within the functioning of the natural law of supply and demand, that law is ultimately beneficial for the mass of men. The famine-relieving crop of wheat concretely proves the utilitarian morality of the law determining the production of the crop. And that law, like all natural laws, is characterized by divine immanence.

In both substructures of the novel, then, the wheat functions as the objectification of divine force or energy, as God immanent, apprehendable, eternal, omnipotent and benevolent, whether that force is expressed in the wheat itself, or in the cycle of its growth, or in the law controlling its production. The wheat and its processes thus embody a moral norm, and, as in most religious systems, man may choose to recognize and obey the truths there embodied, or hazard neglect of or opposition to them. It is at this point that the two substructures of the novel unite. Man can

which they perform their roles. Presley is taken in by Shelgrim's defense because he has an incomplete awareness at this point of the relationship of individuals to natural law.

¹⁸ *Complete Edition*, II, 361.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 360. Vanamee poses this question on page 345.

derive great truths from the wheat, as do Annixter and Vanamee, and ally himself with its processes by accepting ideas of love and death which transcend the self. Or he can oppose himself to its lessons through selfishness, blindness or greed, as do the ranchers and the railroad. God is good and God is omnipotent, but man must choose for himself whether to know and obey God and thereby receive God-given benefits.

The wheat as moral center of the novel is perhaps nowhere more apparent than in the scene in which it destroys S. Behrman. This incident is justly criticized for its melodrama; yet its melodrama is the key to its significance, since the explicit presentation of divine vengeance is almost inevitably melodramatic. For the last time Norris gives the supernatural concrete objectification, as the heavenly admonition that "vengeance is mine" is in Behrman's death obeyed to the letter. Behrman has escaped chastisement at the hands of men, and is left for the wheat. Like the evolutionary theists, then, Norris affirms the reality and immediacy of the moral order immanent in nature. Like them, he depicts this order as both natural and supernatural, though he tends to go beyond them in his eagerness to demonstrate dramatically that traditional religious beliefs are functionally operative in the processes of nature, rather than promised now and redeemable hereafter.

The flaws in the intellectual core of *The Octopus* are therefore not those of the relationship of parts to the whole. The novel makes sense within an evolutionary theistic context. Its flaws are instead of two other kinds—those arising from elements of the naïve and the ludicrous when the conventionally supernatural is translated literally into the natural, and those emerging out of the traditional paradoxes of religious faith. The latter have troubled critics the most, though commentators have usually been unaware that their primary quarrel was with such basic Christian paradoxes as the coexistence of free will and determinism, the eternity of life despite death and the emergence of good out of evil.

If these paradoxes, however, are viewed as the thematic core of *The Octopus*, they illumine the novel in two related ways. First, they indicate that its themes are above all centered in the late nineteenth-century American attempt to use new truths to confirm old ones. Secondly, they help explain the basis for the power and depth which most readers have sensed in the novel. For Norris' participation in the effort to revitalize the traditional paradoxes of religious faith invests the novel with the excitement of his desire to make intellectually and emotionally viable a deeply felt need shared by many men. In this instance, that need was to discover and to reaffirm the bases of moral order and religious faith in new worlds of experience and ideas created by a changing society and an advancing science.

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German-American Liberalism and Thomas Paine

THE SHIFTING EVALUATION OF THOMAS PAINE'S WRITINGS PRESENTS A MOST fascinating episode. Theories have been advanced to show that Paine's ideas were gradually appreciated because the cultural climate of the country changed. The crusading efforts of men like Robert Ingersoll and Moncure Conway have also been given their just due. However, the influence which German-Americans had in the re-evaluation of Thomas Paine has long been overlooked. This paper will try to give evidence to show that German-Americans contributed not a little in creating a new public image of Paine, and in arousing the interest of Moncure Conway—Paine's foremost biographer and editor—to undertake his monumental work.

The German-Americans with whom we will be primarily concerned here are the refugees of the Revolution of 1848. The Forty-Eighters, as they are often called, were for the most part well-educated and emancipated men, who sought political as well as cultural freedom on our shores. They championed a cosmopolitan humanitarianism based on natural law and the inalienable rights of man which transcended all national and racial boundaries. Spiritually and ideologically they subscribed to the creed of rationalism made popular by the age of enlightenment. With this heritage it is not too difficult to see why they were receptive to the writings of Thomas Paine.

The Forty-Eighters demonstrated pro-Paine sympathies immediately upon arrival in this country, for they had become acquainted with the writings of this man in Germany. In his recent article, "Die Aufnahme von Thomas Paines Schriften in Deutschland,"¹ Hans Arnold points out that Germans had published Paine editions soon after they appeared

¹ Hans Arnold, "Die Aufnahme von Thomas Paines Schriften in Deutschland," *PMLA*, LXXIV (September 1959), 365-86.

originally. *Common Sense* had been translated and was read in Germany as early as 1777.² Germans exhibited a great interest in the cause of the American Revolution. They likewise were attracted to Paine's reflections on the French Revolution, as incorporated in the *Rights of Man*, and were able to read this work in translation.³ It was a third work by Paine, however, *The Age of Reason*, which appeared in translation in Hamburg in 1794,⁴ that will concern us most here. This treatise was destined to become a favorite of the Forty-Eighters, because they saw expressed here their own religious ideas.

Although *The Age of Reason* was considered well-nigh heretical in America, when it first made its appearance, it received a kinder reception in Germany. For in that country the religious controversies with Reimarus and the pantheistic feuds revolving about Spinozism had helped to create an atmosphere in which the Bible and church dogma were not considered infallible. Furthermore, a Germany conditioned by eighteenth-century deism and classical humanism was not shocked by Paine's liberal Christianity, but was able to view it objectively. According to the German literary historian, Eschenburg, *The Age of Reason* created much interest in his native land,⁵ and this opinion is substantiated by the fact that new editions of *Das Zeitalter der Vernunft* were published in Münster in 1799 and 1802.⁶

In the first decades which ensued after these publications, Paine seems to have lost favor. A series of circumstances, though, were to cause his star to rise once more. Most important in this respect was the appearance of the works of Ludwig Feuerbach and David Friedrich Strauss, which respectively fostered a materialistic philosophy and cast grave doubts as to the historical personage of Jesus. In the intellectual climate occasioned by such writings, Paine's ideas could thrive. And when the Revolution of 1848 broke out, it was not only Paine's views on religion which received increased attention, but his ideas on political freedom as well. Consequently, there was a flurry of new Paine publications in German on the part of the revolutionaries and their sympathizers. Some of these appeared in Germany, some in America, and others appeared mutually in both. I shall mention the more important ones: *Thomas Paines theologische Werke*, with a foreword by Heinrich Ginal, appeared in Philadelphia in 1847, and in Stolberg am Harz in 1848. Gustav Struve

² Arnold, pp. 366-67.

³ Arnold, pp. 370-71.

⁴ Thomas Paine, *Das Zeitalter der Vernunft*, trans. H. C. Albrecht (2 vols.; Hamburg und Lübeck, 1794).

⁵ *Annalen der brittischen Geschichte* (Tübingen, 1796), XIII, 313-14.

⁶ Thomas Paine, *Das Zeitalter der Vernunft*, ed. Marcell Molkenbuhr (Münster, 1799 and 1802).

included representative political writings of Paine in his book, *Die Väter unserer Republik in ihrem Leben und Wirken*, which was published in New York in 1847. Another work which sought to acquaint the revolutionaries with Paine's political ideas was John Grtis's *Republik oder Monarchie? Beantwortet durch Thomas Paines Gesunder Menschenverstand und Menschenrechte*, published in Hamburg in 1848 and in Chicago in 1849. Finally, the standard German edition, *Sämtliche Werke von Thomas Paine*, translated and edited by H. Ginal in three volumes, appeared in 1851-52 in Philadelphia, and was reprinted several times during the course of the next two decades.

From the bibliographical material just presented it is evident that Paine's writings were readily available to the Forty-Eighters. One of the most influential men of this immigrant group, and a Paine enthusiast, was Friedrich Hecker. He had led the uprising of 1848 in Germany and retained his popularity and leadership in the United States. Settling on a farm in Illinois, he continued fighting for the revolutionary ideals by writing and lecturing extensively. In 1851 he wrote the foreword to a new Paine edition of *Rechte des Menschen*, which was published in Leipzig in 1851. Paine is depicted as a champion of religious, social and political freedom in the tradition of Thomas Münzer, Sickingen and Hutten. Furthermore, it is the deistic philosophy of *The Age of Reason* which Hecker greatly admires.⁷

A close friend of Hecker's, who was equally influential among the Forty-Eighters, was Gustav Struve. His book on Paine mentioned above is convincing evidence that he sought to acquaint his fellow men with the colonial American writer. Struve was well known as an orator among German-American circles in New York and Philadelphia.⁸

If the publishers, editors, translators and orators already alluded to were the pathfinders, it remained for the various German societies to introduce Paine to the masses. Specifically, it was the freethinking societies which assume prominence here. These "Freimännervereine" or "Freisinnige," as they were called, were organized in Germany, and represented a rationalistic revolt against supernaturalism, clericalism and dogmatism. Their religious philosophies varied from agnosticism to atheism, and from anticlericalism to a liberal Protestantism. Freethinkers believed in the potentialities of man. They asked for no intervention from a supernatural force. They were quick to accept all the implications of the concept of evolution, the perfectibility of man, and they stressed man's duty to question, investigate and doubt. There were a few German

⁷ Thomas Paine, *Die Rechte des Menschen* (Leipzig, 1851), pp. vii-xiv.

⁸ Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952), p. 155.

freethinking societies in America as early as the 1830s, but they received their greatest import from the refugees of 1848. One of the earliest organizations was the Cincinnati Freimännerverein. The Cleveland Freimännerbund organized in the early 1850s, a Milwaukee society was founded in 1852,⁹ and ere long most of the larger cities in the Midwest had societies of this type. New York had its German freethinkers as did New Orleans, but by and large the Midwest was the hotbed for this radical group.¹⁰

By the middle of the 1850s, it had become a ritual with the German freethinking organizations to celebrate Paine's birthday (January 29). Such an anniversary celebration in Milwaukee in 1853 attracted over six hundred persons, representing twenty-three Wisconsin societies.¹¹ In the following year the assemblage at the Milwaukee Paine festival approved a platform which contained some interesting and revealing features. By way of introduction it commemorated Paine's efforts in the cause of liberty during the Revolution, and remembered him as a champion of freedom in all its forms, and as a bitter foe of prejudice, superstition and traditionalism. In the spirit of Paine the platform attacked church dogma, nativism, temperance laws and existing labor conditions.¹² The significant fact here is that the German-Americans were not paying homage to Paine, the historical personage, but to the man as symbol. In the minds of the German freethinkers the figure of Paine represented the ideal, enlightened America they envisioned, and conversely, it graced the banner under whose colors they would do battle against any American customs and traditions which they detested. At Paine rallies in Milwaukee and elsewhere Germans challenged the traditional Puritan concepts and mores. First and foremost, they advocated a more liberal, humanitarian and enlightened religion. In an obvious appeal to the masses they defended the right to observe the Sabbath in the European manner. For them Sunday was a time for dances, theater-going, picnics, visits to beer gardens and for relaxation in general. Germans likewise protested against the nativist tendencies of the Know-Nothing party and their allies to consider the European immigrants as second-class citizens. Whenever temperance laws were proposed or adopted, a vigorous protest was registered against them at the Paine celebrations.

Paine anniversaries, with platforms similar to the one depicted above, were commonplace at midcentury. New York had such a celebration as

⁹ Wittke, p. 128.

¹⁰ Wittke, p. 129.

¹¹ Wittke, p. 133.

¹² Wittke, p. 131.

early as 1851;¹³ Karl Heinzen mentions a gala occasion in the same city in 1856, which consisted of a program of speeches, a banquet and a ball.¹⁴ Cleveland Germans paid homage to Paine in 1853.¹⁵ In this period Paine was also revered in Cincinnati, then the leading city of the Midwest.

We must pay particular attention to German-American activities in this city, for they were to have a profound influence on Moncure Conway, the eminent editor and biographer of Thomas Paine. Contemporary newspapers help us to recreate the atmosphere of this age. Already in 1852 the *Cincinnati Volksblatt* had called local secret religious societies a curse on humanity.¹⁶ Two years later representatives of radical German societies from Toledo, Sandusky, Massillon, Dayton, Hamilton, Akron, Columbus and Cleveland met in the Freethinkers hall of Cincinnati. The platform they adopted reveals well their views. Resolutions were drawn up denouncing Sunday closing laws, opposing the reading of the Bible and reciting prayers in public schools and legislative bodies.¹⁷ The *Cincinnati Volksfreund*, which considered itself tolerant and broad-minded, nevertheless complained in an editorial on October 2, 1856, about the growing number of atheistic and pantheistic organizations.

It was just about this time, November 1856, that Moncure Conway came to Cincinnati as pastor of the First Universalist church. He was at once impressed by the stimulating intellectual atmosphere of the city, particularly among its German element. He took note that one-third of the population was German,¹⁸ and that some of the most interesting citizens of Cincinnati were Germans—refugees of the Revolution of 1848. Conway was particularly attracted to August Willich, editor of the *Cincinnati Republikaner*, and a leader among the German freethinkers and Turners.¹⁹ Willich had been active in the Paine celebration of 1854 in Milwaukee,²⁰ and his religious convictions were those of a rationalist and humanist.

Conway was fascinated by the religious ideas expounded by the liberals in Cincinnati, and mentions that he attended some meetings of a small society of "infidels" who gathered every Sunday in a room on Fourth Street. Conway relates that the group obviously did not believe in God or in immortality, and that they paid particular homage to Thomas

¹³ *New Yorker Staatszeitung*, January 14, 1851.

¹⁴ *Der Pionier* (newspaper published in Cincinnati), February 3, 1856.

¹⁵ *Wächter am Erie* (Cleveland), February 2, 1853.

¹⁶ *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, July 29, 1852.

¹⁷ Wittke, p. 131.

¹⁸ Moncure Conway, *Autobiography* (Boston and New York, 1904), I, 255.

¹⁹ Conway, p. 268.

²⁰ Wittke, p. 131.

Paine, a fervent apostle of theism.²¹ To these freethinkers, Paine, by virtue of his book, *The Age of Reason*, was most instrumental in promulgating rationalism and religious freedom in colonial America. It was now that Conway began to busy himself with the controversial writer, for the man whom he had heard preachers in the East mention with abhorrence was suddenly extolled in this midwestern city. Conway must certainly have known about the grandiose Paine anniversary celebration held in Cincinnati in 1859. The *Cincinnati Republikaner* mentions that for this occasion the various German freethinking societies marched to the Melodeon Hall in groups, waving banners and singing on the way. The German orator at this festive performance, August Becker, editor of the newspaper *Cincinnati Hochwächter*, portrayed Paine as a fearless advocate of equal rights for all and as a friend of freedom and progress. The Paine that Becker would honor sought to break the shackles of orthodox Christianity and free man so that he could live a full, unfettered life, as God had originally intended he should. Since Germans in Cincinnati as well as in other cities were interested in attracting Anglo-Americans to the Paine celebrations, they arranged to have English speakers as well. At the 1859 program in Cincinnati a Mr. Murray and a Mr. Anderson gave brief talks in the English language.²²

In the ensuing year German-language newspapers continued unabatedly their anticlerical attacks and repeatedly praised the German freethinking societies for fostering spiritual and intellectual freedom. Conway was well aware of the liberal and radical ideas that were rife in the city, and he reread Paine now with them in mind. On Sunday evening, January 29, 1860, on the anniversary of Paine's birthday, Conway delivered a sermon to his congregation about the revolutionary writer, and for the first time publicly expressed himself on his revised opinion of the man. He told his audience that Paine was a true religious prophet for the nation and must be vindicated.²³ Basing his remarks for the most part on *The Age of Reason*, Conway extolled a religion which strove for moral truth and moral goodness and transcended the petty orthodoxy of the day. Conway denied the whole Christian revelation, but believed that religion must be humanized to endure.

According to Conway his vindication of Paine met with unexpected success,²⁴ but there was also opposition. Commenting on Conway's Paine sermon, the editor of the *Cincinnati Daily Gazette* expressed the view

²¹ Conway, p. 304.

²² *Cincinnati Republikaner*, January 31, 1859.

²³ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, February 4, 1860.

²⁴ Conway, p. 305.

that such radical religious ideas were not proper in church.²⁵ As would be expected, the *Cincinnati Republikaner*, with its freethinking editor, welcomed Conway to its cause, and gave his sermon ample coverage on the following day. In the same issue of the paper the annual Paine celebration of the preceding night received full play. Again the various freethinking societies attended the festival at the Melodeon Hall and heard a speech by August Willich, editor of the *Republikaner*. Willich's remarks centered on Paine's religious ideas, and so did the set of resolutions which were drawn up on this occasion. These resolutions, honoring Paine and expressing the views of the majority assembled, were threefold: 1) The Bible shall not be considered divine, but the work of superstitious priests. 2) A religious system that makes innocent people suffer for the misdeeds of others shall be held as inadequate. 3) All church dogma shall be put to the test of reason.²⁶

Thomas Paine had now become a watchword, and as we shall see, his birthday was celebrated for decades to come. However, the Paine cult of Cincinnati would be no more significant than that in any other city were it not that the enthusiasts here inspired Conway to undertake a thorough, scholarly study of the colonial writer, which reached its fruition some thirty years later with the publication of a biography of Thomas Paine and a standard edition of his collected works.

In the few remaining years that Conway was to spend in Cincinnati, the Paine anniversaries were celebrated with the customary emotional fervor. In 1861 there was a plethora of speakers who held forth in both the German and the English languages. A Mr. Sennett lamented that Paine was not accorded a proper place in history, but he rejoiced that "the most masterly vindication of the life and character of Paine ever pronounced came from the lips of a Christian minister in a Christian pulpit in this city."²⁷ This is an obvious reference to Conway's speech of the preceding year. Following Mr. Sennett to the rostrum was the main German speaker, August Willich, who used his notes of the year before. As a mild rebuttal to a passage from Mr. Sennett's speech quoted above, Willich did add parenthetically that the immigrant Germans were the first to resurrect Paine and to attempt to restore him to his proper niche in history.²⁸

Paine celebrations in Cincinnati continued to be an annual event, but by 1866 they were held within the smaller confines of the Arbeiterhalle. The program in 1866 consisted of a banquet, one commemorative speech

²⁵ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, February 4, 1860.

²⁶ *Cincinnati Republikaner*, January 30, 1860.

²⁷ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, January 30, 1861.

²⁸ *Cincinnati Republikaner*, January 30, 1861.

and a dance.²⁹ In other cities the Paine festivals followed a similar pattern. In the decade from 1860 to 1870, virtually all German newspapers in America carried accounts of Paine observances, although such stories received more coverage in the liberal, freethinking journals such as the *New Yorker Abendzeitung*, *Cincinnati Republikaner*, *Illinois Staats Zeitung* and the *Milwaukee Freidenker*.

That Paine continued to be a favorite of some conservative German-Americans as well, can readily be seen by examining copies of the *Detroitter Abendpost* for this period. The long-time editor of this influential midwestern paper, August Marxhausen, was moderate in temperament, politics and religion, but he championed Paine whenever he could. Paine celebrations in Detroit were well advertised in his paper and on several occasions he was called upon to give the memorial address. In his speech of January 1870, he portrayed Paine as a cultural leader who guided America on the path to intellectual maturity and who at all times strove for freedom of thought and speech.³⁰

It was around 1880 that a new note was injected into Paine day speeches. Paine was a fighter not only for spiritual and religious freedom, but for economic and social freedom and justice as well. The German workers had begun to organize into local clubs in the 1850s, but their activities were for the most part social. Over the course of years, however, these organizations became increasingly aware of their political potentialities and began to develop them. The Paine celebration in Milwaukee in 1881, which was sponsored mutually by the Turners, the freethinking societies and the labor organizations, offers mute testimony of this shift of emphasis. The speaker for this occasion, J. S. Moses, made a traditional Paine speech, except that he called attention to Paine's efforts in the field of social reform. As Paine championed the dignity of the common man in *Rights of Man*, *Common Sense* and *Agrarian Justice*, so Moses would want his contemporaries to seek to improve the lot of their fellow men. As a first step in applying and implementing such ideas, the Paine gathering approved a set of resolutions which were in the form of recommendations to the state legislature. The resolutions called for a reform of the penal code to make it more humane, a tax scaled according to one's income, an eight-hour day, a child labor law and free public schools.³¹ This social-laborite tone in the Paine celebrations persisted. In 1887, the speaker, Paul Berwig, made a speech that was decidedly pro-Labor.³² In other midwestern cities the impact of the working classes began likewise to

²⁹ *Westliche Blätter* (Cincinnati), January 28, 1866.

³⁰ *Detroitter Abendpost*, January 29, 1870.

³¹ *Milwaukee Freidenker*, February 6, 1881.

³² *Milwaukee Freidenker*, February 6, 1887.

make itself felt. As mentioned previously, Paine celebrations in Cincinnati were held in the Arbeiterhalle, and were sponsored in the seventies and eighties by the "Sozialpolitischer Arbeiterverein." At the Paine anniversary in the Arbeiterhalle in 1883, the speaker, Edward Hoffmann, gave a representative address for this period, when in the main body of his speech he appealed to his audience to fight for economic freedom just as Paine fought for political freedom.³³

Although Paine day speeches continued to strike an ideological note, it is quite evident that the birthday celebrations were lacking in fervor compared to those held around 1850. To many the anniversary was the pretext for a social gathering. Indeed, there existed in Cincinnati in the 1880s, "Der Böhmischer Orden Thomas Paines," whose major function was the sponsoring of a masked ball around Paine's birthday.³⁴ Occasionally the traditional Paine anniversary was omitted altogether. In 1876, for instance, the *Detroit Abendpost* regretted that the local "Vereine" did not honor the birthday of the fighter for intellectual and religious freedom that year. The short insert ended with the laconic sentence: "Times are changing."³⁵

Although enthusiasm for Paine was waning, nevertheless the anniversary was celebrated fairly regularly in the important midwestern cities and in New York until the turn of the century. Speeches commemorating Paine, as already noted, frequently had a social and cultural import, reflecting controversial issues of the moment. If there was one element, though, which the anniversary speeches and articles had in common from 1850 until 1900, it was the religious one. Paine's views on religion so nearly coincided with those of the German-American intellectuals, that the German journalists and orators never ceased to remember Paine with sympathy and appreciation.

German-American journalists, as late as 1894 and 1895, continued to lament the fact that Anglo-Americans showed little appreciation for Paine, and that it was reserved for the immigrant Germans to honor his memory.³⁶ However, as influential Anglo-Americans such as Robert Ingersoll and Moncure Conway began to speak and write on Paine's behalf, German-Americans were quick to praise their efforts. The *Illinois Staats Zeitung* devoted several columns to a speech delivered in Chicago by Ingersoll, in which the famous orator sought to vindicate Paine's religious views. The same issue of the paper announced a forthcoming meeting to

³³ *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, February 5, 1883.

³⁴ *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, January 26, 1885.

³⁵ *Detroit Abendpost*, January 29, 1876.

³⁶ *Detroit Abendpost*, January 29, 1894; *Milwaukee Freidenker*, February 3, 1895.

discuss the organization of a permanent Paine memorial society.³⁷ Several days later the *Illinois Staats Zeitung* lauded a recent pro-Paine editorial in the *Chicago Tribune*, commenting that Paine would have been recognized far sooner, were it not for his religious utterances.³⁸ Except for an occasional editorial or speech, though, Paine was very much neglected by the English-language press.

When German-sponsored Paine celebrations were on the verge of being discontinued in Detroit in the mid-eighties, they received a new impetus as the Frauenverein, the women's organization of the Sozialer Turnverein, assumed responsibility for arranging Paine anniversaries. In accordance with its own individual views the Frauenverein engaged speakers who subscribed to religious liberalism. In 1895, by way of example, Emilie Schmemmann spoke on martyrs for religious freedom and used Giordano Bruno, John Huss, Ulrich von Hutten, and Thomas Paine as her illustrations.³⁹ Originally, the Frauenverein held its Paine programs in the Germania Halle, but after 1890 it removed to the auditorium of the Deutsch-Amerikanisches Seminar. The latter was a private school founded and supported by freethinkers who did not want their children to be subjected to the confining atmosphere of the public schools.

Closely linked with the Frauenverein's efforts in Detroit to vindicate Paine were the activities of Robert Reitzel. This man, who was the featured speaker at a Paine celebration sponsored by the Frauenverein in 1885,⁴⁰ did more than any other German-American to preserve the memory of Paine in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. An epigenuous Forty-Eighter in his radical religious and social views, Reitzel traveled across the country in the period between 1872 and 1884, lecturing to freethinking and Turner groups.⁴¹ A favorite theme of his was Thomas Paine. From 1884 until his death in 1898, Reitzel edited a weekly, *Der arme Teufel*, the most radical newspaper in the German language to be published in America. Articles on Thomas Paine, the fighter for religious freedom, abound in this publication, especially in 1885, and are not merely confined to the issues appearing on or around Paine's birthday. Reitzel is at all times anticlerical, his favorite target being the Roman Catholic church; like Paine, he denied the inspiration of the scriptures and the divinity of Jesus Christ. The religious philosophy of Feuerbach had a lasting influence on Reitzel's thinking.

³⁷ *Illinois Staats Zeitung* (Chicago), January 30, 1880.

³⁸ *Illinois Staats Zeitung*, February 2, 1880.

³⁹ *Milwaukee Freidenker*, February 10, 1895.

⁴⁰ *Detroit Abendpost*, January 29, 1885.

⁴¹ A. E. Zucker, "A Monument to Robert Reitzel," *Germanic Review*, XX (1945), 147.

After Reitzel, German-Americans seem to have lacked an effective spokesman in the liberal, crusading tradition. However, as mentioned previously, German newspapers were quick to publicize pertinent Anglo-American activities, especially as they related to Paine. The *New Yorker Staats Zeitung*, on January 30, 1892, wrote enthusiastically about an anniversary celebration in Chickering Hall, at which Conway and Ingersoll spoke. The *Milwaukee Freidenker*, on February 2, 1896, printed a commemorative article about Conway in appreciation of his newly published biography of Paine⁴² and his edition of Paine's collected works.⁴³ In the opinion of the *Freidenker* these literary efforts would do much to restore Paine to his proper place in American history. The collected works, as edited by Conway, quickly became the definitive edition and still enjoy that designation.

In the years that Conway's works were being published, German-American celebrations in honor of Paine were on the wane. Frequently the anniversary passed without mention in the German newspapers of the 1890s, only to be publicized and celebrated again the following year. Indeed, the writer has found no evidence of a Paine observance of any kind in German-American circles after 1905. In that year Paine was honored in the halls of the "Freie Gemeinde" in Milwaukee on his natal day.⁴⁴ German-Americans had lost the crusading, liberal ideals of the Forty-Eighters, and in the process of Americanization, the symbol of Paine seems gradually to have lost its meaning.

But in brief retrospect, the immigrant Germans—over a span of fifty years—adopted Paine as a spiritual forebear and contributed to resurrecting his name. By striving to perpetuate the ideals of the colonial writer, German-Americans helped to create a more tolerant and enlightened atmosphere in nineteenth-century America.

⁴² Moncure D. Conway, *The Life of Thomas Paine* (2 vols.; New York, 1892).

⁴³ *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, ed. Moncure Conway (4 vols.; New York, 1894-96).

⁴⁴ *Milwaukee Freidenker*, January 29, 1905.



Reviews

Conducted by Theodore Hornberger

The Whitney Museum's Anniversary

THE Whitney Museum of American Art has celebrated its thirtieth anniversary with an extensive exhibition of its collection and with a sumptuous volume, entitled *American Art of Our Century*, by the museum's directors Lloyd Goodrich and John I. Baur.¹ The anniversary, though celebrated with the Whitney's characteristic modesty, marks thirty years of service to American painting and American painters, to the scholars and to the public, a service which, as the years go by, will become increasingly apparent. Since it first opened its doors on West Eighth Street on November 18, 1931, the Museum has moved to commodious, modern quarters on West Fifty-fourth Street to find room for its expanding collection. It has mounted over one hundred and fifty exhibitions and published, in addition to catalogues of these shows, some forty volumes on American painting and sculpture. In the tradition established by its founder Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney and its first director, Juliana Force, the Whitney has stood resolutely against any attempt to dictate to painters, to favor one kind of painting over another, or to become merely a repository. Its concern has always been primarily with the present rather than with the past and with individual artists, in all their bewildering diversity, rather than with specific schools. In adhering to this commendable but difficult policy, the Whitney's directors have dared at times to appear indecisive, at times tasteless and, to some observers, even maddeningly old-fashioned, yet because of this open-minded policy the Whitney Annual Exhibition of Contemporary American Painting and Sculpture has become the most prestigious and the most representative of the big surveys of our painting.

In recent years the museum has perhaps suffered from the emergence in Abstract Expressionism of a style which is both American and, for the first time in our history, internationally significant. Consequently, in the decade during which this style has become known from Moscow to Tokyo, the Whitney's adjoining neighbor, the Museum of Modern Art (they are joined architecturally only) has increasingly given its spaces and its enormous prestige to this new painting, while the Whitney, true to its

¹ Published for the Whitney Museum of American Art, Frederick A. Praeger, Publisher, New York, 1961.

traditions, has refused to jump on the band wagon. Their decisions to show Gorky, Hofmann, Tomlin and Tobey in the past ten years reveal an awareness of some of the sources of Abstract Expressionism, and the movement is amply represented in their annuals and permanent collection, but in the same period the Whitney has continued to show other, established but now less publicized, figurative painters like Bloom, Levine, Burchfield and Evergood. For the one show in which the Whitney reviewed at length our recent abstract expressionism, *Nature in Abstraction* (1958), Mr. Baur provided a catalogue essay in which, relying heavily on the statements of the artists involved, he demonstrated the importance of natural forms in the genesis of the complex and seemingly hermetic shapes of the new painting. It is typical of the Whitney to take such a forthright and common-sensical approach to the problem, and, while by no means offering the last word on the subject, the book deserved much more than the attacks which greeted it from the guardians of the abstract expressionist canon. In 1958 nature was not "in."

The Whitney must of course contend with its own impartiality and, as their purchases accumulate over the years, its collection, despite a slow weeding out process, grows increasingly chaotic and diverse. This was evident in the anniversary exhibition where the welter of styles produced in America over the last sixty years confronted each other with jarring inconsistency. The dominant mode of expression was more or less one of realism, but within this category the range of styles—from expressionist distortion with loose, violent brushwork to meticulously painted images of surrealistic intensity—was so great that the category of realism became more useless than ever. Furthermore, the themes were so varied, ranging from stark social comment to evocations of moody revery, melancholy and horror, that any vestige of coherence was shattered into even smaller fragments. There was sculpture in directly cut marble and in airy, metal constructions, and among the abstract paintings were reflections of cubism and all of its derivatives in addition to the more recent abstract expressionism. Among the many familiar paintings were some surprises: the newly cleaned Glackens, "Hammerstein's Roof Garden" (1901) and a landscape by George Bellows called "Floating Ice" (1910). The Glackens looked bright and fresh, as though just off the easel. One tends to associate Bellows with figure paintings, yet here was a picture which echoed the spaciousness of the Hudson River school and, with its raw paint surface and sublime scale, suggested recent abstraction. Any attempt to doctor the selection would, of course, have falsified the whole, and the cranky yet appealing disorder conveyed the feeling that this was indeed what American art of this century had been—that this was an

American collection both in substance and in the process of its assembly.

Messrs. Baur and Goodrich have courageously undertaken to bring some order into this confusion. Their volume, although published with the opening of the exhibition, is much more than an exhibition catalogue. In addition to presenting a lucid account of the various moments in twentieth-century American painting, it provides us with a catalogue of the Whitney collection, a check-list of the museum's exhibitions and publications and an unsurpassed mine of reproductions, approximately one hundred fifty in black and white and eighty in color of good quality. Although it is an anniversary publication, the text suffers no serious limitation in being based only on the museum collection, and there is no hint of self-congratulation in the modest, factual account of the Whitney's history. The authors have divided the labor, but between Goodrich's account of the years from 1900 to 1939 and Baur's of the more recent developments there is no notable shift in style or emphasis. Baur does, however, look more closely on occasion at specific works than does his colleague.

The authors have not produced a history in depth, but, like some of our best painters, have worked with a sure command of perspective, a sober realism and with bold, accurate contours. They see in terms of schools and movements which they describe in their formation and in their decline, and, though they avoid extensive forays into politics and sociology, they buttress their narrative, when required, with incisive references to the determining effects of unemployment, government intervention, isolationism and war. If it is not to be *the* book on twentieth-century American painting it is a necessary one in this relatively unexplored area, ideal for one trying to get a solid grasp on the whole scene, for the student about to undertake more detailed investigation, or for the beginner. It reads less smoothly perhaps than another recent account of our twentieth-century art, Hunter's *Modern American Painting and Sculpture*, but this is a product of that same impartiality so remarkable in their exhibition. At the moment the Whitney volume is challenged only by Baur's own *Revolution and Tradition in Modern American Painting*, and the more detailed and scholarly, but chronologically more limited book by Brown, *American Painting from the Armory Show to the Present*.

Understandably in their desire to clarify the authors have become entangled in some unfortunate categorization. Among the chapter headings, some based on thematic, others on stylistic distinctions, are the following: Precisionists, Precise Realists, Representational Painting, Semi-Abstraction, Free Form Abstraction, Formal Abstraction, American Scene, The Social School and Social Comment. The implications that the Social School did not paint the American Scene or that the American Scene

Painters did not make social comments disappear in the text; Representational Painting turns out to be a convenient catchall; and Social School and Social Comment appear to be two ways of saying the same thing. More unfortunate is the way individual artists are split up into several categories. Kuniyoshi appears under Representational Painting, Fantasy and Expressionism. Sheeler is both a Precisionist and a Precise Realist which he accomplishes with a minimal change of style. Furthermore, in the latter category, his "Architectural Cadences," which could more justifiably appear under Semi-Abstraction, is in company with an allegory by Henry Koerner, a muscular beach scene by Paul Cadmus and a number of paintings, like Vickrey's "Labyrinth," which push toward fantasy or surrealism. In time the reader can rescue the painters from their fragmentation, but there is a real danger that such labels will, in general usage, uncontrolled by the qualifications of the text, become obstacles rather than aids to the neophyte and ultimately add more meaninglessness to the already burdensome jargon of art criticism and history.

When a full dress history of the period is written there will have to be, in addition to a more complete scholarly apparatus, more attention given to the murals commissioned by the federal government which are beyond the scope of the Whitney to preserve. Benton, Curry and Wood will require more space, and one suspects that the avowed anti-New York orientation of these painters is in part responsible for their rather meager representation at the Whitney which has perhaps slightly overemphasized New York painting with which it has for so long been directly involved. But the future historian of American art will have to decide eventually that of some areas in the history of our painting he must write as a cultural anthropologist and approach others with an illuminating enthusiasm and an exacting critical discrimination, for there is a real possibility that, in fearing we have too little, we have revered too much.

This historian must also work from the assumption that a national style is not born out of a simple penchant for reality, that true realism in painting is a result of the constructive imagination which is to be sought not in the artist's success in capturing the precise look of things but in the way he shapes the illusionistic space of his picture and the way he orders it with objects or inhabits it with the human figure. We shall then perhaps learn the language of our art and make a distinction between art and documentation, remembering that for the thirties our newspaper photographers have prior claim on what is almost the sole virtue of much of our painting of those years. He will also see in our recent abstraction a reaction to the refinements of Parisian cubism and geometric abstraction paralleling the earlier attempts of the regionalists,

and the best of our earlier painters, to shake off the grip of Europe. Through all of our painting the unifying force will be seen in our Puritan conscience which has excluded the elegant, the decorative and the frivolous. But, within the narrow range of possibility open to them, our artists have constantly conveyed, both in abstraction and representational forms, the basic experience of living in America. They have done so through a unique American unwillingness to arrange their compositions in such a way that the viewer or the figure in the painting is given command over the illusionistic space represented. The results of this unwillingness are evident in the uneasy, tentative appearance of the figure in the best of our portraits; in those by Copley, Eakins and even Sargent they are set back into the surrounding space. This tendency is evident too in the unmediated, unframed space of our nineteenth-century landscapes, and in the outdoor figures of Bingham, Mount, Eakins and Homer, figures which are almost lost in the unshaped emptiness of their settings. In the twentieth century this insistence on spaciousness with its accompanying sense of loneliness and isolation continues in the calm, silent and empty paintings of Hopper, Burchfield, Sheeler, O'Keefe and Demuth who seem to exorcise rather than celebrate the bustle and vitality of American life. Against these consistent, if unspoken, aims, the work of the Eight and of the Regionalists seems, with its violence and energy, self-consciously, but perhaps less profoundly American. At this writing such observations must remain conjectural; one day, given the continued appearance of contributions like *American Art of Our Century* and upon the continued service of the Whitney Museum, they may perhaps be unquestionable.

JOHN W. MCCOUBREY, *University of Pennsylvania*

IHAB HASSAN, *Radical Innocence: Studies in the Contemporary American Novel*. viii, 362 pp. Princeton University Press, 1961. \$6.00.

MOVING "from hypothesis to example," Ihab Hassan asserts that contemporary American novels share a common theme (modern life is unacceptable) and a common hero (who cannot or will not accept it). He begins his study of fictional alienation with a survey of modern thinkers (Kierkegaard to Toynbee) and writers (Dostoyevsky to Beckett) whose works also emphasize this idea. There follows a review of the American novel (Crane to Faulkner) to demonstrate that it, too, tells of the hero's "recoil from an actual world."

The opening chapters of *Radical Innocence* are self-defeating; when Mr. Hassan comes to his novels (p. 70), he has already precluded any notion of their uniqueness and has thus forfeited any norm, save con-

temporaneousness, to authorize his treating them as a group. The rest of the book, surprisingly, errs in the opposite direction. Now Mr. Hassan contrives to make Norman Mailer sound like William Styron, Bernard Malamud like Ralph Ellison and treats characters as dissimilar as Capote's Holly Golightly and Ellison's nameless victim with the same nerve-shattering solemnity.

The defect of the book (a thesis neither limited enough for insight nor flexible enough for fine distinctions) is perhaps related to the author's most appealing virtue. *Radical Innocence* is *engagé*. It reveals a deep, unmistakable concern for modern man's predicament. Unhappily, in criticism the moral sense cannot do all the work. With books so new that differ both in content and quality, the proper task is discrimination. What we want to know now is why *Invisible Man* is not *Breakfast at Tiffany's*; synthesis can wait.

CHARLES THOMAS SAMUELS, *Williams College*

IMMIGRATION AND AMERICAN HISTORY: ESSAYS IN HONOR OF THEODORE C. BLEGEN. *Edited by Henry Steele Commager*. x, 161 pp. University of Minnesota Press, 1961. \$4.50.

As Henry Steele Commager suggests in his introduction, there are few historians of immigration more worthy of a *Festschrift* than Professor Blegen. For over forty years he has been a leading figure in the construction of foundations upon which immigration history could be developed. Since he has contributed far more than his celebrated Norwegian-American studies, it is fitting that his peers should have observed his retirement from the University of Minnesota with essays outlining new areas for investigation.

Oscar Handlin notes that historians have overlooked the disruption of community life that characterized internal migration as well as immigration. His call for reappraisal of immigration history is echoed in Ingrid Semmingsen's reflections on the changes effected by returned immigrants upon traditional societies of the Old World. Philip D. Jordan reports on the myth of the homogeneous Yankee created by the immigrant; John T. Flanagan complains of the strange neglect of the immigrant in American fiction except as a vehicle for other themes. Shorter essays by Carlton C. Qualey, Henry A. Pochmann, Franklin D. Scott and Colman J. Barry are also included. Blegen himself reviews the field in a concluding essay which proposes a "Journal of Immigration" to serve as focus for general and special studies on the immigrant in American life.

LAWRENCE S. KAPLAN, *Kent State University*

THE FRONTIER IN AMERICAN HISTORY AND LITERATURE. *Edited by Hafs Galinski.* 112 pp. Verlag Moritz Diesterweg, 1960.

THE eight essays in this book, all based on lectures by American studies specialists originally delivered within the program of the American Literature Seminar held in Bad Kreuznach last year, offer significant evidence of the valuable work that our Fulbright lecturers are doing toward creating a favorable image of American cultural history abroad. Each of the essays examines and evaluates, cogently and with occasional brilliance, the importance of the frontier in molding American character, shaping our political attitudes and institutions and inspiring some of our more notable literary achievements, such as Cooper's Leatherstocking tales, Twain's *Life on the Mississippi* and Cather's *My Antonia*. Each of them reveals a thoroughgoing familiarity on the author's part with basic values and accomplishments in our culture, as opposed to merely superficial differentia; and each shows careful discrimination in distinguishing the permanent from the transient, the substance from the shadow. This is particularly true of the essays by Mr. Kaplan and Mr. Saloutos, which subject the validity of the Turner thesis to close but impartial scrutiny; and of the critical analyses of Mark Twain's work done by Mr. David H. Malone. One could hardly ask for a meatier presentation for foreign consumption than is offered in this compact little volume, which as a whole sets forth American scholarship at its informal best. The book also contains an excellently selected bibliography.

EUGENE CURRENT-GARCIA, *Auburn University*

JAMES HASTINGS NICHOLS, *Romanticism in American Theology: Nevin and Schaff at Mercersburg.* viii, 322 pp. University of Chicago Press, 1961. \$7.50.

THE title here may be misleading. Professor Nichols' excellent book is not about "romanticism" (a term which he seldom uses and never adequately defines) but about the Mercersburg Theology, an amazingly fertile two-man revival of Reformation thought which flourished in a struggling German Reformed seminary just before the Civil War. From their base in Pennsylvania, John W. Nevin and Philip Schaff launched repeated attacks against Finneyite revivalism, "Puritan" individualism and moralism, the rigid predestinarianism of Princeton Seminary and the fragmentation of American religious life. More positively, in historical studies of then-uncommon sophistication they sought to recall American Protestantism to an understanding of the corporate nature of guilt and consequent importance of Church and sacrament. It was a

program in which romanticism of a Coleridgean, traditionalist kind was but one of several important elements.

Taunted in those nativist days as "Romanizers," Nevin and Schaff countered by insisting that it was their American contemporaries and not they who had departed from the Reformation heritage. Charles Hodge's famous boast that no new idea had ever come out of Princeton was, for example, "shown to rest on a rank underestimate of his own originality."

The Mercersburg men, transmitters of Idealism, prophets of the ecumenical movement and the modern study of church history, were among the half-dozen ablest American theologians of their day. This book about them takes its place on an equally select list of first-rate studies in American theology.

WILLIAM R. HUTCHISON, *The American University*

LAWRENCE A. CREMIN, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957*. xxiv, 387 pp. Alfred A. Knopf, 1961. \$5.50.

LAWRENCE A. CREMIN has written the first definitive history of the Progressive Education movement, covering the years from 1876 to 1957. Progressive Education is defined so broadly that this book comes close to being a comprehensive history of education in America. The movement is viewed in the perspective of that "broader program of social and political reform called the Progressive Movement." It is in reality a chapter in American social and intellectual history.

The first half of the book is devoted to a discussion of what Cremin has labeled "The Progressive Impulse in Education" from 1876 to 1917. During this period humanitarians of every stripe saw in education the answers to their efforts at social alleviation. Answers to the problems created by industrialism and urbanization in a democracy from beginning to end lay in education. Darwinism, the new research in child psychology and development, and the scientific testing movement influenced the "progressive" schools. But these schools ignored or misinterpreted much that was important in the discoveries and thinking of James, Thorndike and Dewey.

Cremin devotes the second half of his book to Progressive Education as an organized reform movement with a platform and identifiable leadership. For many readers the final chapter, which describes the decline and final collapse of this reform movement, will be the most interesting in the book.

This reviewer found Cremin's study to be an excellent example of historical scholarship, readable, logical and lucid—one of the most valuable books on education to appear in years.

RICHARD H. HART, *Pacific University*

ROGER B. SALOMON, *Twain and the Image of History*. viii, 216 pp. Yale University Press, 1961. \$5.00.

ALBERT E. STONE JR., *The Innocent Eye: Childhood in Mark Twain's Imagination*. xi, 289 pp. Yale University Press, 1961. \$5.00.

FOR Mark Twain, the amateur historian, history was a revelation of human nature and the forces that shaped it—morals, manners, customs. Influenced by the Whig hypothesis of progressive movement and by current technological development, Mark Twain was eventually forced to doubt his early optimism. His writings tell the story. In his "Eddypus Cycle," which was to be a history of the rise, decline and fall of American civilization, Mark Twain emphasized this later pessimism by picturing the sham of progress and the reality of human baseness. Reflecting the antagonism between Mark Twain's private insight and the cultural traditions that he observed, Twain's image of history profoundly affected the form and content of his work.

Mark Twain's dilemma was clear: an attempt to develop a cyclical theory of history, and a personal desire to escape imaginatively from the significance of his own rational formulations. In *Roughing It* and *Innocents Abroad* Twain could both praise and condemn man's freedom; he could exult over the past, and he could ridicule it. When he tried to find a way of life removed from the terrors of time and history, he wrote of youth, innocence, the dream of the past, the romance of the river. Because his hero in *Huckleberry Finn* was an outcast and time was past, he could merge history and base humanity and resolve his problem. In *The Connecticut Yankee* he attempted to show historical progress; in *Huckleberry Finn* he attempted to escape it. In *Life on the Mississippi* one can see both attitudes. He said that he wrote *The Connecticut Yankee* to show how much better modern Christendom was than life in the Middle Ages, but, influenced by Lecky's *History of European Morals*, he failed—the Yankee became disillusioned, and thus ended the war within Mark Twain. His "rigid determinism became completely subservient to his historical pessimism." Although Joan of Arc was an idealized heroine, her death at the stake was pessimistic. Finally, in *The Mysterious Stranger* Mark Twain posed his question: "What is the

meaning of history?" asked Satan—"Nothing at all!" It was a last frantic denial of the power of history to harm him.

Accepting the idea that Mark Twain's work embodies a kind of quest, Professor Stone sees the search of "the man for the child" as the "central motif of his prose." Mark Twain never considered himself completely apart from the juvenile tradition in American literature, according to Professor Stone, and the exploitation of childhood became a "characteristic masque" for the expression of his ideas. Generally relating the child's world to the adult world and using the child as a moral critic of adult society, he had a threefold purpose for his children: "to recreate in loving and honest detail the lost world of Hannibal before the War; to report and comment upon the money-crazed world of his own day; and, finally, to reduce to simple terms the Darwinian intellectual revolution which had made a shambles of his unsophisticated, post-Calvinist cosmology."

Tracing his thesis of the scope and effect of childhood's "innocent eye" through the growth of many of Mark Twain's published and unpublished stories, Professor Stone also offers a loosely related commentary on other writers of juvenile stories as well as interesting comments on the writing and reception of Twain's works. After *Tom Sawyer*, which started out as a satire for adults and became a social study of a town and a dramatized growth of a boy, Twain wrote *The Prince and The Pauper*, a story treating some moral problems but primarily for children. *Huckleberry Finn* was to be simply an adventure story, but it developed into a dramatic escape in which the "innocent eye" saw much more than it could comprehend. The Yankee fails, but with him in the last scene, trapped by society, are the boys of Britain. For a time Mark Twain tried without great success to wring more popularity out of Tom and Huck with *Tom Sawyer Abroad* and other tales. Before the dramatic end with Philip Traum and his initiate, Theodor, in *The Mysterious Stranger* Mark Twain found the power and beauty of young girls in such stories as "The Death Disk" and, of course, *Joan of Arc* where, with the timelessness symbolized by the Fairy Tree, he could find some peace. In both story and idea Mark Twain's children are important to his writing.

WALTER J. MESERVE, *University of Kansas*

DANIEL G. HOFFMAN, *Form and Fable in American Fiction*. xvi, 369 pp. Oxford University Press, 1961. \$7.00.

PROFESSOR HOFFMAN's thesis is both tenable and palatable. As he tells us in his preface, he is "concerned to discover certain themes which have

profoundly influenced the early masters of American fiction" and "to define the peculiar forms in which their best writings were cast." The forms which most interest him are the short story and the romance; the themes he explores lead him to investigate "the reliance of these authors upon allegory, Gothicism, didactic, religious and travel writings, and traditions of folklore, popular culture, and mythology." Professor Hoffman is not new to investigations of our folk traditions and myth (he is the author of two books and numerous articles on the subject) and he defends his point of view brilliantly.

The first three chapters form a substantial introduction to the longbow or tall tale, folk ritual and strains of witchcraft in American writing. The bulk of the book is devoted to Hawthorne (several of his best tales, *The Scarlet Letter*, *The Blithedale Romance* and *The House of the Seven Gables*) and to Melville (*Moby-Dick* and *The Confidence Man*). "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" and *Huckleberry Finn* are given close but briefer scrutiny. Hoffman on Hawthorne is required reading. His analysis of *The Confidence Man* recognizes the novel as a "desperate experiment," a "failure of form," yet he explores here in rich detail "the romancer's imaginative freedom for intellectual rather than psychological analysis." The chapters on *Moby-Dick* and *Huckleberry Finn* bring us less new light. But everywhere in his book the matter is imaginatively treated and concisely organized. It is a pleasure to read a critic with good common sense and a distinctive prose style.

RICHARD M. LUDWIG, *Princeton University*

FELIX GILBERT, *To the Farewell Address: Ideas of Early American Foreign Policy*. viii, 173 pp. Princeton University Press, 1961. \$3.75.

THIS is a clear, terse and compact history of the ideas and practices, both European and American, which formed the background of the foreign policy statements in Washington's Farewell Address. It describes the dialogues of the eighteenth century: in England, between those who believed in intervention to maintain the balance of power in Europe and those who felt England should free herself of continental connections; in Europe, between those who thought of diplomacy as the art of power politics and the *philosophes* who preferred a rule of reason and pacific internationalism; and in America, between the need for commercial ties and the fear of political entanglements with a "corrupt" Old World. It traces the slow emergence of a sense of community among the American colonies; the fusion of European and American idealism in Congress' "unrealistic" Model Treaty of 1776; the pressures and con-

tacts which brought American emissaries to a begrudging acceptance of the realities of international power politics; and the gradual professionalization of American diplomacy. The final chapter is the story of the writing of the Farewell Address, stressing the role of Alexander Hamilton. In the appendix are various drafts of the foreign policy portions of the address, followed by a useful bibliographical essay. The book's literary neatness and pedagogical utility are, perhaps, both the causes of and the justifications for an occasional tendency toward oversimplification.

CORINNE L. GILB, *Mills College*

JOSEPH T. KLAPPER. *The Effects of Mass Communication*. xviii, 302 pp. Free Press, 1960. \$5.00.

MOST humanists derive their images of mass communications less from direct experience than from media novels such as Nathanael West's *The Day of the Locust*. From such a perspective, the central issue is the defects, not the effects, of mass communication. Their net effect, indeed, it is assumed, is to keep or render man defective by civilized standards. According to Klapper's book, however, such surrealistic fiction is more strained than the truths of sociological observation will allow. This book summarizes and attempts to integrate into a valid and reliable theory more than 270 studies "of disciplined social research dealing with effects of mass communication in certain specific areas." There are chapters on the author's own "phenomenistic" (essentially multiple causation) approach; on reinforcement, minor change and related phenomena; on the creation of opinion on new issues; on conversion; on the roles different media and audience images of them play; on the effects of crime and violence in the media; on the effects of escapist media material; on the effect of adult TV fare on child audiences (perhaps the freshest and most interesting); and on media attendance and audience passivity. In general, Klapper reports that the chief effect of a generation of media research is to displace the concept of hypodermic effect (single message, simple effect) with an "inexhaustible fount of variables" extremely difficult to arrange in any scientifically valid hierarchy of causality. His basic generalizations on selective exposure, selective perception, selective retention and opinion leadership probably ought to be part of the mental equipment of every civilized person; they merit reading. The problems of vicarious violence, escapism and passivity are related enough to the literary experience to attract the curious. But Klapper's frankness to admit the difficulty of long-range effects analysis, his explicit warning about the current "tendency to go overboard in blindly minimizing the

effects and potentialities of mass communication," and his worried admission that what research there is probably applies within a "relatively stable social situation" and not to crucial issues at times of massive political upheaval leaves one with a lively sense of the limitations of *this* way of gauging media effects and defects.

If Nathanael West goes too far with too little fact, Joseph Klapper doesn't go far enough with the facts his methods make accessible, at least not far enough to clarify the necessary choices the new media have themselves imposed on us. Even a so-so novel, like Gerald Green's *The Heartless Light* (Scribner's, 1961) about press irresponsibility in a kidnapping, poses the moral and aesthetic alternatives more forcefully than this meticulous and completely responsible scientific performance. Perhaps the point is that being half sure about major issues is in the last analysis more important than being absolutely certain of a minor truth or of no truth at all.

PATRICK D. HAZARD, *University of Hawaii*

CHARLES FORCEY, *The Crossroads of Liberalism: Croly, Weyl, Lippmann and the Progressive Era, 1900-1925*. xxix, 358 pp. Oxford University Press, 1961. \$7.00.

THIS discerning study is a significant addition to the intellectual history of American reform. It is focused on the attempts of Croly, Weyl and Lippman—both individually, and collectively through the *New Republic*—to influence the events of their time, to forge a new liberalism, grounded on democratic nationalism, which would be adequate to the twentieth century. It is based on a fresh study of their writings and on important new sources, especially Judge Learned Hand's correspondence with Croly and the diaries and papers of Walter Weyl. Weyl has been a relatively neglected member of the trio; it is good to see him given the full-dress treatment he deserves.

Forcey interprets the Progressive Era as a "crossroads," where nineteenth-century laissez-faire liberalism was giving way to the conscious use of government in the interest of reform. It was a paramount service of Croly, Weyl and Lippmann that they helped educate the American people to the necessity of the change. But the war harshly shattered their dream of a nationalism which would be democratic in control and middle-class in values, and its aftermath brought a new "crossroads," with middle-class liberalism in much of the western world giving way to labor and socialistic forces.

Of particular contemporary interest, now that intellectuals are again

close to the seat of power, is Forcey's analysis of the *New Republic* trio's relations with Roosevelt and Wilson. It is his contention that in such relationships, the political leaders influence the intellectuals rather than the other way around.

RANSOM E. NOBLE, *Pratt Institute*

EDMUNDO O'GORMAN, *The Invention of America*. 177 pp. Indiana University Press, 1961. \$5.00. Maps.

THE author, a professor at the National University of Mexico, served in 1958-59 as Visiting Professor for the Patten Foundation at Indiana. This small volume is based on lectures he gave during that year. Its interesting thesis is that neither Columbus nor anybody else discovered America, but that America was invented.

Most of the book is a careful dismissal of the common notion that Columbus discovered America. If he had intended to, the data he collected on his four voyages would readily have supported such a claim; instead, his unwavering faith in a western approach to Asia led him to misinterpret all his data. He was caught in the contemporary trap of dependence on authorities, and only discredited pagan authors had suggested an *orbis alterius* outside the known *Orbis Terrarum* of Europe, Asia and Africa.

By 1507, however, the cartographers, following a hint from Vespucci, were ready to admit the possibility of a Fourth Part of the world. O'Gorman views this admission as a major intellectual breakthrough, freeing man from his cosmic jail, opening to him the unbounded investigation of the universe. But acceptance of America as a separate land mass on an equal footing with Europe, Asia and Africa was only the first step in its invention. The process of giving it a "being" offered two choices: adaptation of the new circumstances to European models—the choice in Latin America, and originality—the choice in British America. In the final pages of text (141-45), the only part of the book bearing directly on the civilization of the United States, O'Gorman oversimplifies by asserting radical innovation here from the outset; but the notion that we are still contributing to the invention of America makes the book worthy of attention.

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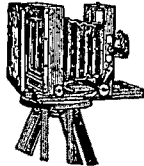
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American Calendar

Spring



1962

OFFICERS. Elected for one-year terms at the Dec. 27 meeting of the Executive Council in Washington were William Charvat, Ohio State, president; Arthur Bestor, University of Illinois, vice president; Charles Boewe, University of Pennsylvania, executive secretary. Elected to a three-year term as member-at-large of the Council was Norman Holmes Pearson of Yale. Wood Gray, George Washington University, was chairman of the nominating committee, which also consisted of Arlin Turner, Duke, and George Rogers Taylor, Amherst. Other new Council members, elected by mail ballot, are Bernard Bowron, Minnesota, representing the Mississippi Valley, and Russel B. Nye, Michigan State, representing the Great Lakes; they will serve until December 1964.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL. Attending the Washington meeting were President Ray A. Billington, Treasurer Vincent L. Eaton, Executive Secretary Hennig Cohen and Bibliographer Donald N. Kos-

ter. Regional representatives were Gordon Mills, University of Texas, Council Member from the South; Lyon Richardson, Western Reserve, Council Member from the Great Lakes; and Robert E. Spiller, University of Pennsylvania, Council Member from the Middle Atlantic. Other representatives and observers were Kenneth Davison, Heidelberg College; David Ellis, Hamilton College; Lawrence Gelfand, University of Wyoming; Dewey Grantham, Vanderbilt University; Wood Gray, George Washington University; Albert House, Harpur College; Ransom Noble, Pratt Institute; Robert Ochs, University of South Carolina; Virginia Platt, Bowling Green State University; Robert Spector, Northwestern University; Arthur L. Throckmorton, Lewis and Clark College; Henry Wasser, City College of New York; E. McClung Fleming, Winterthur Museum; and Charles Boewe. Copies of the minutes of the Council's deliberations are sent to all chapter officers, and may be had by any member who requests them.

EDITORS. Leo Marx, Amherst College, and Charles Montgomery, Winterthur Museum, have been appointed to two-year terms as members of the editorial board of *American Quarterly*. Walter Bezan-son, Rutgers, has been appointed to the board to fill the unexpired term of William Charvat. With this issue Theodore Hornberger, University of Pennsylvania, takes over direction of the book review pages.

JOINT SESSIONS. With the Modern Language Association, meeting in Chicago, Dec. 28, ASA reopened the question "American Studies: What Is the Problem?" Papers were read by Larzer Ziff, University of California at Berkeley; Russel Nye, Michigan State; Leon Howard, UCLA, with Edwin H. Cady, Indiana University, who arranged the program, chairing the session. . . . At a luncheon meeting the same day, ASA joined with the American Literature Group to sponsor an address by Alfred Kazin, "The American Comedy of Manners," Herbert Brown presiding. . . . And ASA cooperated with the National Council of Teachers of English on Dec. 27 to present a panel discussion of "Implications for English Departments of New Perspectives on Teaching," with Jean Hagstrum, Leonard Dean, Robert Heilman and Henry Sams as panelists, John Gerber in the chair. Meanwhile, a third of the

way across the continent, in Atlantic City, in Washington, in New York, ASA members were deep in consultation with their colleagues in philosophy, history, speech. At the Dec. 28 meeting of the American Philosophical Association, Eastern Division, in Atlantic City, ASA helped to commemorate the accomplishment of Alfred North Whitehead with papers by Robert Palter on "Whitehead's Theory of Relativity," by A. H. Johnson on "Some Aspects of Whitehead's Social Philosophy" and by William A. Christian on "The Concept of God as a Derivative Notion," with Charles Hartshorne presiding; comment by Herman Brautigam. . . . In Washington, Dec. 29, ASA joined the American Historical Association to sponsor a luncheon where the Hon. Philip LaFollette explained to a capacity crowd over which Holman Hamilton presided that "Politics Is People." . . . In New York on Dec. 30 Robert G. Gunderson presided over a joint session with the Speech Association of America in which "The Impact of Mass Media on American Culture" was gauged by Alfred McClung Lee speaking on politics, Will Herberg on religion and Oscar Cargill on literature.

GRASS ROOTS. *ASA of Texas*, meeting at Southern Methodist University on Dec. 2 for a program on "The Ordeal of Mark Twain," elected the following slate of

officers for 1962: president, Paul F. Boller Jr., Southern Methodist; vice president, Gordon Mills, University of Texas; secretary-treasurer, Edwin W. Gaston, Stephen F. Austin State College; councilors, James A. Tinsley, University of Houston, Anne Whaling, Arlington State College and Leonard A. Duce, Trinity University. . . . Hamilton College was host to the *New York State ASA* for its Fall meeting on Nov. 4. An afternoon session, with Harold Blodgett presiding, was devoted to "The American Character, 1815-1845" and was presented "As Viewed by Foreign Travelers," by Codman Hislop, Union College, "As Viewed by Reformers," by Arthur Brown, Utica College and "As Revealed in American Literature," by Robert Byington, Lycoming College. Richard W. Couper, a Trustee of Hamilton College, addressed the dinner meeting presided over by Albert V. House with an account of "Personnel and Policies of Hamilton Oneida Academy as an Illustration of the American Character in the Early Nineteenth Century." New officers are president, Harold Blodgett, Union College; vice president, David Ellis, Hamilton College; secretary-treasurer, Eric Brunger, Buffalo State; executive committeemen, Wayne Dedman, Brockport State, and W. B. Rogers, Cortland State. . . . *Rocky Mountain ASA* met at the University of Wyoming in conjunction with the

Rocky Mountain MLA on Oct. 14. Co-chairmen J. L. Roberts, University of Colorado, and Leedice Kisanne, Idaho State College, arranged a program consisting of three papers: "Naturalism in Stephen Crane and John Dos Passos," by John Wrenn, University of Colorado; "Mark Twain: Audience and Artistry," by Hamlin Hill, University of Wyoming; and "The Contrast: A Study of American Innocence and European Sophistication," by John Lauber, University of Idaho. On the drafting board are plans for a May 4th meeting at the Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs and, with the Rocky Mountain Social Science Association, a May 5th meeting at Colorado State University. . . . *Southern California Chapter of ASA* held a Fall joint meeting with the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast in Santa Barbara at which the topic "The United States in the 1930s" was explored in talks by William John Niven Jr., Claremont Graduate School, "Watershed or Wash-out?"; Edwin Gaustad, University of Redlands, "The Search for an American Mystique"; Marshall Van Deusen, University of California at Riverside, "Literary Criticism"; David Sanders, Harvey Mudd College, "Hemingway"; Herbert Lindenberger, Riverside, "Wallace Stevens"; and Philip Durham, UCLA, "Faulkner." . . . *New England ASA* met Oct. 21 at Wesleyan University, where Leo

Marx of Amherst spoke on "Pastoralism and American Thought." At a business meeting following, Barry Marks, Brown University, was elected president; Jurgen Herbst, Wesleyan, was elected vice president; and Catherine Fennelly, Old Sturbridge Village, secretary-treasurer. . . . *Middle Atlantic States ASA* holds its Spring meeting Apr. 28 at Lafayette College, Easton, on the theme "Transportation Crisis: The Canal Days in Pennsylvania and New Jersey." . . . Plans are under way for a joint meeting of the *Midcontinent ASA* with the Midwest Sociological Society at the Hotel Savery in Des Moines on Apr. 13. . . . At its Fall meeting, *Ohio-Indiana ASA* agreed to assume responsibility for preparing the "Aid to Graduate Students" list which appears annually in *AQ's* summer supplement. Directors of programs with scholarships and fellowships to offer, let your largess shine forth; list your offerings with Kenneth Davison, Heidelberg College, Tiffin, Ohio.

ACLS. First grants to assist in the creation of university teaching posts in Free Europe and to strengthen library holdings have been announced by ACLS as part of its new Program in American Studies. Grants for teaching have gone to the universities of Hull, Uppsala, Manchester and the London School of Economics; for sharpening the tools of scholarship, to the

universities of Hull, Uppsala, Manchester, Munich, Bergen, Oslo, Copenhagen, Leeds, the Royal Library of Stockholm, the Royal University of Malta, the Central Reference Library of the City of Manchester and the Nordic Association for American Studies. Still to come are fellowships which will bring European scholars to the U.S. to do advanced research on American civilization. The program, financed by the Ford Foundation, is directed by Richard W. Downar. Robert E. Spiller is chairman of its advisory committee.

SOUTHERN LIT. While they last, copies of the Summer 1961 issue of *The Mississippi Quarterly* containing six articles on salient aspects of Faulkner's writing may be had on application to the national office, first come first served. Some copies also remain of the valuable symposium on Southern humor (Fall 1960) and the incisive examination of the Fugitives and Agrarians (Spring 1960). A few copies are yet to be had of the earlier Faulkner issue published Fall 1958. All are gratis to ASA members.

CONFERENCE. Also free and very much worth the writing for is the December 1961 number of the *Newberry Library Bulletin*, which contains Jules Zanger's detailed report on the Newberry's twelfth Conference on American

Studies. On the basis of a paper by Gay Wilson Allen, the conference explored "Whitman and the Influence of Space on American Literature," a hard-core American Studies subject discussed by persons most of whom are long-standing ASA members. A bonus feature of the issue is Floyd Dell's reminiscences of Sherwood Anderson. Apply to the Librarian, Chicago 10, Ill.

NEW PROGRAM. Washington State University announces a Ph.D. program in American Studies beginning autumn 1962. Candidates will declare majors in either American literature or American history, minors in the alternate area; they will also take courses in allied fields. The program will be administered by Dean Albert W. Thompson and supervised jointly by Nelson A. Ault, Chairman of the Department of English, and Raymond Muse, Chairman of the Department of History. A limited number of fellowships and assistantships are available.

REPRINTS. People like what our authors write, for requests to reprint articles continue to shower down on the editor of *American Quarterly*. Among recent ones granted were for "The Turner Thesis Re-Examined," by Everett S. Lee; "Edward Bellamy's Altruistic Man," by Joseph Schiffman; "The Idea of Adolescence in Am-

erican Fiction," by Ihab H. Hassan; "Mark Twain and J. D. Salinger," by Edgar Branch; "Education, Americanization and the Supreme Court," by Kenneth B. O'Brien Jr.; "Ernest Hemingway's Spanish Civil War Experience," by David Sanders; "Religion and Society in the Netherlands and in America," by David O. Moberg; and "The 'Tin Lizzie's' Golden Anniversary," by F. Eugene Melder. A mixed bag, and little encouragement to trick up a perfect Lincoln's-Dog article to cash in on the reprint market—which, by the way, is subject to the author's negotiation; *AQ* grants permission only when the author is satisfied that the remuneration offered, if any, is adequate.

OLLA-PODRIDA. A new Names Institute, sponsored by the American Name Society, meets May 5 at Fairleigh Dickinson University. E. Wallace McMullen, 285 Madison Ave., Madison, N.J., is the name to write to. . . . Apr. 15 is the last date to apply for an AAUW grant for mature college women interested in faculty positions. What it takes: the girl must admit she's thirty-five or older and live in one of eleven southern states. Address 2401 Virginia Ave., N.W., Washington 7. . . . A seminar for historical administrators will be held at Williamsburg, June 18 to July 27, of interest to museum personnel

and administrators of historic sites. . . . Utah State University holds a Thoreau Centenary program, June 21-23, under the Chairmanship of J. Golden Taylor. . . . Notable among new teaching tools is a set of seven long-playing records which dramatize Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*. Produced in the studios of the Canadian Broadcasting Corp. with scripts by Lister Sinclair and ASA member George E. Probst, the records, texts and discussion guide may be had as a package from the American Foundation for Continuing Education, 19 South LaSalle St., Chicago 3, at \$35 the set. . . . To help celebrate the 300th birthday of the State of New Jersey, Wheaton J. Land and ASA member Richard Miller Huber will edit a series of 25 historical pamphlets. . . . Books for Asian Students, which in the past seven years has distributed more than two million books and a half million copies of journals to some five thousand institutions in Asia, again requests college- and secondary-level texts published after 1945, standard authors of any date, scholarly journals in runs of five years or more. Ship books educational-materials rate to 21 Drumm St., San Francisco 11. The Asia Foundation, which sponsors the collection, will reimburse for cost of postage. . . . Roger Butterfield's extensive collection of Americana, "the story of the American people in pictures and print," has been ac-

quired by the New York State Historical Association and will soon be available for use at Fenimore House, Cooperstown. . . . Blue and Gray buffs have until March 1963 to finish the Civil War book that may win \$5000 in a competition sponsored by the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States. Between footnotes, though, take time to get application blanks from the Loyal Legion, 1805 Pine St., Philadelphia 3, for these must be filed before Dec. 1, 1962. . . . Need a distinguished foreign scholar to lecture on subjects ranging from Attic art to zymogenesis? You can find him in *Visiting Scholars in the United States* published by the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, 2101 Constitution Ave., N.W., Washington 25, along with his U.S. location, the dates of his visit, subjects he's interested in, even whether or not he brought his wife along. . . . *Midcontinent American Studies Journal* is the new name of the publication sponsored by the Midcontinent ASA and edited by Stuart Levine at the University of Kansas. Fat and sleek and shining with pictures it is very much worth the modest \$1.50 a year the two annual issues cost. A check to Jerzy Hauptmann at Park College, Parkville, Mo., is all it takes to get in on a good thing. . . . Straw in the wind? The Simpson College American Studies Fellows, a group made up of alumni of the Coe summer

program, is meeting in Iowa to further its members' interest in American Studies. Affiliated with the Midcontinent Chapter of ASA, it is also actively encouraging American Studies in the high schools. . . . Louis D. Rubin Jr. recently represented ASA at the inauguration of Davis Y. Paschall as twenty-third President of the College of William and Mary. ASA is happy to be present at all such occasions of solemn festivity, but it takes time to make arrangements with our far-flung membership. Since appointments of college presidents are hardly spur-of-the-moment decisions, please, invitation committees, a timely nod well

in advance of the auspicious event. . . . Research topics in the field of public address are suggested by William C. Seifrit in the December newsletter of the Committee on the History of American Public Address, Department of Speech, Queens College. . . . Among recent recipients of ACLS grants are ASA members Henry Dan Piper, Cal-Tech, to prepare an edition of the complete manuscript of Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*; James A. Field Jr., Swarthmore, for a study of 19th-century American activity in the Mediterranean area; and Jackson T. Main, San Jose State College, to study the social structure of the Revolutionary era.

C. B.

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1917-32: The Formation of a Component
of New Deal Ideology

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RICHARD H. SHRYOCK A Medical Perspective of the
Civil War

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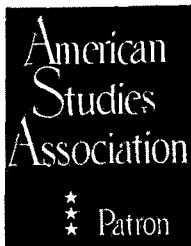
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AMERICAN CALENDAR

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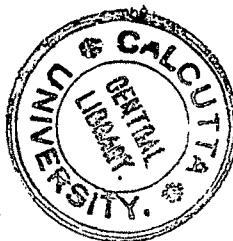
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American Quarterly

The aim of AMERICAN QUARTERLY is to aid in giving a sense of direction to studies in the culture of the United States, past and present. Editors and contributors therefore concern themselves not only with the areas of American life which they know best but with the relation of those areas to the entire American scene and to world society.

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LEWIS S. FEUER

University of California, Berkeley

American Travelers to the Soviet Union 1917-32: The Formation of a Component of New Deal Ideology¹

FROM ITS EARLIEST DAYS, THE NEW DEAL WAS CHARACTERIZED AS "PRAGMATIC" in philosophy, as experimental, as uniquely American. Raymond Moley, looking for its philosophic source, pondered the fact that Franklin D. Roosevelt had sat in the classroom of William James.² What, however, does "pragmatic" mean? It signifies not an absence of ideas but rather a readiness to try out different hypotheses. It implies a readiness to experiment with the most challenging alternatives. And by the year 1932, political pragmatism in the United States had acquired a new distinctive primary ingredient. To be a pragmatist henceforth was, according to the leaders in pragmatic thought, to regard the Soviet Union as a model of the experimental method in social practice. The whole conception of a "social experiment," the whole notion of planned human intervention into social processes to raise the welfare of the people, had become linked in the minds of America's intellectual and social leaders with the practice of the Soviet Union. This transformation in American thought was largely the work of a small number of several hundreds of travelers to the Soviet Union during the previous decade. If there was no De Tocqueville among them, the reports which they published affected the American political consciousness more deeply nonetheless than any other foreign influence in its history.

¹ This essay was read to the Northern California Chapter, American Studies Association, at its winter meeting at San Jose State College on February 27, 1960, devoted to "The Twenties and the Thirties."

² Raymond Moley, *After Seven Years* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1939), pp. 174, 365.

Every century in modern times has had a country to which it looked as what we might call its "conscience-model." England was to Voltaire and the Encyclopaedists in the eighteenth century the land of liberties, peace, Isaac Newton and the Quakers. France during the nineteenth century held Europe's revolutionary beacon. The Soviet Union during the fifteen years after the October Revolution became the conscience-model of the most searching of the world's intellectuals. The American travelers to the Soviet Union were part of this process; their reports, rendered in the language of American experience and pragmatism, gave to that philosophy something of the Soviet direction.

There have been several different waves of travelers to the Soviet world. The first were romantic revolutionists, journalists such as John Reed and Louise Bryant, stirred beyond themselves by a story bigger than the imagination of any city editor would have dreamed, or the aging Lincoln Steffens, cynically bored with reformers, and beholding in Lenin the ultimate union of Will and Intellect, or the amateur diplomat, young William C. Bullitt, hoping to persuade statesmen to transcend their suspicions, and welcome the fledgling workers' republic into the comity of nations. There was Isadora Duncan, votary of a new art, who when she heard the first news of the Russian Revolution, danced the *Marche Slave* to an astonished American audience. She went to the reborn Russia "to dance for the people," and the three years she spent there from 1921 to 1924 she regarded as the happiest of her life. America, however, was then in no mood to listen to a dancer's Dionysiac utterances. In Boston at the end of her performance she waved her red silk scarf above her head, and cried: "This is red! So am I! It is the color of life and vigor. You were once wild here. Don't let them tame you!" Mayor James M. Curley decided she would never have a license to dance in Boston again "in view of the duty the city owes to the decent element." Isadora Duncan was, however, a prophetess of what was soon to stir a legion of intellectuals.³

Meanwhile, a brief interlude of American relief personnel bringing food to a famine-stricken country in 1921 was followed by an ever-growing procession of social workers, artists, labor leaders, educators, social scientists, businessmen and representatives of ethnic minorities. The decade closed with more than a thousand American engineers in the Soviet Union building its first great modern industrial plants. For the Soviet Union was, indeed, America's first Point Four project, without the blessing of the State Department, to be sure, but with the support of an influential section of American industry. Thus, like modern Magi, Ameri-

³ Irma Duncan and Allan Ross Macdougall, *Isadora Duncan's Russian Days* (New York: Covici-Friede, 1929), pp. 4, 152.

can travelers came seeking a new political hope, and bringing their gifts of technology.

It is a well attested psychological truth that what people need shapes what they see. The travelers' needs, in large part, conditioned their perception of Soviet reality. They selected some segments of Soviet existence for emphasis, while they blurred others beneath the threshold of their perception. The idealism of American intellectuals, their "do-gooding" impulses, were being frustrated in the era of smugness from Harding to Hoover. The generations which had imbibed the air of Populist, Progressive and socialist movements found themselves during the twenties in a kind of "internal emigration." They were ready to identify with the young Soviet republic, struggling, as they saw it, for an ethic of human brotherhood against the hostile, selfish capitalist world. The social worker was ready to see the Soviet Union as a kind of Hull House on a national scale, as the land of public health and mental hygiene; the progressive educator was ready to see the Soviet experiment as a nation-wide Laboratory School, happily freed from the surveillance of university presidents and boards of trustees; the religious leader who saw the Social Gospel ignored and disused in Coolidge's America recognized witnesses to his creed in the party of dedicated political missionaries who despite their atheism were evidently moved by a selfless emotion, unmatched in civilization's history; the crusader for birth control and liberal divorce laws who found himself trammled and sometimes jailed in his own Puritan-bound and Catholic-contained America saw a land where sexual love was more nearly unfettered;⁴ radical labor leaders, who bore the memory of judges' injunctions, militiamen's bayonets and policemen's clubs, found themselves welcomed in a land whose political chief talked with them for several hours, and called them: "Comrades"; the social scientists found themselves singularly at home in a society which was guided by fellow social scientists who aimed to build a rational, planned world. Such were the tidings which the travelers brought from the Soviet Union to their native country. When America was beset by the depression, its emotional unconscious and inventory of ideas for confronting the crisis were imprinted with the suggestions of the Soviet model.

⁴ "Here, in the Soviet Union, the Strindbergian warfare of the sexes seems to have no meaning." Waldo Frank, *Dawn in Russia* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), p. 52. " 'Free love' in its proper meaning can be said to have full sway since the revolution." Theodore Dreiser, "How Russia Handles the Sex Question," *Current History*, XXIX (1929), 535. Paul Blanshard contrasted the "almost hysterical sexuality of the Berlin and Paris stage" with the "matter-of-fact robustness of Moscow." Paul Blanshard, "Sex Standards in Moscow," *The Nation*, CXXII (1926), 523. V. F. Calverton, "Red Love in Soviet Russia," *The Modern Quarterly*, IV (1927), 188-89.

Probably the most influential series of articles by an American on the Soviet Union were those of John Dewey in *The New Republic* in 1928. The foremost figure in American pragmatic thought found almost the fulfillment of his philosophic hopes in the Soviet experiment. "The essence of the Revolution," he wrote, was "its release of courage, energy and confidence in life." The Soviet Union brought a new zest into the experiment of human life itself. This was a "liberation of a people to consciousness of themselves as a determining power in the shaping of their ultimate fate." This revolution, Dewey wrote, had brought "a release of human powers on such an unprecedented scale that it is of incalculable significance not only for that country, but for the world." "I lack the necessary literary skill," he said, to convey the achievement of the Soviet schools. "I have never seen anywhere in the world such a large proportion of intelligent, happy, and intelligently occupied children." Their teachers, he continued, were "some of the wisest and most devoted men and women it has ever been my fortune to meet." The significance of the experience of the opening of the arts to the people became for him, Dewey wrote, "almost an obsession." He recognized the enormous obstacles and propagandist tendencies of Soviet cultural life, but he ventured to predict the latter would die of inanition in the degree to which the Soviet Union came to feel secure. "The main effort is nobly heroic, evincing a faith in human nature which is democratic beyond the ambitions of the democracies of the past." All his life Dewey had struggled both within himself and his social setting against separations and dualisms, the dualism of thought and action, of theory and practice. Here in the Soviet Union dualism seemed to have been overthrown by a permanent revolution. It is hard, he wrote, not to feel envious of the Soviet intellectuals. Those of other countries spend their lives in criticism, but the Russian intellectuals who have identified themselves with the new order "have a task that is total and constructive. They are organic members of an organic going movement." Here in the Soviet Union was an undertaking, "probably the first in the world to attempt scientific regulation of social growth"; the pedagogical section was an organic part of the Scientific Council which forms "plans for the social and economic development of Russia."⁵

Dewey's vision of Soviet reality was shared by such distinguished leaders of progressive education as his friends William Heard Kilpatrick

⁵ John Dewey, "Leningrad Gives the Clue," *The New Republic*, November 14, 1928; "A Country in a State of Flux," *The New Republic*, November 21, 1928; "The Great Experiment and the Future," *The New Republic*, December 19, 1928, republished in John Dewey, *Characters and Events*, ed. Joseph Ratner (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1929), I, 378-80, 383, 388-90, 394, 426-28. Also, reprinted in John Dewey, *Impressions of Soviet Russia* (New York: New Republic, 1929), pp. 1-133.

and George S. Counts. The Soviets, said Kilpatrick in 1929, had embarked on "the outstandingly ambitious enterprise that educational history has to show"; he was pleasantly surprised to find that he was well known in Russia and that his books had been translated and were being used in the training of teachers. Americans who placed their faith in the experimental method read Counts's forthright assertion: "There is one experiment, however, that dwarfs all others—so bold indeed in its ideals and its program that few can contemplate it without emotion." Counts spent a total of ten months in the Soviet Union during 1927 and 1929. As depression's gloom deepened over America, he called upon teachers to learn from the Soviet experience, and to enquire how education might promote social planning.⁶

The pragmatic philosophers and educators were not the first to discover in the Soviet experiment the full measure of the pragmatic method. They were preceded in the Soviet exploration by the pragmatic economists, or as they were once called, the institutional economists. Two of their ablest young practitioners, Rexford G. Tugwell of Columbia University and Paul Douglas of the University of Chicago were part of the so-called Trade Union Delegation which visited the Soviet Union in 1927.⁷ Only three years before, Tugwell had edited a collection of essays by his fellow pragmatic economists. His introduction to this volume aptly called *The Trend of Economics* said that "this book is a sort of a manifesto of the younger generation." Acknowledgments to Dewey's pragmatic method abounded in this manifesto which spoke of a quest for a "non-Euclidean economics."⁸ Now Tugwell and Douglas embarked on an anthropological field trip to an economic universe with Marxian geodesics and a Leninist social space; experiment merged with religious fulfillment, and the underlying motives of the pragmatic unconscious, freed from the capitalistic cultural censor, for once expressed themselves with clarity.

Doubts upon the aims of the delegation were cast by leaders of the American Federation of Labor who questioned the source of its financing and its claim to represent labor. Five officials of labor's lower echelons, however, chose to ignore their superiors' warnings; joined by a technical and advisory staff of nineteen, they made the pilgrimage to

⁶ Samuel Tenenbaum, *William Heard Kilpatrick* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1951), pp. 263-66. George S. Counts, *The Soviet Challenge to America* (New York: John Day, 1931), pp. ix-xi. M. Ilin, *New Russia's Primer*, trans. George S. Counts and Nucia P. Lodge (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931), pp. viii-x.

⁷ *Soviet Russia in the Second Decade*, eds. Stuart Chase, Robert Dunn, Rexford Guy Tugwell (New York: John Day, 1928).

⁸ *The Trend of Economics*, ed. Rexford Guy Tugwell (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1924), pp. 86, 409, 422, 156 ff.

Moscow. At the Kremlin, they questioned and were cross-questioned by Joseph Stalin. Stalin called them "comrades," and the delegates indeed responded in a comradely spirit.⁹ They discussed the causes of the small sympathy that American labor and its leaders had toward the Soviet Union. Paul Douglas described how American capitalists broke labor unions and sowed dissension among the different immigrant groups. The visit to the Soviet Union had a tremendous emotional impact on the social scientists of the delegation. Paul Douglas, who wrote most of the report of the American Trade Union Delegation, was like a man vouchsafed a glimpse of the world to come. "Our visit," he said, "strengthened my faith in socialism"; he was now enabled to overcome the doubts he had felt concerning the workings of socialist economy. To an America which was losing its sense of national purpose, Douglas said, "the big fact, the spiritual fact behind all this material evidence, is that there is a real community of belief, a national ideal and moral unity, which is the solid basis of the new Russia—they have really a new religion—the building up of a People's Society." He was not dismayed by the rigid dictatorship the people endured, for "their real rights, that is their economic rights," Douglas said, "are much better protected than in any other country."¹⁰ Tugwell too beheld a people transfigured by Lenin's experimentalism. "There is a new life beginning there," he wrote in his report. The revolution had been harsh, but with a mixture of historicism and experimentalism; Tugwell saw this harshness as a necessary cost of progress. "The mass of peasants," he wrote, are not "to be blamed for having dimly seen that the necessities for racial advance required a drastic change, and for bringing it about—with ruthlessness if need be."¹¹ That period was happily past, however: "The spirit now is reconstructive; and its results seem as certain as those of most human enterprises of so vast a sort." The Soviet government was more truly concerned with the welfare of its peasants than the American government was with its farmers. Stuart Chase also contributed a chapter on the Gosplan to the report of the Trade Union delegation. A few years later in 1932, Stuart Chase gave currency to the expression "A New Deal" in his book with that title.¹² Still later he was to lead a popular

⁹ Joseph Stalin, *Interviews with Foreign Workers' Delegations* (New York: International, 1927), p. 38. Cf. Louis Fischer, *Men and Politics* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1941), pp. 89-91.

¹⁰ *Adventurous Americans*, ed. Devere Allen (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1932), pp. 188-90. Cf. *Russia after Ten Years: Report of the American Trade Union Delegation to the Soviet Union* (New York: International, 1927). Also, Samuel N. Harper, *The Russia I Believe In* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), pp. 156-57.

¹¹ *Soviet Russia in the Second Decade*, p. 102.

¹² Stuart Chase, *A New Deal* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1932).

rebellion against the tyranny of words. But in 1927, Chase was aware that Soviet reality was the newest deal for mankind as a whole. Despite its deplorably low output and conditions, he wrote, "the Russian method affects the mind of the workers particularly the younger man and woman, far more profoundly than any other I have seen in operation. It is not inconceivable that this mental stimulus may some day break the ancient working habits of the East." Above all he was amazed by the phenomenon of the Soviet manager. No "group of hungry stockholders," importunate for dividends, drove the Soviet manager. Instead, he was guided by an Argus-eyed government, "informed by battalions of statistics," and by a Communist Party representative. The latter needs "no further incentive than the burning zeal to create a new heaven and a new earth which flames in the breast of every good Communist. It is something—this flame—that one has to see to appreciate. There is nothing like it anywhere in the world today . . . Will it last? I do not know. All I can report is that after ten lean years it still scorches the face of the curious onlooker. So must the flaming sword of Allah have come over the plains of Mecca." Human nature, Stuart Chase concluded, was far more complicated than the Manchester School had believed. Meanwhile, he said, five more years were required to determine whether the Gosplan, "this courageous and unprecedented experiment," was "destined to be a landmark for the economic guidance" of the world's peoples, "or just another memorandum for the waste basket of history."¹³ Five years later, the crucial experiment was evaluated by Stuart Chase as potentially positive for the Soviet alternative. His book *A New Deal* ended with a summons to his depression-bewildered countrymen to learn from a society in which "the engineers and economists of the Gosplan" showed how a balance between production and distribution could be achieved. "Why," said he, "should Russians have all the fun of remaking a world?"¹⁴

This was a decade of crucial experiments which had shattered the foundations of social and intellectual systems. The pragmatic econo-

¹³ *Soviet Russia in the Second Decade*, pp. 49-50, 54. One member of the delegation, Silas Axtell, a distinguished attorney for the International Seamen's Union, dissented vigorously from its report. He said the delegates' opinions had been "pretty well formed" before they met in Moscow. He felt "the laws of nature have been discarded" in the Soviet Union, and was not impressed by the efficiency of the industrial plants he saw. He doubted the reliability of observers who after a few weeks' visit, wrote a report on a vast country whose language they could not speak; the Soviet authorities, in his opinion, were adroit salesmen who corrupted the American delegates with free transportation, free hotel service and free barbers. Silas B. Axtell, "Russia, and her Foreign Relations," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CXXXVIII (1928), 85-88.

¹⁴ Chase, *A New Deal*, pp. 244, 252.

mists, reporting on their Soviet expedition, shared the same emotion of dramatic discovery which the astronomers led by Eddington had felt when one evening in 1919 before the Royal Society they reported that their observations during the sun's eclipse in South America had confirmed Einstein's hypothesis as against the Newtonian scheme. Experimental method, pure pragmatism, was consonant with the opening up of new world systems.

No agency of the New Deal affected the lives of millions of Americans more directly than the Works Progress Administration. For many thousands of families throughout the land, the WPA, derided, condemned, ridiculed, assailed, stood nonetheless for the difference between destitution and livelihood. This massive program to put people to work on planned socially useful projects, and to avoid the respect-undermining dole, was headed by Harry Hopkins. By profession a social worker, since his beginnings at the Christadora House in New York, Hopkins came to represent, for most persons, the whole underlying aim and philosophy of the New Deal. Pre-eminently the social worker in his attitudes, Hopkins was the spokesman of a standpoint which, born in the settlements of Jane Addams and Lillian D. Wald, had now matured, and was converting the national government to its philosophy of social welfare. Soviet practice became the experimental model of the leaders of social workers.

At the very outset, Jane Addams called the Russian Revolution "the greatest social experiment in history."¹⁵ This enthusiasm became universal among her colleagues during the next years. In the new Soviet society, as they saw it, the social worker was not the "do-gooder" condescendingly tolerated by a selfish world but was rather the foremost participant and definer of the society's goals. The deepest personal influence on Hopkins was Dr. John A. Kingsbury, "a scholarly, humane and humorous man who was General Director of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor." Kingsbury not only gave Hopkins his first job as a social worker but helped him obtain his first post in public service. He was a paternal figure in Hopkins' life. Hopkins chose his residence to live near Kingsbury, and made him confidant for all his marital problems. In August and September 1932, Dr. Kingsbury journeyed to the Soviet Union to appraise its public health and medical services. The Soviet system of free medical care won his unstinting admiration. "The Russian experiment," he wrote, "is a portent to the rest of the world." Would other governments be able similarly to free their people "from the haunting fear of destitution"? Dr. Kingsbury claimed that the cash nexus had "almost entirely ceased to operate in

¹⁵ Robert Morss Lovett, *All Our Years* (New York: Viking Press, 1948), pp. 154-55.

medical practice in Soviet Russia"; he reported furthermore the belief of Soviet physicians that this helped them in curative work. The vast majority of the population now had better medical care than they had ever had, and the services provided were of an astonishingly complete character. Harry Hopkins appointed his old friend as his assistant in the Works Progress Administration.¹⁶

Then too there was Dr. Frankwood E. Williams, to whom Harry Hopkins in his emotional difficulties turned for psychoanalytical help. Dr. Williams, editor of *The Journal of Mental Hygiene*, found the Soviet Union a mental hygienist's paradise. Here one could escape, he wrote in 1932, the "atmosphere of competition and rivalry that vitiates everything from the start and at every step." Here was no patchwork of clinics and hospitals to serve as refuges from a competitive order; the whole Soviet society was a mental hygiene clinic. Squeezed in a Moscow streetcar which made the New York subway seem like a half-empty football stand, Dr. Williams had a sense of mystic communion; "for the moment we are just one body." Soviet society had accomplished the social miracle of liberating its citizens from anxieties and defensive reactions. Did Dr. Williams' mystical enthusiasm for the Soviet Union distort his perception of medical fact? Shortly thereafter, in 1932, Dr. C. P. Oberndorf, moved to skepticism by Dr. Williams' reports, went to the Soviet Union for two weeks. He found a higher percentage of young people in the Soviet hospitals with dementia praecox than in the United States, the result evidently of strains of adaptation to Soviet life. But it was the observer's reports of Dr. Williams which had the ear of Harry Hopkins and the social workers.¹⁷

The October Revolution was indeed a turning-point in the lives of the most distinguished social workers. Their social idealism, frustrated on the American scene, was vicariously satisfied in the Soviet achievement. The Bolshevik to them was the social worker in arms. Florence Kelley of Hull House, the revered pioneer of labor legislation who had

¹⁶ Robert Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins, An Intimate History* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1948), pp. 23-27, 34, 35. Sir Arthur Newsholme and John Adams Kingsbury, *Red Medicine: Socialized Health in Soviet Russia* (New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1933), p. 266. Also cf. Rexford G. Tugwell, *The Democratic Roosevelt* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1957), p. 197. It was to Kingsbury that Franklin D. Roosevelt wrote in 1930: "There is no question in my mind that it is time for the country to become radical for at least one generation: History shows that where this occurs occasionally, nations are saved from revolution." Roosevelt, as governor of New York, frequently consulted with Kingsbury on questions of social welfare. *F.D.R.: His Personal Letters: 1928-1945*, ed. Elliot Roosevelt (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1950), I, 118.

¹⁷ Frankwood E. Williams, "Those Crazy Russians!": A Mental-Hygiene Hunting Trip in the U.S.S.R." *The Survey*, LXVII (1932), pp. 342-44. C. P. Oberndorf, *A History of Psychoanalysis in America* (New York: Grune & Stratton, 1953), pp. 191-93.

served Governor Altgeld as his first factory inspector, dismissed the anti-Bolsheviks as persons who "waited up all night in the station for the milk train and the express whizzed by." Jane Addams and Lillian D. Wald broke their friendship with Catherine Breshkovsky, the "Little Grandmother" of the Russian Revolution, rather than condemn the Bolsheviks. Travelers' reports from Anna Louise Strong and Moissaye J. Olgin came to Lillian D. Wald "of the vast promise of the Soviet government and the strength and wisdom and social passion of Lenin." When Olgin lectured to her House after his visit to the Soviet Union in 1921, the audience "sat enthralled."

In 1924, Lillian D. Wald accepted an invitation to visit the Soviet Union, and discuss with Soviet leaders the problems of childhood and public health. With two co-workers and an interpreter, she spent six weeks in Russia. She found "the achievement of the last two or three years in the field of public health and preventive measures . . . extraordinary." She found the government waging a poster campaign against swaddling clothes (Nota bene: advocates of the Gorer Hypothesis). She saw the vast estates which had been put to use for the people's recreation and health. She was stirred by the "far-reaching plans, the desire to have the many children secure the best that science and devotion can give." She visited the experimental schools where she found that John Dewey's ideas were being applied "not less than 150 per cent." She was in Moscow when Lenin was buried in the Red Square, and felt the tremor of the multitude as if expectant of a miracle. Lenin's image blended with Jesus in her dreams, "for one night as I slept I watched two spirited horses pulling a great wagon along a Russian road . . . when the driver turned I saw the face of Christ radiant."¹⁸

Such was the almost religious exaltation of the social workers. The Soviet Union was Hull House, the Educational Alliance, the Neighborhood House, projected on the agenda for world history. Eduard C. Lindemann, Professor of Social Philosophy at Columbia University's School for Social Work, and a contributing editor of *The New Republic*, saw evidence in the Soviet Union that a basic change in human nature was under way; "acquisitiveness," he said, was becoming a "recessive trait."¹⁹ This was the ingredient which social workers who had journeyed to Moscow imparted to the philosophy of the New Deal.

The social workers are not to be dismissed as heaven-centered idealists who had given way to wishful thinking. The greatest figure of

¹⁸ Lillian D. Wald, "Public Health in Soviet Russia," *The Survey*, LIII (1924), 272-74; *Windows on Henry Street* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1934), pp. 255-71.

¹⁹ Eduard C. Lindemann, "Is Human Nature Changing in Russia?" *The New Republic*, LXXIV (1933), 95-98.

American Progressivism in the twenties, Senator Robert M. LaFollette, progenitor of the Wisconsin Idea, and spiritual precursor of the New Deal, had a similar perception of Soviet reality. To LaFollette, the Soviet Union was in large measure Midwestern Populist Progressivism realized. The Senator with a party of seven, which included the fellow-travelers Lincoln Steffens and Jo Davidson, entered the Soviet Union on August 30, 1923. His wife, Belle LaFollette, published reports on their observations in *LaFollette's Magazine*; they told with enthusiasm that the Soviet leaders were reformers just like themselves. "The Soviet government appears to me to be working with religious zeal and faith to establish what it believes to be a social and economic order that is scientific and just." They found a flourishing cooperative movement, and widespread peasant ownership of land. LaFollette had left a land which reeked of Teapot Dome and corruption in the highest places, but here in the Soviet country, graft was treason, and punished by death. The Progressive platform was evidently being realized by the Bolsheviks. "All the reforms that Florence Kelley and the Consumers' League have been working for these long years," wrote Mrs. LaFollette, have been "achieved under the Soviet Republic. And there is no danger of a Supreme Court decision setting aside the results of those years of effort." The Communists were genuinely interested in helping their farmers with scientific advice and social assistance. There was a foreshadowing of the Rural Electrification and Farm Security Administrations in Mrs. LaFollette's declaration of Soviet intent: "If the Soviets could have their way, all the land would be cultivated by tractors, all the villages lighted by electricity, each community would have a central house serving for the purpose of school, library, assembly hall, and theatre. They would have every convenience and advantage which they plan for the industrial workers in the city . . ."

Senator LaFollette, of course, unreservedly rejected dictatorship as an instrument of social change. Nonetheless, he shared a common viewpoint as to the social content of the Soviet reforms with his companions Steffens and Davidson, and indeed with his guides, Anna Louise Strong and the communist Nuorteva. The LaFollettes saw a country in which a sense of equality and cordial fellowship diffused between the workers and their chosen superintendents.²⁰ They were moved by the "spirit

²⁰ Belle Case LaFollette, "With Senator LaFollette in Russia," *LaFollette's Magazine*, XV (1923), 185-86. Belle Case LaFollette and Fola LaFollette, *Robert M. LaFollette* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1953), II, 1079-83. Jo Davidson, *Between Sittings: An Informal Autobiography* (New York: Dial Press, 1951), pp. 178-81. On Nuorteva, cf. Theodore Draper, *The Roots of American Communism* (New York: Viking Press, 1957), pp. 78, 229-32. Joseph Freeman, *An American Testament* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1936), p. 546.

of reverence and affection" toward Lenin, then in his last illness, and reported that he was evidently worshipped by the Russian peasants.²¹

The following year Robert LaFollette was the Progressive candidate for the presidency of the United States. Behind him were grouped many of those who eight years later emerged as the intellectual leaders of the New Deal. Felix Frankfurter endorsed LaFollette's candidacy for the presidency in words which remind one of the intensity of the pragmatic disaffection with the existing political and social realities, and make understandable its readiness to entertain the notion of reconstructing society in the direction of planned economy: "The Republican and Democratic parties do not face the issues because there are no differences in realities cutting across the two parties. They each represent unreal cohesions, . . ." With an almost Marxist overtone, Frankfurter wrote that "both parties have an identical record of economic imperialism." He hoped for an American analogue to the British Labor party, without which, he said, "there might have been disastrous revolutionary interludes in England."²² American pragmatists could range themselves behind LaFollette not in spite of but partially because he was the kind of man who was ready to learn from the socialist experiment of the Soviet Union.

The aspiration of the New Deal, as Samuel Lubell has emphasized, expressed in considerable part the upsurge of the ethnic minorities in the United States. Their leaders were pragmatic, but again we must recognize how much pragmatic means and ends came during the twenties to be linked to means and ends embodied in the Soviet experiment. No American philosopher had applied the spirit of William James's pragmatism more fruitfully to the problems of American democracy than had Horace M. Kallen. In a series of notable essays and books, Kallen examined with honesty and depth the dilemmas of a country whose culture was being forged by diverse immigrant groups, and his projection of a "cultural pluralism," an orchestration of diverse heritages within a common democratic setting, mitigated the harsh Americanizings of a period which knew the Palmer Raids and the Ku Klux Klan. Kallen journeyed to the Soviet Union to see with his own eyes

²¹ Among the later politicians who visited the Soviet Union, we must mention Albert M. Ottinger, the Republican opponent of Franklin D. Roosevelt for the governorship of New York in 1928. Ottinger, a spokesman for a "businessmen's delegation" in 1929, delivered himself of a speech to their Soviet hosts in which he turned his eyes heavenward, and said: "And I trust, my friends, that *with God's help*, you will carry your wonderful Five Year Plan to a great success!" Eugene Lyons, *Assignment in Utopia* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1937), pp. 229-30.

²² Felix Frankfurter, "Why I Shall Vote for LaFollette," *The New Republic*, XL (1924), 200-1.

how the Bolsheviks had met the problems of their ethnic minorities.

The Russia of the Czars had been the monstrous land of pogroms, deportations, the Pale, the *numerus clausus* and the Cossacks' knout. Kishineff and Odessa were names to Jews not for civilized towns but for bestial mobs and human massacre.²³ Now Kallen found a world transformed. The Soviet Union was indeed the land of cultural pluralism. For the Jews, "more truly than for any people under the Soviets," wrote Kallen, "a new life is beginning." Jews, because of their literacy and intellectual eagerness, were welcome in numerous and important posts in the public service. This was a country in which there was no pussyfooting with anti-Semitism. The Bolshevik authority enunciated the principle: "Anti-Semitism is counter-revolutionary," and it rigorously put it into practice. Kallen, the co-worker of John Dewey, observed too the miracle of Soviet education: "I came away with the feeling that the educational system itself was enough to justify the revolution."

In the United States, Kallen had been in the forefront among the small group of intellectuals which sought to awaken the American conscience against the injustices of the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti. The execution of the two Italian immigrants in 1927 seemed to many the culmination of American nativist xenophobia. The pilgrimage to the Soviet Union, however, cleansed the soul; here was a land in which the lowly and the downtrodden minorities had taken their full places in society. Horace Kallen opened his spirit to the Soviet pragmatic adventure: "All, regardless of party," he wrote, "acknowledge that the revolution has awakened the millions, that the government, 'dictatorship' though it be, has liberated their energies, animated them with an altogether unprecedented sense of personal dignity and inward worth, opened to them hitherto sealed worlds of science and art and personal advancement, . . ." ²⁴ He was moved with respect by the austere simplicity of Stalin, living in two ascetic rooms in the Kremlin. These were Veblenite workmen who ruled Russia, not a decadent leisure class.

Very similar was the experience of Avrahm Yarmolinsky, one of the very few qualified for accurate observation of Soviet realities. Yarmolinsky, the Chief of the Slavonic Division of the New York Public Library, fluent in his native Russian tongue, educated in Russian primary and secondary schools, spent nearly a half-year in the Soviet Union during 1923-24. The Jews, he reported, "clung to the Bolsheviks as their saviors"; Jewish youth had flocked to the Red Army to fight for the

²³ See, for instance, Shalom Aleichem's bitter song, "Spi, Elyosha," in Melech Grafstein, *Shalom Aleichem Panorama* (London, Ontario: Jewish Observer, 1948), pp. 296-97.

²⁴ Horace M. Kallen. *Frontiers of Hope* (New York: H. Liveright, 1929), pp. 318-19, 326, 351-53, 381-82, 430-31. "Religion in Russia," *The New Republic*, LII (1927), 279-82.

ideal of Lenin's internationalism and the reality of their own lives. Yarmolinsky foretold a renaissance of Jewish culture in the free cultural pluralism of the Soviet world. And no wonder, for he found Jewish State Theatres flourishing in Kharkov, Kiev, Moscow and Minsk; he met great Jewish poets, saw a Museum of Jewish Culture and heard Yiddish in schools as the language of instruction. Within a few years, there were upwards of a hundred Jewish soviets, with their transactions recorded in the once-despised Yiddish jargon. With faith and hope, Yarmolinsky could truthfully write: "Unless all signs fail, the future will witness the rise of a distinct Jewish culture on Russian soil."²⁵ The signs did fail. Yarmolinsky's gifted perception could not grasp the multiple potentialities and indeterminacies in social evolution. Who could grasp them? Meanwhile, however, the perspective for the ethnic liberalism of the New Deal was being enriched by the experience of Soviet cultural pluralism. Pragmatic experiment was showing how different peoples could be led, under Soviet guidance, to live side by side in a cooperative world.

The intellectual leaders of the American Negro likewise scanned the sociological skies, and beheld a bright star, which shone all the more in the dark despair which beclouded them in the Social Acquiescence of the twenties. W. E. B. DuBois, spokesman for the new Negro intellectual and middle class, leader of the so-called Talented Tenth, had sounded the call in 1905 for the Niagara Movement, and become the chief guide for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He had almost single-handedly created Negro sociology as a scientific study, when most American sociologists preferred to remain oblivious to racial problems. In 1926, DuBois spent two months in the Soviet Union; his visit was financed by an American "friend of the Soviet Union." The sight of Soviet reality caused something of an emotional upheaval in DuBois. "I am writing this in Russia," he wrote back to his readers in *The Crisis*. "I am sitting in Revolution Square . . . I stand in astonishment and wonder at the revelation of Russia that has come to me. I may be partially deceived and half-informed. But if what I have seen with my eyes and heard with my ears in Russia is Bolshevism, I am a Bolshevik." He went about observing everywhere, often with his interpreter, sometimes alone, with the same dogged persistence he had shown almost thirty years before when he interviewed family after family in the Negro slums of Philadelphia. He gathered documents and figures, plied officials and teachers with questions and gazed at "this Russia" to fathom its spirit. And now, for the first time in his

²⁵ Avrahm Yarmolinsky, *The Jews and Other Minor Nationalities under the Soviets* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1929), pp. 57, 128-36.

life, despair left his pen. Of all the lands he had seen, "the hope" was "tensest and most flaming in Russia."²⁶ The Russian Dictatorship of the Proletariat was simply an instrument for imparting education and intelligence to the workingmen so that they would rule themselves. In Russia, the aim was that the Workingman would be the State. If the Bolsheviks succeeded in this noble design, said DuBois, "the Russian Revolution will sweep the world." DuBois noted that while the American University Travel Association accepted no Negro applicants, the Russian Student Bureau was not only inviting but urging Negro students to visit Russia.²⁷ When the New Deal began to grope for basic change in the philosophy of racial relations, the leaders of the Negro people could cite the report of the successful Soviet experiment in the reshaping of ethnic attitudes. The Soviet Union had enforced an equality of peoples. Its example could permeate the New Deal ideology with an indication of the evident power of governmental intervention to eradicate racial antagonisms. For the Negro leaders of the Talented Tenth had heard the Soviet story, and when they pleaded and cajoled with Washington officials, the vision of the Soviet Union as a model for racial equality was a felt presence.

From the afternoon in 1933 on which Hugh Johnson listened earnestly to the New York Jewish union leader as he expounded the clothing workers' standpoint to the National Recovery Administration, Sidney Hillman began to emerge as the labor leader who contributed most to the philosophy of the New Deal.²⁸ Eleven years later, campaigners of the Republican party jibed at a Democratic leadership which had decided to "clear it with Sidney." Eleven years earlier, Hillman had come to equate the meaning of pragmatic experiment in our time with the path which Lenin had opened.

Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, had taken part as a youngster in the Russian Revolution of 1905. Now in 1921, saying that he hoped to visit his Orthodox parents in Lithuania, he journeyed to famine-stricken Russia. Horrified by the suffering he witnessed, he began sending cablegrams to his union asking its members to send aid at once to meet the desperate need. On a Friday morning on November 4, 1921, upon his return to New York, hundreds of

²⁶ *The Crisis*, XXXIV (1927), 70; XXX (1926), 8, 189, 190. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn: An Essay toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1940), p. 287. Also cf. Francis L. Broderick, *W. E. B. DuBois: Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis* (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1959), pp. 138-40.

²⁷ *The Crisis*, XXXV (1928), 381; XXXIV (1927), 203.

²⁸ Hugh Johnson, *The Blue Eagle from Egg to Earth* (New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1935), p. 217.

clothing workers greeted him at the pier. At once, Hillman told them the upshot of his four weeks' journey to the Soviet Union: "The Bolshevik group is the only group with force enough and vigor enough to govern Russia." The Soviet government, Hillman later said, was "the most stable, the most efficient, and the most constructive government in Europe today."²⁹ He told the clothing workers: "Lenin asked me to convey to you his personal thanks and appreciation for your splendid assistance," the first and the largest shipment of aid from any labor organization; the audience responded warmly. The honesty and ability of the Soviet leaders was unquestioned, Hillman said; they had saved Russia for the Russians. Then he gave his verdict as a labor pragmatist. As to the soundness of the Soviet policies, he said, the best test is that they are getting results. They are working; the new economic policy especially was helping to build the economic life of the country. The Soviet leaders, Hillman continued, have not abandoned their plans for a collectivist society; they have merely changed their method of getting there. He stood by his fellow Soviet pragmatists: "My conviction is that Russia is in an era of great economic reconstruction."³⁰

Probably Sidney Hillman stood closer to the thought-ways of the Bolshevik leaders than any of the other Americans who traveled to the Soviet Union. He had three conferences with Lenin at the Kremlin, and obviously felt a basic kinship with the man's ideas and methods. Lenin acknowledged that the New Economic Policy was a retreat, but reiterated that the Communist aim remained unchanged. In various ways, Hillman mispredicted the future. He expected that both the New Economic Policy and individual peasant ownership of land would persist "for years to come." But he saw clearly the pragmatic reality of a present which could be met in only one constructive way. He was indifferent to the subtleties of Menshevik and Bolshevik disputation, and had only contempt for the "brigands," the "Denikins, Kolchaks, Yudenitches, Petluras . . ." He felt that Lenin's party had the support of the people, that it would do the job and that the Bolshevik dictatorship was pragmatically justified. "They are the only people with a constructive program to lift the nation out of the bankruptcy and chaos it inherited from the Czar."³¹

From Hillman's experience in Russia was born an effort to organize a corporation to help its clothing manufacture. Hillman journeyed once more to the Soviet Union, signed an agreement with Lenin, which a

²⁹ *Advance*, V (November 11, 1921), 1-2.

³⁰ *Advance*, V (November 18, 1921), 1-2.

³¹ Sidney Hillman, "How Russia Solves Her Problems," *Advance*, V (December 9, 1921), 5, 8. *Advance*, V (November 18, 1921), 2.

convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers enthusiastically approved. As the bars of the *Internationale* sounded forth, Hillman and his fellow leaders marched to the platform, and were greeted by cablegrams of congratulation from distinguished Soviet leaders. Hillman told of Lenin, Radek and that "other demon, Leon Trotsky." These he said "are the proper people to deal with." Some persons thought they were "improper." But, said Hillman sardonically: "We have even got improper people in some of the local unions of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, you know, and we are nearly perfect." His conclusion was plain and unmistakable: "I have never met a group of people that is so realistic, so practical, so courageous, and so able to handle the greatest job, as the group of people who have charge of the destinies of the Russian nation today."³² No doubt Hillman in later years revised many of his political judgments. But he never unsaid his admiration for Lenin's achievement and Soviet pragmatism. He brought to American political pragmatism the sense of a battle and direction which merged at its limit with the Soviet aspiration which had stirred him in the autumn of 1921. "In the history of the world," said Hillman, "the poets will be remembered more than the practical men, but actual life is made by the practical men, inspired at times by the writings of the dreamers. Life is made by the men who can take hold of life and have the power to mold it . . ." ³³

The Soviet Union exerted its magnetic power on other spokesmen of labor who became outstanding in defining New Deal labor policy. John Brophy, who in 1935 was chosen by John L. Lewis to be the first Executive Director of the Committee for Industrial Organization, spoke the final words on behalf of the First American Labor Delegation to Joseph Stalin on September 9, 1927: "The presence of the American delegation in the U.S.S.R. is the best reply, and is evidence of the sympathy of a section of the American workers to the workers of the Soviet Union."³⁴ Men who came to the forefront of the C.I.O. during its youthful organizing days had spent years as volunteer workmen in the Soviet Union—Walter Reuther, Powers Hapgood. The president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, the veteran socialist James H. Maurer, could not join right-wing social democrats in their antagonism to the Soviet Union; he had been there with the Trade Union Delegation, and he spoke of the deep impression that had been made on him by "the enthusiasm, the hope, the confidence, and the loyalty of the

³² *Advance*, VI (May 19, 1922), 1-35; (June 2, 1922), 1, 7.

³³ Matthew Josephson, *Sidney Hillman: Statesman of American Labor* (New York: Doubleday, 1952), pp. 256-67.

³⁴ Joseph Stalin, *Interviews with Foreign Workers' Delegations*, p. 42.

Russians to their government. They had something to look forward to and no sacrifice was too great for them to help it in its tremendous task. Heaven help the nation that tried to conquer it."³⁵ Men who fought the communists bitterly in their own unions still acknowledged the attractive power of the Soviet universe. Benjamin Schlesinger, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, came back from a visit to the Soviet Union with hopes similar to Hillman's. Schlesinger promised Lenin that he would promote a campaign to provide sewing machines for garment factories in Russia.³⁶ The ensuing years, however, made communism and its methods anathema to the officers of the ILGWU. Nevertheless, when David Dubinsky, president of the union in 1931, reported to the membership on his own visit to the Soviet Union, he astonished many by his tribute to the spirit which pervaded the Russian masses. His audience was "almost spellbound" as he said that notwithstanding their terrible privations, the Soviet "workers appear to be ready to undergo all kinds of misery as a necessary sacrifice for the attainment of the ideal communistic state, which, they believe, is on the way now."³⁷

Thus, as the depression deepened, and American workingmen felt that the minimal contract for social existence was being violated, the reports of a land which based itself on the united will of the workers made an ever more intense impression. That same month, garment workers read that John Dewey was calling for a special session of Congress to enact an unemployment relief program. "No one in the present crisis shall have cake until everyone is assured of bread," Dewey wrote to President Hoover. Nicholas Murray Butler echoed the opinions of Senators, governors and bankers when he said the "final test of capitalism" was upon the American people.³⁸ During this time, the American need shaped the perception of Soviet reality; the experiment became the practicable alternative.

It was American engineers, however, who finally brought the most convincing tidings of the Soviet experiment. An ingredient of Veblenite ideology, with its apotheosis of the role of the engineer in creating a scientific industrial civilization, went into the New Deal; the model which it

³⁵ James Hudson Maurer, *It Can Be Done* (New York: Rand School, 1938), pp. 291-92. Maurer and Brophy reminded critics of the Soviet Union: "After all, Russia has a workers' government." *Russia After Ten Years*, p. 96.

³⁶ Melech Epstein, *Jewish Labor in U.S.A.: 1914-1952* (New York: Trade Union Sponsoring Committee, 1953), p. 89.

³⁷ Samuel Perlmutter, "The Month in Local 10," *Justice*, XIII (October, 1931), 11. Also cf. Max D. Danish, *The World of David Dubinsky* (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1957), pp. 66-67.

³⁸ Max D. Danish, "Run O' the Month," *Justice*, *ibid.*, p. 6.

invoked, the flow-chart of a scientific society, was the Soviet Union, as viewed by American engineers. Engineering opinion concerning the Soviet Union veered a full one hundred and eighty degrees during the course of a decade. Herbert Hoover, as Secretary of Commerce in 1921, rendered the authoritative dictum that the Russian economy would never revive so long as it was fettered by a Soviet system. "Under their economic system," he said, "there can be no real return to production, and therefore, Russia will have few commodities to export, . . . The abandonment of the present economic system is essential to a restoration of production."³⁹ Behind Hoover's judgment, there was the rich engineering experience he had had in Russia during the six years prior to the First World War. Hoover developed in Siberia "probably the greatest and richest single body of ore known in the world," ore of such quality as "had hitherto existed only in museum specimens." He reorganized the Kyshtim mines and smelter works, which gave a livelihood to one hundred thousand workers, so that they operated on a profitable basis. He had a premonition of revolution too when he saw one day "a long line of intelligent, decent people brutally chained together" being marched toward a Siberia-bound freight car. But Hoover hated the Bolshevik Revolution. It deprived him, as he said, of what would have been "the largest engineering fees ever known to man." His staff of one hundred and sixty American technicians which had once been welcomed to Russia, was deported by the communists, while many of the Russian engineers were killed. "Inherent in Communist destruction," Hoover later wrote, was a "shift from intelligence to ignorance." The once flourishing mines and smelters became idle; "the very furies of ignorance were in the saddle."⁴⁰ Hoover knew more about Russian minerals than any man in the world. As late as 1929, the maps he made were still guiding the operations of Soviet mining.⁴¹ He was blind, however, to the latent potentialities in the Soviet idea. He saw and even understood the harshness of the revolutionary response to centuries of suppression, but he could not acknowledge that a society based on socialist premises might be able to administer the economy. His outlook was always managerial, hierarchical and paternalist.

The recall of American engineers to Russia began seriously in 1927. That year Colonel Hugh Cooper commuted three times between New

³⁹ Herbert Hoover, "Trade with Soviet Russia," *Mining and Scientific Press*, CXXII (1921), 538.

⁴⁰ *The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover: Years of Adventure, 1874-1920* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1952), pp. 102-8.

⁴¹ Charles E. Sorensen, *My Forty Years with Ford* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1956), p. 204.

York and Moscow, and spent a total of six months in the Soviet Union in supervising the design for the dam on the Dnieper River. His reports began to confute the Hoover verdict. The Bolsheviks, said Colonel Cooper, had performed "a miracle in restoring law and order out of chaos." American engineers were especially intrigued by three themes in their perception of Soviet reality. They tended, in the first place, to be historicists; they adjusted themselves to Soviet reality by saying that the Bolshevik Revolution had been *inevitable*. Secondly, as applied scientists, they especially extolled the *experimentalism* of the Soviet rulers, their readiness to try something new, and lastly, the colossal magnitude of the Soviet effort appealed to their instinct for *bigness*, their managerial admiration of sheer size and scope. "Communism," said Colonel Cooper, "was inevitable in 1917 in Russia," just as the French Revolution had been inevitable in 1789. W. J. Austin, president of the Austin company which built the center for the manufacture of Ford cars, saw the Soviet dictatorship as historically justified because autocracy was probably required to "maintain any semblance of order in a vast country which has for centuries known only despotic government." "The rule of the Soviets," he said, "is the only sort of government that could stand between the great mass of the Russian people and chaos." T. D. Campbell, America's master agricultural engineer, found himself sympathetic to Stalin the disciplinarian because "any country after a war and revolution must have stern measures." Walter A. Rukeyser, consultant to the Soviet asbestos mining industry from 1929 to 1931, learned at first hand of the inefficiency and oppressiveness in Soviet existence; he observed sabotage, premeditated and frequent; he witnessed the endless red tape, and the fear of the secret police. Nevertheless, he could not help but admire the "gigantic experiment," and concluded: "Eventually, something good will come out of the sociological experiment in Russia." H. J. Freyn, after working for four years with his company to build a steel industry in the Kuznetsk Basin in Siberia, told the Taylor Society in Chicago in 1931 that the Soviets had accomplished "a remarkable technical and managerial feat, unparalleled in the world's history." T. D. Campbell used all the vocabulary of the Rotarian booster to convey his admiration of Soviet bigness; it was "the biggest farming story the world has ever heard," and the state farms were undertakings "that are simply staggering: stupendous"; he had never seen such giant farms in the United States.⁴²

⁴² Hugh Cooper, "Observations of Present-Day Russia," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CXXXVIII (1928), 117-18. W. J. Austin, "Why Fear Russia?" as told to Frederick A. Van Fleet, *Scribner's Magazine*, XC (1931), 291-92. Thomas D. Campbell, *Russia, Market or Menace?* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co.,

Above all, the work-ethic of the Soviet rulers impressed American engineers; some strain of managerial idealism found itself especially attracted by the dedication to the job which inspired the communist administrators. W. J. Austin admired the sincerity of the Soviet chiefs in their "working indefatigably on industrialization"; he paid tribute to communist leaders who would not allow communist theory to stand in the way of their fulfilling the five year plan. These were practical men, who knew how to teach their people to work and save. H. J. Freyn marveled at the long working hours of the Soviet leaders; an eighteen-hour-day was the rule rather than the exception. T. D. Campbell was stirred by Stalin's frankness, sincerity and capacity for leadership, and by his "strong face and piercing black eyes which concentrate on you . . . to such an extent that you hardly feel the presence of an interpreter." He was evidently impressed to such an extent as to affect his physical judgment; his estimate of Stalin as "about five feet, ten inches tall" elevated considerably the Soviet ruler's stature.⁴³

Of all the travelers to the Soviet Union, the engineers were, in one sense, the most accurate observers of Soviet reality. For they were not spectators, hurried, hand-shaking tourists, rushing through inspections of model schools, model hospitals and model museums. They were participant-observers; they had to work in Soviet factories and mines with Soviet managers and workingmen. They stayed for much longer periods than the usual American visitor; they would sign contracts to remain from one to three years. Everywhere they encountered the inefficiency, timidity and obstruction of Soviet bureaucrats. The American engineers had built the plants, but, asked Walter Rukeyser, would the Russians know how to run them? "Those of us who have worked with the Soviet," he wrote, "knew only too well the inherent procrastination of the Russian temperament, the love of reports, dissertations, meetings, the cumbersome red tape which exists with every phase of communist industry . . . There is unbelievable squandering of the blood-

1932), pp. 18-19, 99, 109. H. J. Freyn, "An American Engineer Looks at the Five Year Plan," *The New Republic*, LXVI (1931), 319. Walter Arnold Rukeyser, "Do Our Engineers in Russia Damage America?" *Scribner's Magazine*, XC (1931), 523. Walter Arnold Rukeyser, *Working for the Soviets: An American Engineer in Russia* (New York: Covici-Friede, 1932), p. 282.

⁴³ Stalin at this time made a great impression on Americans as a simple, straightforward man, utterly devoid of vanity. Eugene Lyons, the most critical and alienated observer in the Soviet Union, nevertheless acknowledged: "Even at moments when the behavior of his regime seemed to me most hateful, I retained that liking for Stalin as a human being. I could understand thereafter the devotion to the man held by certain writers of my acquaintance . . . in his makeup, there was nothing of make-believe, nowhere a note of falseness or affectation. His friendliness . . . rang true." Lyons, *Assignment in Utopia*, p. 340.

sweated proletarian rouble . . ." John Calder complained that he drew salary for three months while the Russian engineers frustrated all he tried to do. The Soviet coal industry was excoriated in the report of one American technician, while the railroad experts, headed by a Baltimore and Ohio operating man, threatened to leave altogether. One large firm did pull out lock, stock and barrel. The ominous, ubiquitous presence of the Soviet secret political police was always a generator of anxiety. When Rukeyser encountered the Chief of the Ural GPU, he was overwhelmed by the "hatred," the "all-burning egotism" the "sense of omnipotent power in his antagonistic personality," and he thanked heaven that "nothing conceivable could put me in that man's power." The engineers saw the trials and purges which were the prelude to the culminating destruction of the old Bolshevik generation in 1936 and 1937. Rukeyser witnessed the trial and death sentence of the ablest construction engineers in the Soviet Union, yet he could not help justifying the secret police: "whenever the GPU strikes, it is usually with reason. Perhaps the accusation is trumped-up or exaggerated; . . . yet behind these flimsy excuses, the GPU is practically dead-certain that the accused was engaged in activities against the state." Rukeyser was aware that engineers were being punished for conditions beyond their power, but historicist standards had begun to permeate the engineers' values.⁴⁴

The grandeur of Soviet state planning simply astounded American engineers. Karl Marx may have ridiculed the socialists who wrote blueprints for society, but the American engineers found themselves instinctively at home with a government which aimed to rule by blueprints. Back home in Montana, Thomas Campbell was running America's largest mechanized farm—95,000 acres of soil without a horse or mule, and financed with two million dollars by J. P. Morgan. He used to dream of a United States Farming Corporation which would be greater than the United States Steel. Now Stalin was offering him one million acres to farm. They talked together for four hours. "I am not a Communist," insisted Campbell, ". . . Nevertheless, I am interested in your agricultural development, as I am an agricultural mechanical engineer . . ." Stalin rose from his chair, crossed to Campbell's side of the table, took his hand in both of his, and said: "Thank you for that, Mr. Campbell. Now I know that I can believe you. Now I know that

⁴⁴ Rukeyser, *Working for the Soviets*, pp. 219-20, 178-80, 266-67. George A. Burrell, "Experiences of an American Engineer in Russia," *National Petroleum News*, XXIII (September 9, 1931), 38-40.

we can respect each other and perhaps we can be friends.”⁴⁵ This was the fellowship of technical managerialists, and to Campbell’s mind, it outweighed the peasants’ resistance to collectivization, “the most smashing strike the world has ever seen,” he called it, as well as the fear he found among the operators at the machine and tractor stations. The engineer felt a kinship to the planner.

Technologists of socialism and capitalism found that their sense of technological community could override their ideological differences. The collaboration of the engineers and executives of the Ford Motor Company with their Soviet counterparts was the most astonishing example of this phenomenon. An early Ford mission to the Soviet Union in 1926 had found industrial conditions too backward and unfavorable for the Ford company’s initiative. The Five Year Plan, however, brought a different atmosphere. On May 31, 1929, the Ford Motor Company entered into an agreement with the Supreme Economic Council according to which it undertook to provide the complete plans for a large automobile factory, install the necessary equipment and train the working force. “No other American industrial firm,” wrote Charles E. Sorensen, the renowned production manager of the Ford company, “ever did so much business with Communist Russia as Ford Motor Company.” The Ford engineers literally created the Soviet automobile industry, as Stalin in 1933 acknowledged. A complete Ford factory called the Molotov Works arose at Gorky, and an assembly plant, the KIM Works, in Moscow. American engineers and mechanics trained Soviet technicians to do their jobs, and imparted to them the industrial common sense of keeping factories clean and free from junk, and the art of not wasting time. As New Year’s Day approached in 1931, the opening day for the Molotov Works, Edsel Ford had a farewell conference with Frank Bennett and Charles Sorensen. “Mr. Bennett,” said Edsel Ford, “when the first car comes off the assembly lines, would you send us a cable? It means very much to this company.”⁴⁶

The Ford company evidently sustained a financial loss in its Soviet venture of more than a half million dollars. Nevertheless, as Nevins and Hill tell us, Henry Ford would gladly have sacrificed twice that sum to

⁴⁵ Edward Angly, “Thomas Campbell: Master Farmer,” *The Forum*, LXXXVI (1931), 18, 22. Thomas D. Campbell, *Russia, Market or Menace?* pp. 15-17. Owen P. White, “Interview with Thomas D. Campbell: Wheat on the Grand Scale,” *Collier’s*, LXXXVI (December 20, 1930), 63, 102. Campbell was, according to John G. Winant, a friend of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Cf. John Gilbert Winant, *Letter from Grosvenor Square* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947), p. 189.

⁴⁶ Sorensen, *My Forty Years with Ford*, pp. 193-94. Allan Nevins and Frank Ernest Hill, *Ford: Expansion and Challenge 1915-1933* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1957), pp. 674-80.

give his ideas a practical illustration on the world stage.⁴⁷ And here we have that strange phenomenon of the underlying community of technologists, transcending the divergences of social system. Charles Sorensen had no use for the bureaucratic socialism of the Soviet Union. But when he talked with the mechanical engineer, V. I. Meschlauk, chief of the Supreme Economic Council, he found they spoke a common language. He could tell him bluntly when they inspected the Putilov Steel Works that the best thing to do with them was to get a "barrel of dynamite," place it in the middle of the plant, and "blow it up." Years later, and long after the tragic death sentence of Meschlauk, Sorensen wondered if he were still alive: "I would certainly like to pay my respects. Meschlauk was the outstanding man in Russia to carry on the developments we prepared for him." Stalin in those days would say as he passed Sorensen's conference table: "Allo, Sharley," the greeting to the American Vulcan, bearer of technological know-how.

By the year 1931, the roster of firms giving "technical aid" to the Soviet Union included General Electric, bringing its Mazda Lamps, Albert Kahn, supervising factory construction, John Calder, directing the construction of steel mills, McKee and Company, building the largest iron smelting project in Europe, and Stuart, James, and Cooke, modernizing the Soviet coal industry. That year, however, the honeymoon period of American engineers in the Soviet Union came to an end. By May, 1931, the reports of friction between American and Soviet engineers began to accumulate. The tempo of the Five Year Plan strained nerves; the Russian engineers, moreover, were jealous of the higher salaries and better living conditions of the Americans. Also, some American engineers were incompetent, and others malcontent. A committee of the American Society of Civil Engineering warned its members about these problems, and reminded them that Russian engineers worked under conditions of perpetual anxiety. An error in design might be punished by death; therefore responsibility was a burden which Soviet technicians avoided.⁴⁸

Meanwhile, however, more than one thousand American engineers were reported working in the Soviet Union in 1931. As the depression closed opportunities to American technologists, their eyes turned toward the society which evidently welcomed their skills. Amtorg, the Russian commercial agency in New York, claimed that it hired ten thousand Americans in 1931.⁴⁹ Little communal villages of American engineers

⁴⁷ Nevins and Hill, *Ford: Expansion and Challenge*, p. 682.

⁴⁸ "Engineering Employment in Russia," *Civil Engineering*, I (1931), 757.

⁴⁹ An American Engineer, "Industry and Engineering in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics," *The Technology Review*, XXX (1930), 77. Eve Garrett Grady, "American Engineers in Russia," *The Saturday Evening Post*, CCIII (March 14, 1931),

with their families arose in the Soviet Union. There was an awareness in the American engineering profession of a tremendous historical drama. George M. Purver, consulting engineer, spoke and wrote about it for the American Society of Civil Engineering in New York: "We are privileged to live in a time when the engineering profession is coming into its own. . . . Before us is being opened a great panorama of engineering skill that the world has never seen before. What was formerly a backward country of over one hundred and fifty million population is being brought into contact with the most modern developments in engineering. . . . Many of our members will be credited with gigantic construction undertakings, crowded within a short period of time—'five years' in the U.S.S.R. Engineering work stands as the greatest monument of peaceful arts and creation; and our Society, the great exponent of a great profession, should make itself felt in the land of reconstruction." ⁵⁰

Curiously, though the engineers were the best observers of Soviet reality, they were significantly the poorest predictors of the Soviet future. Unlike the educators and social workers, they did tend to see clearly the emerging new class hierarchy; they met daily the drab incompetence, the creaking, ponderous sluggishness of Soviet planning, and the dull oppressiveness of the secret police. But the technical intellectuals tended, however, to look for the return of a variant of capitalism. Colonel Cooper felt the Soviets would have to modify their attitude to private capital; Walter Rukeyser doubted whether the Russian temperament could master American technology; T. D. Campbell thought that with general education, communism would not last another twelve years; Sorensen saw no prospects for technological advance in a planned economy.

The ideological intellectuals (writers, social scientists, social workers) were more selective in their perceptions. They wished to study education in Russia, public health or sexual freedom, but since they scarcely worked at regular jobs in the Soviet Union, their observations had a skewness. They saw the official surface; they did not experience the inner tensions. Their own discontents, however, made them empathize with and perceive the spirit which surmounted the unimaginable technical incompetence. If the ideological intellectuals had a blind spot for the secret police, they responded to the inner liberation of Soviet energies. Almost without exception, the ideologists also went astray in their predictions; they foresaw a democratic, humanistic development; they never foresaw Stalinism.

42. Ruth Kennell and Milly Bennett, "American Immigrants in Russia," *American Mercury*, XXV (1932), 463-64.

⁵⁰ George M. Purver, "The Engineer and Russia," *Civil Engineering*, I (1931), 547.

Such was the epistemological paradox; the technical participant observed the everyday realities, but doubted that faith could move technology; the spectator idealists sensed the faith, but never grasped the potential depth of its perversion.

Meanwhile, however, the engineers' reports of the daring adventure of Soviet planned effort reached the American consciousness. "Planning" on the Soviet model became the symbol for the social intervention which would restore the social equilibrium. As George Soule wrote in 1932: "It is curious how the idea of economic planning has come to dominate all others in foreign views of the Russian revolution." The Russian economy had not conformed to Hoover's prophecy of collapse; it was speaking a language of production which was far "more comprehensible to the American consciousness than the jargon of revolutionary plotters. . . . We listened intently to what she had to say, . . ." For Russia was proposing to construct a great industrial civilization, even to surpass the American, and doing so "by an exercise of national will and a national economic plan. At once our interest in Russia was increased a hundredfold."⁵¹

Eminent engineers urged the idea of planning on an American government which coped with depression. Ralph E. Flanders, then Vice-President of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, envisaged that economic planning would bring an avalanche of goods such as "no utopian dreamer in his busiest slumbers ever dreamed." The ablest engineer in the service of the New Deal, Morris Llewellyn Cooke, wrote some years later of the Soviet Union as that society which was carrying out more completely than any other the logic of large-scale production, the factory system and the machine technique. Cooke, the foremost living exponent of scientific management in the United States, was regarded as the inspirer of "some of the New Deal's most popular programs." He wrote in praise of the directive, "teleological" approach of the Soviet Five Year Plan; he admired its conscious guidance of the use of resources to attain the national goal. The American democracy could use this approach, he said, once it cast off "such debilitating appendages as pork-barrel legislation, and monkey-gland politics."⁵² The travelers' reports from the Soviet Union thus ramified themselves through the engineering consciousness of the New Deal.

⁵¹ George Soule, *A Planned Society* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1932), pp. 204-6.

⁵² Morris Llewellyn Cooke and Philip Murray, *Organized Labor and Production* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1940), pp. 30, 181-82. "Potomacus, Trouble-Shooter Extraordinary," *The New Republic*, CXII (1945), 220. Also, cf. Kenneth E. Trombley, *The Life and Times of a Happy Liberal: A Biography of Morris Llewellyn Cooke* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1954), pp. 225, 234.

The collectivist idea, fed by Soviet experience, was of course only one component in the philosophy of the New Deal. It was a "commitment," as Tugwell has written, in the formative months of its first stage. Later there was a shift "from the collectivistic First to the atomistic Second New Deal," and a standpoint more akin to that of Justice Brandeis became dominant.⁵³ The notion of the experimental collective reconstruction of society remained, however, as a perduring theme. The term "economic planning" became a basic category in American social thought. It had not appeared until 1929 among the titles of articles recorded in the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*, but the depression's advent brought thirteen citations during the next three years. The example of Soviet success in planned economy in contrast to the failure of capitalist economy to surmount depression became a reiterated theme in political books and conferences.⁵⁴ By January, 1933, the Soviet model had come to occupy so prominent a place in American political thinking that Colonel Edward M. House, Nestor of the Wilson Administration, could introduce a collection of travelers' essays with words of welcome.⁵⁵ The volume was edited by the fervid Professor Jerome Davis, perhaps the most un-

⁵³ Tugwell, *The Democratic Roosevelt*, pp. 220, 246, 545-46.

⁵⁴ Paul T. Douglas, *The Coming of a New Party* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1932), pp. 90-93. *On Economic Planning*, eds. Mary Van Kleeck and Mary L. Fled-dérus (New York: Covici-Friede, 1935), pp. xiii, xiv, 239-240, 256-75, 262. Lewis L. Lorwin, *Time for Planning: A Socio-Economic Theory and Program for the Twentieth Century* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1945), pp. xx, xxi, 11, 17, 36-37. Dr. Lorwin's collaborator, A. F. Hinrichs, a director of the National Economic and Social Planning Association founded in 1934, had written after a summer in 1930 spent in the Soviet Union: "Only recently have we learned with something of a shock of the progressive development of a communistic economy." It was fitting, therefore, he said, "to develop a picture of Russian economy—the first example of a modern economic system founded and managed upon the principle of conscious planning." He was stirred as were many other economists: "A plan with a will! This is the spirit of Russian economy that distinguishes it from all others today. Elsewhere men talk of a rational organization of industry, but none of our Western discussion has yet involved the concept of purposefulness." A. Ford Hinrichs and William Adams Brown Jr., "The Planned Economy of Soviet Russia," *Political Science Quarterly*, XLVI (1931), 362, 402.

⁵⁵ *The New Russia*, ed. Jerome Davis (New York: John Day, 1933). Jerome Davis visited the Soviet Union more often than any other American. He went first as a Y.M.C.A. worker to Russia in 1915 when Czar Nicholas II still ruled. He remained for two and a half years, became fluent in Russian, witnessed the October Revolution, and was for a time in charge of all Y.M.C.A. activities in the Soviet Union. On his numerous subsequent visits, he came to know Stalin, Trotsky and Radek. As a professor of sociology at Yale University, he had presumably the academic qualifications for accurate observation. His reports on the Stalinist era have, however, a bizarre tone when read in the light of Khrushchev's revelation of actualities at the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956. According to Professor Davis: "President Roosevelt called the moving pictures I took in Russia the best he had ever seen on the life of the common people there." Jerome Davis, *Behind Soviet Power* (New York: Readers' Press, 1946), p. 7.

critical of the academic admirers of Stalinism. Only a few months before, Colonel House had bestowed the blessing of Wilsonian idealism on the presidential candidate Franklin D. Roosevelt. The threads of the unsuccessful Bullitt mission of 1919 were being renewed as America pragmatically found its way toward an appreciation of Soviet experimentalism.

Thus, through its philosophers, educators, social workers, economists, engineers and liberal spokesmen, traveling to behold the new sociological scheme of things, there was constructed in the American intellectual consciousness (or shall we say the American intellectual unconsciousness), a status for the Soviet Union as the conscience-model of social experiment.

The liberal weeklies led the way in intellectual reconstruction. Their influence on intellectual opinion, and above all, on the underlying feeling with respect to the Soviet Union was immense. Thurman Arnold, bold New Deal attorney and admired analyst of capitalist folklore, said that by reading *The Nation* and *The New Republic* he could "tell what my liberal colleagues are going to say tomorrow . . . there have been more new notions put across by these two publications than any other two in the history of American letters. I forgot Stuart Chase. Certainly there is no small town in the country where someone is not caught by his effective illustration."⁵⁶ Liberals and New Dealers were saying in 1933 what editors of *The New Republic* taught them in the previous decade. And of the thirteen editors of *The New Republic* in 1932, five had already written their confirmatory reports of the Soviet experiment—Bruce Bliven, John Dewey, E. C. Lindemann, Waldo Frank and R. G. Tugwell. Bruce Bliven spoke for his magazine when he wrote that "private capitalism has never, in any country, done a job one-half so good from the standpoint of social engineering as that which is being done in the U.S.S.R. today." The building of America, he said, had been "an incredibly botched job." The significance of the Soviet experiment, he emphasized, was international; it was not merely an exhibit of what could be done in developing a backward country rapidly. This was an experiment in socialized economy with universal consequences: "if it works in Russia at all, if it succeeds even 60 or 70 per cent, . . . then there is every reason to believe that anywhere else in the Occident it would be a grand and glorious, a shining success."⁵⁷

Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of *The Nation*, too, had already brought the full homage of American liberalism to the Soviet effort. Though the Russia he saw was almost literally "from a car window,"

⁵⁶ Malcolm Cowley, "Books That Changed Our Minds," *The New Republic*, LXXXVII (December 7, 1938), 136.

⁵⁷ Bruce Bliven, "Circular Ticket," *The New Republic*, LXIX (1932), 340.

though he spoke no Russian and never saw a Russian village or talked with any peasants, Villard was moved to write with conviction: "This, I repeat, is the most stupendous governmental feat ever undertaken—the social, moral, political, industrial, economic emancipation of a people and its reorganization upon the basis of service to the society and to the nation, with the profit-making motive suddenly removed from the individual. These Bolsheviks are playing for the greatest of stakes. . . . It suffices to say that the minority which controls the destiny of Russia is on its way with extraordinary and completely unselfish devotion, with the fiercest determination to succeed at any cost. . . ." True, the Bolshevik leaders were fanatics, but, said Villard: "Who else but fanatics would have the courage needed for the task or could be relied upon to drive through to the end without essential compromise? . . . No timid or half-way reformers could suffice for such a task." To those who found the Soviet dictatorship, violence and repression not unlike Mussolini's Fascist regime, Villard replied that there was "this difference: the Bolsheviks are working for the good of the masses of the working people."⁵⁸ American liberalism at this time did not believe in Acton's metaphysical law that evil means necessarily corrupt the end.

Perhaps New Dealers learned the lesson of Soviet pragmatism too well. Thurman Arnold later saw in the Moscow trials a simple procedure by which political philosophers were being displaced by down-to-earth practical men; the Marxian theologians, he wrote, were being superseded by "the dictatorship of a practical politician." He echoed indeed the editorial of *The New Republic* which regarded the Moscow trials as evidence of the fate which awaits intellectuals who are not pragmatic enough for the historical necessities.⁵⁹ But this is a later tragic story.

To what extent finally did the reports of the American travelers to the Soviet Union affect the political philosophy of Franklin D. Roosevelt? From the first, Roosevelt had a sympathetic interest in the Soviet effort at social reconstruction, and regarded its experimentalism and social idealism as akin to his own. Many years later the pact between Stalin and Hitler brought disillusionment. Early in his administration, on October 5, 1933, President Roosevelt told his Secretary of the Interior, Harold L. Ickes, that "what we were doing in this country were some of the things that were being done in Russia and even some things that were being done under Hitler in Germany. But we were doing them in an

⁵⁸ Oswald Garrison Villard, "Russia from a Car Window," *The Nation*, CXXIX (1929), p. 517.

⁵⁹ Thurman W. Arnold, *The Folklore of Capitalism* (New Haven; Yale University Press, 1937), pp. 92-93. "The Trial of the Trotskyites in Russia," *The New Republic*, LXXXVIII (1936), 88-89.

orderly way.”⁶⁰ Six years later, on a rainy afternoon on February 10, 1940, Roosevelt told a large silent crowd of students, a few of whom occasionally booed, how his attitude toward the Soviet society had evolved. He spoke from the south portico of the White House to several thousands of the American Youth Congress: “More than twenty years ago, while most of you were pretty young children, I had the utmost sympathy for the Russian people. In the early days of communism, I recognized that many leaders in Russia were bringing education and better health, and above all, better opportunity to millions who had been kept in ignorance and serfdom under the imperial regime.” He had disliked the regimentation of communism, “abhorred the indiscriminate killings,” and deprecated the banishment of religion, but had, he said, “with many of you, hoped that Russia would work out its own problems and their government would eventually become a peace-loving, popular government with free ballot, . . . That hope is today either shattered or is put away in storage against some better. The Soviet Union, as a matter of practical fact, as everybody knows, who has got the courage to face the fact, . . . is run by a dictatorship, a dictatorship as absolute as any other dictatorship in the world.”⁶¹ With these words, Roosevelt closed the chapter of the Soviet experience in the political consciousness of the New Deal.

The American travelers did not have more than the usual share of human naïveté. They saw certain realities strongly. They did not foresee the latent evil of Stalinism. The Soviet social world turned out to be less determinate and predictable than they thought. Their perception was perspectival, as all perceptions are, but it was not false. And perhaps if their advice had been followed, some evils might have been spared both the Soviet Union and the rest of the world. Perhaps if the United States had earlier abandoned the Hoover thesis, if it had welcomed Soviet society into the world's councils, if it had staved off depression by progressive economic measures, perhaps if action had been taken early against Nazi Germany, then a more moderate, right-wing form of Bolshevism might have emerged dominant. We cannot say. But American liberals must understand rather than repress the chapter of the Soviet influence from their history of the past.

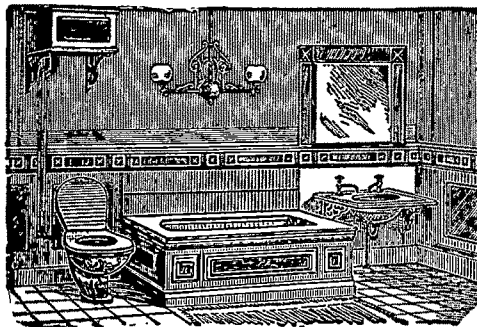
Last December I asked Roger Baldwin, the leader emeritus of the American Civil Liberties Union, to tell me what he thought of his

⁶⁰ *The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes: The First Thousand Days* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1953), p. 104.

⁶¹ *New York Times*, February 11, 1940, pp. 1, 44.

traveler's report of 1927 on the Soviet Union.⁶² "We went wrong," he said, "we were starry-eyed. We didn't see the potentiality of totalitarianism." Three things moved us, he said. The stupendous change, Marx and the French Revolution rolled up into one; it was exciting, something new every day, so that an uncommitted journalist like Duranty wrote: "This is the only place in the world where the news has salt." Secondly, he said, we muckrakers and reformers had always said: "Let the people at the bottom rule, and all will be well." Now here was Soviet democracy; the people were being given their chance. And lastly, there was the communist idealism, the leap forward of the brotherhood of man. I argued with Mr. Baldwin in partial defence of his earlier perception and advocacy. Then he said perhaps he too was rewriting the past in terms of a later world that might very well have been different.

⁶² Roger N. Baldwin, *Liberty Under the Soviets* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1928), pp. 7, 272.



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Beat Literature and The American Teen Cult

FROM A REMARKABLE VARIETY OF SOURCES WE ARE NOW TOLD THAT THE so-called "Beat movement" in American literature is about to expire. Whether this forecast will ultimately prove correct is slightly irrelevant. The striking thing is the untoward haste with which the American public has sought to dispose of these postwar prodigals, who have already been honored with quite an array of wishfully premature epitaphs. Surely the presence of the scraggly citizens of Greenwich, North Beach and Venice West must be highly embarrassing. Perhaps even more embarrassing is that popular journalism seems at a loss to account for them. A typical observer wonders, "What have we done to deserve this?"¹ While in this frame of mind, we can do little more than wish the Beats embalmed and interred with all deliberate speed.

The Beats do not really defy analysis. It's just that gasps of dismay are more heartening than close scrutiny. For in spite of their freewheeling eroticism and the vendetta they have sworn against both razor and scrub brush, the Beats are less alien to American culture than we would like to suppose. They are as unpopular among the rank and file of Americans as Benedict Arnold among the DAR, but society's strident outbursts against them often leave the impression of a harassed magician trying desperately to exorcise a demon without admitting, even privately, that his own magic has accidentally called it forth. This self-deception probably accounts for the irrelevance of much criticism of Beat literature.

Majority opinion notwithstanding, the failure of the Beats as literary artists has little to do with their widely publicized moral depravity and social negativism. Genius is not an exclusive possession of the righteous, nor is an artist obliged to edify the local chamber of commerce. No. The literary failure of the Beats is simply a bankruptcy of imaginative insight

¹ Paul O'Neill, "The Only Rebellion Around," *Life*, XLVII (November 30, 1959), 130.

born of their unwillingness to nourish, direct or even properly motivate their creative faculties. But this failure of the Beat imagination, I fear, is related to a larger failure of American culture. More specifically, the Beat conception of the creative process, shot through with inconsistency and naïveté, is an indirect yet almost inevitable result of powerful social forces now active beneath the surface of American life, forces which glorify immaturity and thus obscure an essential distinction between adolescent spontaneity and adult creativity. In other words, the Beat movement represents the first incursion into serious literature of an already well entrenched popular mystique which accords exaggerated significance to the vision and values of adolescence. Furthermore, the reluctance of many editors and supplement writers to refer Beat literature to this larger frame of reference is almost more disturbing than the Beats themselves, because it measures the reluctance of the American public to examine those cultural pressures that have caused the Beat movement to move.

The continuing popularity of the fuzzy and convenient "youth must have its fling" interpretation of the Beats typifies a general retreat from careful inquiry. This shibboleth is unsuitable because the Beats' rebellion is not merely a temporary evasion of responsibility. Rather, it is a way of art and life which permanently consecrates the pose and gestures of adolescence. For though most full-fledged Beats are well beyond teenage (some will never see thirty again), their patterns of behavior often reveal regressive adolescent traits, such as the use of special speech and dress as badges of identity and status or the compulsive hostility to authority, which causes all questions of value to be referred to the judgment of a select peer group. Going somewhat further, Ned Polsky identifies among many Beats of Greenwich Village a "persistence in more or less chronic form of some psychic states characterizing . . . adolescent pathology."² But even when pathology is not involved, the Beats—especially the literate and literary Beats—strenuously cling to an adolescent outlook which regards discipline or concentration as repressive and intelligence as a general nuisance. And though they profess to find this same view in the aesthetic radicalism of Whitman and the social iconoclasm of Thoreau, what the Beats really respect is not Whitman and Thoreau (neither of whom is immature) but an image of Whitman and Thoreau distorted by the eyes of adolescence. The tragicomic predicament of the Beats is that, having forsworn maturity, they have truncated their own creative life.

Unfortunately, however, the self-conscious cultivation of juvenility is

² "The Village Beat Scene: Summer 1960," *Dissent*, VIII (Summer 1961), 339.

not restricted to the isolated cadres of Beatdom. In fact, the emergence of an American teen cult is one of the most disturbing events of our generation. Undergirded by popular psychology, exploited by commercial advertising, and dramatized by the public arts, the sentimental enshrinement of adolescent values has come to touch nearly all areas of American life. Not only is the adolescent patronized in the permissive home and the "progressive" school; his attitudes and beliefs now threaten to become normative for the whole adult population.

The growing "adolescent directedness" of today's adults is reflected conspicuously in their almost obsessive concern with how the American teen-ager feels about the world. When Eugene Gilbert initiated his column, "What Young People Think," in the middle 1950s, he could hardly have foreseen that within five years this piece would become one of the most popular syndicated features of the Associated Press. And Gilbert's whirlwind success is certainly not an isolated event. Writing in 1958, Dwight MacDonald turned to the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* to prove that the American people had developed an overblown interest in adolescence.³ At that time, the number of entries under "adolescence" had jumped from 16 in 1941-43 to 51 in 1955-57, and the entries under "teen-age" had mushroomed from 2 in 1941-43 to 11 in 1955-57. Already, little tidbits like "What Makes Teen-Agers Swoon" had become a regular part of American magazine fare.⁴ But the teen cult has since entered a new phase. The use of the word "adolescence," which sounds faintly clinical and has little commercial appeal, has declined in favor of the more attractive term "teen-age." Although *Readers' Guide* for 1959-61 contains only 24 references to adolescence, a glance at the entries under "teen-age" reveals 13 cross references embracing the whole spectrum of adolescent activity—teen drinking, teen marriage, teen parties, teen reading, to cite only a few samples. If he so wishes, the American adult can now use even the most fashionable magazines to participate vicariously in the life of the teen-ager, whose every thought, deed and desire has been elaborately chronicled.

Another index of the adolescent leaning of our culture is the tendency of adults to appropriate for their own enjoyment forms of entertainment once pitched exclusively to the young. The present enthusiasm of TV audiences for westerns is a case in point. Attaching the tag "adult" to such shows as "Gunsmoke" or "Tales of Wells Fargo" betokens more than semantic sleight of hand on the part of the television industry. It indicates the advertisers' sensitivity to a pronounced change in the public

³ "Profiles: A Caste, A Culture, A Market—I," *New Yorker*, XXXIV (November 22, 1958), esp. 67-68.

⁴ *McCall's*, LXXXIII (December 1955), 38 ff.

attitude toward the old horse opera. As late as a decade ago, the most popular western movies were still oriented to the taste of an audience not beyond the earliest teens.⁵ The crooning cowboy, for example, was obviously an adolescent's hero, whose behavior invariably followed conventions which the elders of American society thought conducive to the moral uplift of impressionable youngsters. Though he might turn the full fury of his sixguns upon a gang of cattle rustlers, he would never smoke, drink, gamble or express so much as a trace of sexual interest in the damsels who lavished affection upon him. But this atmosphere of sentimental fantasy has now vanished, a fact which suggests the western is no longer an instrument used by adult society to inculcate Boy Scout ideals in the young. Instead, the new TV western (and the movie western as well) affects a superficial "realism," discarding stock features of the old cowboy movie, like that of the hero who outspokenly advertises his teetotalism. The strategy underlying this metamorphosis of convention, it seems, is to reduce the embarrassment of the older adolescent or the adult when he sits down to watch a show which is still palpably childish in everything but a few incidental motifs. A truly adult western—one, like "The Ox-Bow Incident" or "Treasure of Sierra Madre," which asks from an audience the full engagement of mature ethical judgment—has yet to win a place on American television screens. And the "adult" western in its present form is nearly as shallow and stereotyped as the Gene Autry and Hopalong Cassidy films of yesteryear. Really, the changes recently wrought in the western signify only that in the last decade American adults have become willing to surrender many once powerful authority symbols in exchange for the privilege of glutting themselves upon entertainment suited to the mentality of the late adolescent.

Furthermore, the sentimentalizing of adolescence is currently one of the most striking features of the public arts. The recent cinematic version of James Cozzens' *By Love Possessed* markedly exemplifies this fact, the more so because the novel itself flays all forms of sentimentality, especially feckless sentiment squandered upon unworthy adolescents. Except for Ann Winner, whose role is minor, there is scarcely a sympathetic portrait of adolescence in Cozzens' elaborate chronicle of the contemporary New England Brahmins. Ralph Detweiler is shiftless and irresponsible; Warren Winner is positively vicious; Joan Moore, though pathetic, hardly commands respect. Helen Detweiler's suicide, the ultimate catastrophe of the novel, is directly occasioned by Ralph's moral cowardice, which impels him to betray his sister's ill-founded trust in his good

⁵ Films analogous to the TV western can, of course, be found in the 1930s and 1940s, though they are decidedly a minority of those produced.

nature. And the sentimentalizing of youthful folly draws Cozzens' most caustic thrusts, as reflected, for example, in Julius Penrose's fierce outburst against our "age . . . of capital F Feeling—[our] century of the gulp, the lump in the throat, the good cry." The film script of *By Love Possessed*, however, is remarkable for its complete inversion of this attitude, a transformation complete enough to approach parody. Two changes are particularly noteworthy, one in the presentation of character and another in the arrangement of plot. First of all, Ralph is metamorphosed into Arthur Winner's son, who is by no means an indolent delinquent but a quick-witted, charming figure, probably more intelligent than his father and surely more likeable. And the young man's alleged "rape" of Veronica Kovacs is motivated, not as in the novel by his inability to control an erotic urge, but by an almost praiseworthy defiance of an adult society too prim and stuffy to allow any genuine impulse or emotion. Finally, the plot of Cozzens' novel is wrenched so that Arthur Winner, the movie character, whose approach to life is dreadfully bookish, appears to be educated in humanity by the imagination and energy of his son. According to the film, Arthur's decision not to expose Noah Tuttle results obliquely from the son's challenge of the father's cold, legalistic cast of mind. The movie thus conveys the decided impression (at which Cozzens would doubtlessly wince) that the world would be a better place if we could all somehow recapture the outlook of the eighteen-year-old.

These and other related phenomena seem to declare that many Americans, gainsaying their maturity, now unabashedly seek to recover the worldview of adolescence. The reasons for this are not easy to discern. Whatever they may be, however, the canonization of immaturity thus produced must perforce shake familial control, reduce the role of discipline in the formation of character, minimize the worth of patiently acquired learning and finally accredit to America's "typical teen-ager" a monopoly upon insight, inventiveness and vigor.

The public, of course, indulges its esteem for adolescence only within a carefully circumscribed frame of reference, never permitting it to undercut certain consensually validated symbols of adult prestige. In most respects, the place of the parent, the teacher and the clergyman is still sacrosanct. But herein lies a paradox. For while we formally honor the home, the school and the church, we continue to revel emotionally in a puerile worldview which renders these professed values meaningless, almost dishonest. And our divided loyalties cloud the development of mature insight into inherited codes of behavior, insight necessary to keep our institutions from turning into mere repositories of cultural fossils.

At the moment, this ambiguous commitment of the American people

to the aggressive "spontaneity" of teendom on the one hand and to the reassuring stability of tradition on the other has its most adverse effect in the confused and confusing directives that devolve from it upon American youth. Currently fashionable counsel to the rising generation, disseminated through all the mass media, might (allowing for a trace of hyperbole) be summarized thus: Listen to mom and dad, even though their minds are darkened by middle age; study diligently in school, even though effective living requires only a bright, bacteria-free smile; respect Moses and the Commandments, even though a shiny, up-to-date Savior would at least have the decency to be beardless and would probably come only to lead a songfest at the local church. Obviously, this tissue of contradictions will withstand little battering, hardly the utterance of a cynical "pooh!" And this circumstance, I think, provides a clue to the coming of the American Beatnik.

Naturally, the current surfeit of adolescent sentiment cannot have caused the Beat movement directly. But it has contributed to the atmosphere in which Beat literature flourishes, because it gravely impairs genuine understanding of creative endeavor and thus deprives the adult world of all defenses against the Beats except aimless ridicule and ill formulated disgust. For by comparison with what presently passes for the public conscience, even the logic of Beatdom looks cogent and persuasive. Confronted by the muddle of conflicting public values, the Beats have simply shattered the moral frame of reference imposed by convention and then deified the adolescent element already permeating American life. In this sense, at least, the Beats are very much our spiritual sons, though we may still prefer to regard them as something visited upon us by a peculiarly malevolent conjunction of the stars.

Actually, whatever coincidence is involved in the coming of the Beats is not stellar, but historical. Wars and rumors of war, so often destructive of mushy idealism, have figured importantly in the stentorian nay-saying of the Beat writers. Moreover, the current international situation, especially the threat of nuclear holocaust, has also helped give the Beat *nego* its decidedly adolescent accent. The dreadful promise of the hell bomb makes it rather easy for the Beats to assume their posture of rebelliousness and irresponsibility. Since the elder generation gave us Hiroshima, the Beats feel free, like the disaffiliate canine hero of Lawrence Ferlinghetti's "Dog," to regard every symbol of authority as "just another fire hydrant." Similarly, since the prospect of atomic destruction is still with us, the Beats absolve themselves of all social and political concern. Like Ray Smith of Jack Kerouac's *The Dharma Bums*, they have all seen in the sky the mystic writing which tells them, "This [the atomic bomb] is the Impossibility of the Existence of Anything." And accepting this

fact as the consummate wisdom, they feel no incentive to grow up mentally. Thus has the anxiety accompanying a special historical occasion distilled from the total atmosphere of American culture, tainted with a profoundly negative bias and finally crystallized into dogma a set of values which militates against both intellectual and aesthetic maturity.

The hallmark of the Beat mystique, whether applied to critical intelligence or creative imagination, is the scaling down of everything to adolescent proportions. Nowhere is this demonstrated more pointedly than in the supposed Zen Buddhist influence upon Beat literature and life. Within the arcanum of Buddhist tradition, the doctrine and practice of Zen is entirely respectable, as its anti-rationalism and radical individualism are absorbed into a higher synthesis of human feeling. But washed upon the shores of San Francisco Bay, the Beat Buddha has undergone a disconcerting sea change.⁶ Somehow there has vanished the exacting Zen ritual which, according to its practitioners, resolves the persistent Western dualism of Hebraic spirit and flesh, Hellenic subject and object. Even when the Beats nominally preserve Buddhist ideology, the distortion is egregious. Who would recognize the Zen concept of absolute absorption into the life experience after Kerouac has translated it into the patois of Sal Paradise, narrator of *On the Road*? "The only people for me," says Sal, "are . . . the ones who never yawn or say a commonplace thing, but burn, burn, burn like fabulous yellow roman candles exploding like spiders across the stars." Here the metaphor of the fireworks display suggests the essentially adolescent cast of Kerouac's Zen. The figure of the Zen lunatic also appears in this novel, transmogrified into the "HOLY GOOF," Dean Moriarty. But though Dean is wholly goofy, his irrationalism is adolescent, not Oriental. His chief diversions, far from philosophic but very sophomoric, are knocking in car fenders and knocking over high school girls. Sitting beneath a Bodhi tree, Dean would look more incongruous than Voltaire must have seemed under the tutelage of the Jesuits. "Beat Zen," admits Alan Watts, in spite of his sympathy for the movement, ". . . confuses 'anything goes' at the existential level with 'anything goes' on the artistic and social levels."⁷ To put the matter a bit less kindly, the Beat attitude dissolves the wisdom of

⁶ To my knowledge, the only serious student of Zen among the Beat writers is Gary Snyder, a talented poet and capable Orientalist, whose sensitive translation of Han-Shan's "Cold Mountain Poems" appeared in *Evergreen Review*, II (Autumn 1958), 69-80. Although the Beats apparently consider Snyder their compatriot (Kerouac even produced a fictionalized biography of his career in *The Dharma Bums*), Snyder's respect for intelligence and learning is foreign to Beatdom and his association with the movement seems accidental, probably only temporary.

⁷ *Beat Zen, Square Zen, and Zen* (San Francisco: City Lights Press, 1959), p. 17.

the East into exhibitionism, restlessness and maundering sexuality, all of which are directly related to the Beats' glorification of adolescence.

Carried into aesthetics, this wallowing in the world of adolescence, even if we waive its ethical and social implications, is prejudicial to artistic excellence. Gregory Corso, in "Variations upon a Generation," speaks earnestly of creating a new kind of poetic statement "whose objectivity will be the accuracy of its introspection," but his published work gives little evidence that he has achieved this goal. Quite innocently he asks a critic, "Do you think I need form?"⁸ As for Kerouac, self-appointed philosopher of Beatdom, he has already answered this question in the negative. "Remove literary, grammatical, and syntactical inhibition,"⁹ he tells his would-be protégés. Thus unfettered, the literary tyro may then experiment with the process of "scoping," which Kerouac defines as "not 'selectivity' of expression but following free deviation (association) of mind into limitless blow-on subject seas of thought, swimming in seas of English with no discipline other than rhetorical exhalation and expostulated statement."¹⁰ Alas . . . Beguiled by dubious Reichian assumptions which reinforce their adolescent contempt for discipline, the Beats persistently ignore the fact that the creative process presumes not only the interplay of powerful unconscious drives but also the imposition of exceptional psychic controls, capable of balancing, integrating and rendering socially intelligible a highly unstable compound of essentially private images. And conceiving of creativity exclusively as an emancipation from form, the Beats have produced a literature which tends either toward unregulated proliferation of incident or unintelligible subjective ecstasy.

Both of these faults are conspicuous in what is perhaps the most durable literary accomplishment of the Beat movement, Allen Ginsberg's "Howl." Their presence illustrates how the elevation of adolescent impulse to the level of an aesthetic deforms poetic expression. Admirable in its compassionate perception of postwar frustration and disenchantment, "Howl" probably contains the stuff of greatness. But its jumbled profusion of experience and its spurious mysticism, especially marked in sections one and three respectively, detract measurably from its worth. Ironically, the most successful part of the poem in no way reflects Ginsberg's pet theories about the "Meaning Mind practiced in spontaneity [that] invents forms in its own image."¹¹

⁸ Quoted by Carolyn Gaiser, "Gregory Corso: A Poet the Beat Way," *A Casebook on the Beat*, ed. Thomas Parkinson (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1961), p. 274.

⁹ "Belief & Technique for Modern Prose," *Evergreen Review*, II (Spring 1959), 57.

¹⁰ "Essentials of Spontaneous Prose," *Evergreen Review*, II (Summer 1958), 72.

¹¹ "Notes Written on Finally Recording 'Howl,'" Parkinson, *Casebook*, p. 28.

Section two of "Howl"—an anguished attack upon the bases of modern materialism—is quite traditional in structure and owes much of its impact to a litanic repetition which creates a sense of robot activity. This part of the poem is organized around a few carefully chosen allusions (the inscrutable sphinx; blood-craving Moloch; the tyrannical Jehovah) and is elaborated through a well integrated pattern of images (chiefly isolation and blindness). Both the *Old Testament* references and the religious associations of litany are apposite in that they suggest modern man's idolatrous machine worship which confers charismatic sanction upon the power of the mechanized, militarist state. Even the final abandonment of the litany in favor of a series of loosely associated images can be justified on the grounds that the symbolic movement here makes madness the ultimate result of an ever increasing rationalization of life. To pretend, however, that Ginsberg's achievement has anything to do with the Beat cult of spontaneity is pure hokum. Quite the contrary. Discussing "Howl" with his disciples, Ginsberg speaks enthusiastically about bop prosody and trance-like rhythm, but in his rare moments of genuine accomplishment he employs techniques common to all good poetry since the time of Pindar: controlled figure, meaningful allusion and consistent rhetorical progression within a recognizable literary form. Like most of the Beat fraternity, though, Ginsberg is so suspicious of craft and design that he is not likely to write very well very often.

Hence the eventual fate of the Beat movement: early or late it will fizzle out and be remembered only as a literary hotrod that blew its gaskets before completing the race. For the Beats have little to offer belles lettres. Confronted by the wholesale corruption of language, they have countered feebly with a poetic jargon which is as manneristic and jaded as the prose of Madison Avenue. Set upon by the encroachments of philistine technocracy, they have withdrawn into a spiritual nirvana of peyote, marijuana and mescaline. Challenged by the appalling possibilities of political and social crisis, they have cowered into super-select coteries and now peer furtively at the world through the begrimed windows of their Grant Street pads. In short, the Beats have played perfectly the role of the adolescent delinquent who, despite his elaborate pretensions to omniscience, knows only enough about the adult world to sustain a boastful but shallow cynicism. Lacking the catholicity of experience necessary to major literary achievement, most of the Beat writers are destined for a quick eclipse of fame.

True, not all that the Beats stand for is bad. If nothing else, they have at least reminded us, at a time when the public poet is lucky to squeeze a short lyric between two soap ads, of poetry's historical relatedness to forms of communal expression such as the ritual chant and the oral

saga. They have also shown, in spite of their gloomy airs, that there can still be something exciting about the profession of letters. Sometimes, I think, we may even be impressed by the praiseworthy candor of the best Beat sentiment, as expressed, for example, by John Wieners,¹² whose "A Poem for Painters" confesses itself to be

Only the score of a man's
struggle to stay with
what is his own, what
lies within him to do.

Without the consolations of romantic elegance or cosmic myth, the poet, as Wieners perceives, must now summon from his own mind and will resources sufficient to preserve the life of the emotions in a world increasingly more hostile to them. But though aware of these circumstances, the Beats have brought only the sensibility of an adolescent to bear upon a problem which requires the courage and mental stamina of a man. And they have failed pitifully.

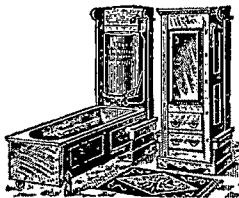
That brings up the moral which I believe may be gleaned from having jostled elbows with the Beat generation, a moral germane to the predicament of the man of letters in contemporary America. Appropriately, the Beats have called attention to this predicament in their usual left-handed and negative way. Intellectually paralyzed by the burden the artist must carry, they have dramatically shown how great is the present inducement not to accept adulthood. And society, in its turn, has manifested a similar want of maturity by responding to the Beat revolt mostly with bewilderment and chagrin, rarely with tough-minded, responsible criticism. Reading most popular commentary, we can hardly escape the impression that if the Beats would just shave, wash and begin to compose Mother's Day verses everything would be all right. Really, the American public seems to wish only that the Beats would exchange the apocalyptic fury of Cassandra for the mellow piety of Pollyanna. But these quite dissimilar young ladies are alike in one crucial respect: both share the viewpoint of the adolescent who sees either black or white, unaware of the manner in which a truly creative intelligence fuses assent and dissent, hopefulness and foreboding, into a dialectic of exploration and analysis.

This dialectic, fundamental to the health of society, is seriously lacking in America today, a fact which not only helps explain the Beat rebellion but also indicates why the dedicated artist, neither Beat nor

¹² Like Gary Snyder, Wieners belongs only to the periphery of the Beat movement, but he is generally associated with the San Francisco group because *The Hotel Wentley Poems* have been published by one of the more important Beat outlets, the Auerhahn Press.

Square, lives mostly in isolation. It indicates, for example, why the majority of today's American poets—poets with the refined sensuousness of Theodore Roethke and the searching social conscience of Randall Jarrell—have rejected the town for the gown. For if, as Lionel Trilling asserts, "literature is the human activity that takes the fullest and most precise account of variousness, possibility, complexity, and difficulty,"¹³ it follows that the literary man who would be true to his calling must cultivate the broadest possible contact with life. Ideally, then, the stimulus of his art should come from the whole community rather than from a specialized academic environment, whatever opportunities this environment affords. But when a society such as ours, eager to discourage the intellectual friction arising out of its pluralism, subtly represses its critical powers and transmutes much of its creative energy into idle gush over the adolescent, the artist feels compelled to retreat from the public world of thinking men's filters and filtered men's thoughts. Within the last generation, this withdrawal from the community has become a typical gesture on the part of the American poet, though his estrangement has drawn small notice from the general public. And now come the Beats, desperately preaching a new kind of alienation, absolute and unremitting. Perversely extravagant, they are much harder to ignore than the temperate, rational academician, so hard to ignore, in fact, that before passing into oblivion they may shock a few people beyond the universities into re-examining the American dream, or perhaps more accurately, the American somnolence. If so, the Beats may yet render some service to the intellectuals whom they despise. So long as this remains a possibility, we might do well to tolerate their beards and bongo drums.

¹³ *The Liberal Imagination* (New York: Viking Press, 1950), p. xiii.



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A Medical Perspective on the Civil War*

AMONG THE VARIOUS THEMES PERTINENT TO CIVIL WAR HISTORY, MEDICINE seems least apt to lend itself to centennial celebrations. Do we really wish to recall, a century later, the incredible suffering which occurred on battlefields and in hospitals during that conflict? One would judge, from much recent writing on the War itself, that there is no such desire. Yet, if medical aspects are omitted, the story is not only incomplete but is unrealistic as a total picture. It can provide analyses of military strategy or may portray the day to day life of troops in the field. But often it becomes a dramatic narrative which, though containing vivid accounts of battle scenes, fails to make real the tragedy inherent in the entire experience.

What actually happened was that a struggle which began almost light-heartedly at Bull Run, soon became one of the bloodiest wars of all time. A number of circumstances converged to make it so. First, this was a peoples' war and large numbers of troops were involved: perhaps three million all told. Second, although morale was not always high, armies sought out opponents with much determination. Third, in combat, most wounds were caused by musket or rifle fire, and the leaden bullets then employed did more damage than do modern, steel counterparts. Fourth, surgical practice was such that nearly all penetrating wounds were fatal except those of the extremities, and even the latter had a high mortality rate.

Most appalling, however, was the fact that many wounded who might have been saved were abandoned on battlefields. No adequate ambulance services and field hospitals were available as late as 1862. At Second Bull Run, for example, the Union army was supposed to have 170 ambulances

* An address given before the Summer School of the University of Michigan, June 27, 1961.

but actually went into battle with 45—most of which broke down. Several days after the battle, in consequence, 3,000 wounded still lay where they had fallen. In this situation, many men bled to death or died from exposure and were then reported as "killed in action." Worse still, in certain instances—as at Chancellorsville in '63 and again at the Wilderness in '64—hundreds of the wounded actually burned to death when shells set the woods on fire!

After ambulance facilities were provided, field hospitals were sometimes overwhelmed by major-battle casualties. At Gettysburg, for example, the Union medical corps was well equipped with 1,000 ambulances, 650 officers, and about 3,000 drivers and stretchermen. But within three days, 21,000 wounded were brought in just when most of the medical officers were moving on with the army. Each remaining surgeon was thus left with an average of 900 cases on his hands.¹ Haste and neglect were unavoidable under such circumstances.

Those among the wounded who *were* properly tended in field and base hospitals had still to run the risks of surgery. As is well known, anesthetics were usually available but there was no notion of aseptic procedures. Looking back in 1918, the Philadelphia surgeon W. W. Keen recalled that:²

We operated in old blood-stained and often pus-stained coats . . . with undisinfected hands. . . . We used undisinfected instruments . . . and marine sponges which had been used in prior pus cases and only washed in tap water.

No wonder that nearly all wounds became infected and that there was still some talk of "laudable pus" in the medieval manner. In the case of chest or abdominal wounds, surgeons probed with their fingers, prescribed morphine and tried to stop external bleeding. Otherwise, there was little they could do. The victims usually died within three days from hemorrhage and/or infection. The average Union mortality from gunshot wounds of the chest was 62 per cent of cases; and from such wounds of the abdomen, no less than 87 per cent.³ By way of contrast, only about 3 per cent of all American wounded failed to survive in World War II.⁴

¹ George W. Adams, *Doctors in Blue* (New York: Henry Schuman, 1952), pp. 91 f. See also T. M. Hunter, "Medical Service for the Yankee Soldier (thesis, University of Maryland, 1952), *passim*. Both of these studies are thorough and indicate the wide ranges of sources relating to the present subject.

² W. W. Keen, "Military Surgery in 1861 and in 1918," *Annals American Academy of Political and Social Science*, LXXX (1918), 11 ff.

³ Adams, *Doctors in Blue*, p. 135.

⁴ R. H. Shryock, *American Medical Research: Past and Present* (New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1947), p. 294.

Chances were better but not too good with injuries of the extremities, for joints could be removed or limbs amputated. It is difficult to find mortality rates for amputations but they were certainly high by modern standards. Here again, it was usually the ensuing infection which caused death—the so-called “surgical fevers” which included tetanus, erysipelas, hospital-gangrene and pyemia (“blood poisoning”).

The infectious nature of wound gangrene was recognized and cases were isolated in hospitals when feasible. Efforts were also made to disinfect wounds, as when bromine was used with some success against this same disease. Among the chemicals so employed was carbolic acid, the very agent which Lister used soon thereafter in the first demonstrations of antiseptic surgery. This being the case, why did not the Civil War surgeons anticipate Lister? Since they thought that carbolic would clean out infected wounds, why did they not use it to sterilize fresh wounds and instruments in the first place?

The difference on which the outcomes turned was largely a theoretical one. Lister, impressed by Pasteur's view of bacterial origins of infection, assumed that the surgeon's hand or instrument was introducing pathogenic organisms. Ergo, if wounds were sprayed at the start with carbolic acid, infection could be avoided. But American surgeons of the 1860s were either unfamiliar with bacteriology or did not take it seriously. They were “practical men” with more wound experience than was possessed by any surgeons elsewhere, yet this did not prevent them from adhering to another old theory; namely, that infections were caused by “noxious miasms” arising from filth and carried through the air.

It followed that the way to prevent wound infection was to avoid these miasms. And this could be done by seeking ordinary cleanliness in hospitals—by carrying over into these institutions the sanitary controls already demanded in public hygiene. Surgeons, it was assumed, had nothing to do with introducing infectious poisons: the latter were just literally “in the air.” But once infection appeared in a wound, the surgeon could then attempt to *disinfect* it by applying chemicals. All this was logical enough but we can now see that it was these practical men who were ultimately impractical. Their chemotherapy for already-infected wounds often came too late.

Cumulative experience enabled surgeons to improve certain techniques, as in handling the great arteries. Occasionally a new and useful procedure emerged, only to be forgotten after the War and perhaps re-introduced many years later.⁵ A striking illustration of this resulted from

⁵ Such a lost technique is described in L. L. Schwartz, “James Bolton,” *American Journal of Surgery*, n.s., LXI (December, 1944), 409.

pure chance. Several Southern doctors, lacking supplies for keeping maggots out of wounds, found that these visitors actually cleaned out dead tissue and prevented infection.⁶ This fact had been stumbled upon during the Napoleonic Wars, was rediscovered in the '60s as noted, then was overlooked again and finally discovered for the third time—much to everyone's amazement—during World War I. Empirical findings of this sort, based simply on trial and error, were usually known only to those immediately involved and were then easily forgotten. In the case mentioned, most surgeons continued conscientiously to remove maggots and thus assured infection. In other words, incidental technical advances did little to check mortality resulting from wounds.

Statistical data on military losses vary widely, but it has been stated that as many as 110,000 Northern soldiers and 94,000 Southerners succumbed to battle injuries. One may roughly estimate from these data that from 6 to 10 per cent of Union troops and from 10 to 15 per cent of the Confederate died from wounds. The exact ratios depend on what estimates are accepted for the total number of troops involved.

High as were the casualties, it is well known that losses from disease were higher. While 110,000 Union soldiers perished from wounds, some 250,000 died from disease: the corresponding figures for Confederates were probably about 94,000 and 164,000. The average soldier, as a matter of fact, was ill between two and three times each year, and the annual mortality from sickness was more than 5 per cent. Compared with male civilians of military age, servicemen were five times as likely to become ill and experienced a mortality which was five times as high as that of those who remained at home.⁷

Strangely enough, from the present viewpoint, army leaders thought their record very creditable—even when as many as 10 per cent of all troops were ill at one time. Actually, the record *was* creditable in comparison with preceding wars: it is only in contrast with later conflicts that the medical experience of 1861-65 seems so startling. Thus, while the annual disease mortality rate was then about 53 per thousand soldiers, this ratio fell to 16 per thousand during the Spanish War, and to about 12 per thousand during World War I.⁸ In other words, the disease death rate for troops during the Civil War was more than four times as great as that experienced in 1917-18.

⁶ H. H. Cunningham, *Doctors in Grey* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958), p. 234.

⁷ See T. G. Livermore, *Numbers and Losses in the Civil War: 1861-1865* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1901), pp. 5-8.

⁸ Adams, *Doctors in Blue*, pp. 222-24.

The explanation of this relatively high mortality was not as simple as one might think. In the first place, the limitations of wound surgery were those of medicine in general. The War came just too soon to witness certain major advances in hygiene and surgery. If it could have been postponed for two decades, many deaths would have been avoided.

Even at that, the knowledge already available in 1861 would have made possible much lower mortality rates if it had only been applied effectively. The utter lack of preparation and subsequent inefficiency in the medical services must bear much of the blame for unnecessary illness. This inefficiency was not the fault of any one group. Sharing in responsibility were the original medical officers, indifferent generals and politicians, a mediocre profession, and rural regiments hitherto unexposed to infections and unfamiliar with the rudiments of hygiene. Over against such villains of the piece must be placed the many heroic figures. Among the latter were certain generals, such as McClellan, who supported reform in the medical services; a growing number of conscientious Army surgeons; and a host of civilian volunteers who called for better medical care and meantime ministered directly to those in need.

The chief diseases among troops were caused directly or indirectly by unhealthy environments and bad habits. In the early War years, sanitation in hastily constructed camps was crude at best. Both food and water supplies were infected, and typhoid, dysentery and diarrhea became the most common and most fatal of camp afflictions. White, Union troops had an average annual rate of 711 cases and 15 deaths from these diseases for every thousand men. The gastro-enteritis problem was complicated by the standard ration of beans, salt beef and army biscuits, as well as by the men's habit of frying everything as long as they did their own cooking. Gastronomically, one can hardly imagine a worse regimen, and it is no wonder that there was some scurvy (13 cases annually per 1,000) as well as endless "dyspepsia."

The second most common type of illness was malaria, which involved an average annual rate of 522 cases per 1,000 Union troops but only 3 deaths. More fatal were the respiratory infections, resulting from exposure in the field and overcrowding in tents or barracks. Tuberculosis was serious, though its mortality was not recorded. What was termed "inflammation of the lungs" presumably included the pneumonias and was responsible among Union troops for an average of 6 deaths per 1,000 men each year. Rheumatism was common and there was an unknown amount of alcoholism and of mental illness. Measles and

mumps were annoying but not fatal, and the same was thought to be true of venereal diseases.⁹

Although a higher proportion of officers than of enlisted men were killed in battle, the latter suffered a disease mortality rate about twice as high as that for officers. Rural troops, until adjusted to crowded camp life, endured more illness than did urban soldiers; which may explain why Western volunteers had a sick rate in 1861 more than twice as high as that for Easterners. Illness was always more common and more fatal among Negro than with white troops: the lung infections which killed 6 white men per thousand annually, resulted in no less than 28 deaths among a corresponding number of Negroes. More significant was the relatively high mortality from disease among Confederate as compared with Union soldiers, especially from respiratory infections. During the first eighteen months of the War "half again as many Confederates died of diarrhea and dysentery, while more than *five times* as many died of pulmonary diseases."¹⁰

It is hard to believe that there was so great a contrast between Union and Confederate mortality; but, if true, the excessive Southern losses may be hypothetically explained by unfamiliarity with northern winters and by the relative scarcity of food, clothing and drugs during the latter part of the War. On both sides, of course, resistance to infections was lowered by exposure or malnutrition. These and other adverse circumstances also lessened a man's chances in undergoing surgery.

In treating disease in the 1860s, medical men were at some disadvantage in comparison with both their predecessors of 1760 and their successors of 1960. They obviously lacked many present aids—the antibiotics, for example, or the resources of aseptic surgery. They did possess certain helpful drugs unknown during the Revolution, notably quinine against malaria and chloroform as an anesthetic. But, just because medical science had become more critical after 1820, Civil War surgeons had little of that confidence in traditional remedies which had heartened practitioners in earlier years.

Actually, there was more skepticism about the value of drugs during the later nineteenth century than in any other period before or since. Medical leaders had learned to distrust the old, therapeutic standbys of bleeding and purging but had as yet found few new remedies in their

⁹ Morbidity and mortality data are given in the *Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion*; e.g., Pt. II, Vol. I (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1879), pp. 1-40. See also the reports issued by the U.S. Sanitary Commission; e.g., Document No. 71 (New York: U.S. Sanitary Commission, 1863).

¹⁰ Adams, *Doctors in Blue*, p. 14.

place. Bleeding was already frowned upon during the 1850s; and although some older doctors continued it into the '70s, it was little employed during the Civil War. If a man lost blood on the field, he was not subjected—as in Revolutionary days—to further bleeding in the hospital. And although emetics and laxatives, along with morphine and whiskey, were routine remedies, the chief medical officers shared a growing distrust of extreme vomiting and purging. This distrust found expression in an order issued by Union Surgeon General Hammond in 1863, banning the use of the mercurials tartar emetic and calomel. Some military surgeons resisted this order, which definitely reduced their “armamentarium.” But the episode pointed in the direction which medical practice would follow thereafter.

A less fortunate aspect of medical thought at midcentury was its emphasis upon specific diseases rather than—as in earlier days—on the general state of the patient’s “system.” This emphasis upon specificity pointed toward the identification of particular illnesses, and how discover causes or cures until diseases themselves were first known? But, meantime, inquiring physicians became more interested in diseases or in injuries as such than in the patients who harbored them. Instead of being concerned about the total condition of John Smith in ward B, they were intrigued by the “strange case” of typhoid or by the “extraordinary wounds” found in this same location. Modern medicine, in contrast, has returned to older concern about complete physiologic reactions to disease or injury. Thus, reports on World War II wounds often relate to kidney involvement in resulting “shock,” whereas those of the Civil War were limited to the immediate, structural damage involved.

The emphasis of the 1860s on specificity not only overlooked generalized pathology but also gave little heed to the patient’s state of mind. Laymen sensed this situation at times, as when Louisa Alcott remarked of a surgeon in Washington that he:¹¹

had acquired a somewhat trying habit of regarding a man and his wound [or illness] as separate institutions, and seemed rather annoyed that the former should express any opinion on the latter, or claim any right in it, while under his care,

Speaking elsewhere of the same surgeon, she added that:¹²

The more intricate the wound, the better he liked it. A poor private, with both legs off, and shot through the lungs, possessed more attrac-

¹¹ Louisa M. Alcott, *Hospital Sketches* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1960—1st ed., 1863), p. 87.

¹² Alcott, *Hospital Sketches*, p. 37.

tions for him than a dozen generals slightly scratched in some "masterly retreat. . . ."

The tendency to focus on diseases rather than on patients reflected the best hospital standards of the day. Back in the homes whence enlisted men had come, family doctors probably still viewed their patients as persons and not simply as "cases" of this or that; but in hospitals—including the military—such overall concern was often lost. It would have been lessened in any case, within army circles, by the tendency to give routine care to masses of sick or injured soldiers. One suspects that most medical officers, practicing a form of "State medicine," had neither time nor inclination to cultivate solicitude or even bedside manners.

Both scientific attitudes and military circumstances thus set limits to the effectiveness of the medical care provided. But, within these limits, what was the general quality of those who served on both sides as medical officers? At the start, most of these men had had little surgical experience, since specialization in surgery was still unknown in this country. It also must be remembered that the effort to train first-class practitioners (real physicians) had not yet had much success in America in 1860; indeed, would not fully succeed until the present century. Many medical schools were mediocre or worse, even by the standards of the time; and much the same thing can be said of most of their graduates. There had been frequent criticism of "regular" practitioners before 1860, as ignoramuses who killed their patients with the lancet and calomel; and such distrust, carrying over into the War years, apparently influenced attitudes in both the Army and in Congress.

On the other hand, a few first-rate physicians—some of them professors from the better schools—joined the medical departments or served as contract surgeons in base hospitals. Men of this stamp had taken postdoctoral work in Paris during the 1830s and '40s, and by the '50s were turning to Vienna for such training. A few of them had developed research interests while abroad. But the War temporarily checked migration to the Austrian center, and its demands on medical personnel left little time for investigations in pathology or physiology. The chief exceptions to this rule grew out of clinical studies based directly on hospital observations, as in the work done by W. W. Keen on nerve injuries.

Technical improvements in surgery also grew directly out of empirical experience. Although these achievements, as noted, had little effect on mortality rates, they did gain recognition abroad for American surgery. Even before 1860, Europeans had been impressed by American prowess in dental and in gynecologic operations. And since Civil War experience

promoted military surgery in general, there was much foreign acclaim of "manipulative skills" in this country.

After the War, American surgical instruments were highly praised at an 1868 exposition in Paris. Even more impressive was the subsequent publication, by the U.S. Army Medical Department, of the ponderous *Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion* (1870-88), wherein masses of pathologic data were made available. The German pathologist, Virchow, said of these collections that:¹³

Whoever . . . reads the extensive publications of the American medical staff will be constantly astonished at the wealth of experience therein found. The greatest exactness in detail, careful statistics, . . . and a scholarly statement . . . are here united, to preserve and transmit . . . the knowledge purchased at so vast an expense.

Probably the highest foreign praise accorded Civil War doctors was that expressed by the Swiss physician Edwin Klebs. Writing in the '80s, Klebs declared that:¹⁴

. . . the greatest and most admirable success has been attained by the North Americans in military medical work. The history of the war of the secession has to show a display of medical and scientific activities that leave anything that ever since has been achieved in Europe way in the background. . . .

Perhaps Klebs was a bit too appreciative. At any rate, granting that medical records were well preserved and granting also that surgeons acquired manipulative skill, it remains true that little that was basically new emerged from the War experience. This has usually been the case with war medicine. American physicians who had done little research before 1861 were still less inclined to pursue it under military pressures. As a matter of fact, they did not even keep up with new methods or instruments introduced in Europe from one to three decades earlier. Such simple, diagnostic procedures as the use of clinical thermometers and of stethoscopes were rarely employed in the military services.

If much of the medical story of the Civil War seems depressing today, it did at least have its brighter side. There is no better way of presenting this than to forget the armed forces for the moment and to recall rather the civilian welfare organizations. The tradition of voluntary help in emergencies had already been established before 1861, as in the work

¹³ Quoted in Francis R. Packard, *History of Medicine in the United States*, I (New York: Paul B. Hoeber, 1931), 650.

¹⁴ Edwin Klebs, in the *Deutsche Medicinischen Wochenschrift* for 1881-83, quoted in T. N. Bonner, "American Doctors and German Universities: 1870-1914" (MS.), pp. 13 f.

of the so-called Howard associations during epidemics. But the Civil War called for such aid on a vastly increased scale. Women's relief agencies, in the form of local hospital societies or even of such state-wide bodies as the Georgia Relief and Hospital Association, were formed in the Confederacy.¹⁵ But only in the Union, where states' rights were not taken so seriously, did such efforts result in the founding of regional or national organizations—notably of the Christian Commission, the Western Sanitary Commission and the United States Sanitary Commission. Of these, the last-named was most significant.

Seeking at first just to be helpful, women's relief societies were formed in Boston and in New York City in 1861. These and other groups coalesced into the U. S. Sanitary Commission, acquired able directors and officers and were officially recognized in Washington. But their representatives were appalled by the chaos they found there and particularly by the hopeless inefficiency of the Army medical corps. Protesting against resulting suffering among the troops, they were rebuffed by the Secretary of War as meddlers and termed by Lincoln a mere "fifth wheel" for the military agencies. That did it! From this time on, the Commission—directed by the able Frederick Law Olmsted—investigated, reported and successfully pressured the services into the reform of medical care both in the field and in hospitals. Their inspiration came from the sanitary ideal of the era: the conviction that pure water, good food, fresh air and general cleanliness would prevent nearly all human ills.

This is not the place to recall the endless negotiations of the Commission with cabinet members, field commanders, medical officers and congressmen.¹⁶ But out of its efforts and those of enlightened Army personnel came improved camp sanitation, the use of ambulances, the combination of regimental into divisional field hospitals, the building of pavilion-plan base hospitals and the encouragement of nursing by women.

The greater part of so-called nursing in military hospitals was done by convalescent soldiers, who lacked training, aptitude and strength for the work. But Florence Nightingale's achievements in the Crimea had aroused interest in the possible services of women. Hence the Union War Department commissioned Dorothea Dix as the first Superintendent of Army Nurses; that is, of women in this program. Those who volunteered received little training but had to meet certain requirements, such as being strong, middle-aged and of plain appearance. (Miss Dix would have no nonsense in her outfit.) Most of these women made up in ideal-

¹⁵ Cunningham, *Doctors in Grey*, p. 22.

¹⁶ The latest and most complete study of the Commission is that of William Q. Maxwell, *Lincoln's Fifth Wheel* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1956).

ism what they lacked in other respects and so were able to do much for the morale of their patients. How important this could be, from a medical as well as from a humane viewpoint, was probably not as fully realized in the 1860s as it has been in recent decades.

The reminiscences of the volunteer nurses provide vivid pictures of suffering observed within base hospitals. (After all, such mortality statistics as have been noted here are abstractions: they provide basic data but are far removed from human experience.) Further lines from Alcott's *Sketches*, for example, will make the hospital picture more real than will all the figures in the world. Perhaps the following account of a boy's sudden death will serve our purpose.

Observing that a patient had not eaten his meal, Miss Alcott offered him coffee, whereupon he startled her by saying simply: "Thank you, ma'am; I don't think I'll ever eat again, for I'm shot in the stomach. But I'd like a drink of water, if you aint too busy:"¹⁷

I rushed away [continues Miss Alcott] but the water pails were gone to be refilled, and it was some time before they reappeared. I did not forget my patient patient, meanwhile, and, with the first mugfull, hurried back to him. He seemed asleep; but something in the tired white face caused me to listen at his lips for a breath. None came . . . and then I knew that, while he waited, a better nurse than I had . . . healed him with a touch . . . half an hour later, the bed was empty. It seemed a poor requital for all he had . . . suffered—that hospital bed, lonely even in a crowd; for there was no familiar face . . . no friendly voice to say, Good-bye; no hand to lead him gently down into the Valley of the Shadow. . . . For a moment I felt bitterly indignant at this seeming carelessness of the value of life . . . then consoled myself with the thought that, when the great muster roll was called, these nameless men might be promoted above many whose tall monuments record the barren honors they have won.

Present readers may think this only Victorian sentimentality, and one must admit that modern writers might handle the same theme somewhat differently. Yet I sense in these lines, written by a New England girl almost one hundred years ago, a genuine and moving experience. By implication, moreover, the statement raises one of the eternal questions about war which may be posed here again in summing up the whole matter. Putting aside any thought of pacifism in principle, how can we balance suffering over against achievements in order to decide whether

¹⁷ Alcott, *Hospital Sketches*, pp. 36 f. General accounts of women as nurses are given in M. B. Greenbie, *Lincoln's Daughters of Mercy* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1944). On Miss Dix, see Helen E. Marshall, *Dorothea Lynde Dix: A Forgotten Samaritan* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936).

this particular conflict was really worth its cost? Did the aftermath fully compensate for the loss of some 600,000 young lives—to say nothing of further anguish among those who survived?

Obviously, such matters cannot be reduced to quantitative terms. There is no magic arithmetic which can multiply the value of one life by 600,000 and come up with a meaningful total. And if there were, who could determine for comparison the tangible merit of one Union or the real value of emancipation—even if we assume that these goals could have been attained only by combat? Although such questions cannot be answered with finality, they are not necessarily devoid of meaning. In the fullness of time, they may have some bearing on ultimate conclusions.

We do not often ponder the medical record of the Civil War.¹⁸ Other sources recall other evil consequences but it is this record which best suggests the full measure of human costs. One may emphasize the point by raising a simple question: What part of the country still recalls "the War" most persistently? Obviously, the South. Why? Because, we are told, that section lost more and suffered more. But did it? Well yes, in humiliation or bitterness, and—as Professor Nichols has made clear—in power as well as in property. *But not in lives*. If the usual estimates may be depended on, almost 100,000 more Northern men than Southern died in this holocaust.¹⁹

Yet for all our protestations about the sanctity of life, these vital losses present that aspect of war which is most soon forgotten. Such an outcome may be ascribed in part to the common habit of suppressing unhappy memories, but more than this has been involved. Consider, for example, Professor Woodward's observation that Southerners, in recalling defeat and ruin in 1865, are the only Americans who have any memory of national frustration.²⁰ It follows, by implication, that the death of thousands of fathers and sons in the North aroused no lasting feeling

¹⁸ A striking exception to this, published since the preparation of the present paper, is Allan Nevins' article "The Glorious and the Terrible," in the *Saturday Review*, XLIV, No. 35 (Sept. 2, 1961), 9 ff.; which emphasizes suffering in the Civil War. Nevins also points out other unhappy results which, though not pertinent here, have to be weighed in any final judgment on the conflict. He concludes, however (p. 48), that the War was "worth more than it cost" if it was necessary for emancipation and for saving the Union.

¹⁹ Livermore, *Numbers and Losses in the Civil War*, pp. 5-8.

²⁰ C. Vann Woodward, "The Irony of Southern History," *Journal of Southern History*, XIX (February, 1953), 4 f. Dr. Woodward quotes Professor Toynebee's remark that Americans in the North, like Englishmen, had no feeling by the 1890s that history had ever "happened" to them. True as this statement is, it again brings out the lapse of regional memory in the North. History, though forgotten, had indeed "happened" there in the loss of several hundred thousand men in four years—a type of tragedy which the English had never experienced.

of this nature. Where victory was followed by prosperity, there was hardly even a surviving awareness of national tragedy.

These rather acrid thoughts are consistent with one's personal impressions. Over the years, I have known only one Northern family which recalled the Civil War with much feeling. And this was my own household, which lost no lives but did witness the destruction of its home town by Confederate troops—some time before Sherman marched through Georgia. It was probably after such experiences, direct or vicarious, that families passed on memories and resentments unto the third and fourth generations. Descendants living in ruined areas, moreover, were constantly reminded of "the War" by poverty or other adverse consequences long after an older generation's sacrifice in lives had ceased to have personal meaning.

If we could recall the actual suffering of 1861-65, we might not so readily view the Civil War in terms of epic grandeur. In fact, however, there is now a disinclination to admit that anything so vital could have been unfortunate in the long run. This disinclination may be based in some cases on thoughtful analyses. But more often, one suspects, a pessimistic view is almost instinctively avoided because it would disturb national optimism and therefore must not be incorporated into our philosophy of history. Such an attitude may be detected today in the South as well as in the North, and it presumably inspires current "celebrations" of the Centennial.

We shall never know the final truths here, since no one can discover what would have followed if things had happened otherwise in 1861. Yet those who believe that the War was an ultimate triumph, alike with those who view it as ultimate tragedy, must base their conclusions on some calculus of might-have-beens. The former must assume that alternatives to war would have been worse in the final reckoning; the latter, that they would have been better.²¹

This much seems reasonably certain: we should guard against the assumption that all major outcomes in the American past must have been for the best. Time may heal all things but does not necessarily justify them. With this thought in mind and recalling the medical story, one may still cherish doubts about what was called in some circles the War between the States. This, of course, was just what it was not. It was not a conflict among abstract "states" but rather a struggle between real men—with all the consequences which this entailed.

²¹ An earlier discussion of this point is given in the author's "The Nationalistic Tradition of the Civil War," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXXII (July, 1933), 294-305; reprinted in part in *The Causes of the Civil War*, ed. Kenneth M. Stampp (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1959), pp. 294-305.

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Henry Adams' Attack on Two Heroes of the Old South

THE NEW ENGLANDER, HENRY ADAMS WROTE IN HIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY, LEARNED to "love the pleasure of hating," for "his joys were few."¹ Certainly Adams' list of hatreds was long and various—including bankers, French novelists, Gilded Age politicians, industrialists and missionaries—but the most vehement of all his hates was the Southern slaveholder. Adams was antislavery by birth. His great-grandfather, John Adams, had in 1776 shouted furiously and rapped his hickory cane on the Pennsylvania State House floor in his opposition to the deletion of Jefferson's attack against the slave trade from the Declaration of Independence. Henry's grandfather, John Quincy Adams, in 1805 outraged both Federalists and slave owners when, as a United States Senator, he attempted to pass a law to levy a duty on the importation of slaves. In 1820, John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State under Monroe, had a little debate with his fellow cabinet member, Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, while walking down the streets of Washington. The result was a passage in John Quincy's diary which reveals the bitterness with which the Adams family looked upon the South's "peculiar institution" and its defenders:

They [Southerners] look down upon the simplicity of a Yankee's manners, because he has no habits of overbearing like theirs and cannot treat Negroes like dogs. It is among the evils of slavery that it taints the very sources of moral principle. It establishes false estimates of virtue and vice: for what can be more false and heartless than this doctrine which makes the first and holiest rights of humanity to depend upon the color of the skin?²

¹ *The Education of Henry Adams* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1918), p. 7. Hereafter cited as *Education*.

² *The Diary of John Quincy Adams*, ed. Allan Nevins (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), p. 232.

John Quincy's greatest service in the cause of antislavery occurred in his old age, when for ten years beginning in 1835, he battled almost alone against proslavery senators for the right to present petitions on slavery. Henry's father, Charles Francis Adams, carried on the family antislavery tradition by founding the *Boston Whig*, a newspaper designed to express antislavery views; becoming a leading spirit of the "Conscience" Whigs; running for vice president on the Free Soil Party ticket; and, as Lincoln's Minister to Great Britain, triumphing over the Southern secessionists in the diplomatic war to keep England from joining the Southern cause. It is no wonder that Henry Adams, who inherited a priori this long and solemn tradition, at the age of twelve looked upon the slave-ridden South as "a horror; a crime; the sum of all wickedness!"³

Violent experience also contributed to Adams' hatred of Southern slaveholders. The frenzy wrought in Boston by the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law—the mobs of howling crowds in Court Square, the soldiers lining the streets with fixed bayonets in order to protect the human property of slave owners—was enough to warp permanently the mind of any fifteen-year-old boy.⁴ The image of Southern brutality was further fixed in the mind of young Adams when Charles Sumner, who was closer to the Adams household than any blood relation⁵ and whom the boy Henry worshipped as New England's greatest antislavery statesman, was beaten to unconsciousness with a cane by Preston S. Brooks of South Carolina. When in 1860 at the age of 22 Henry Adams went to Washington with his father, newly elected Republican Representative from Massachusetts, the young man witnessed at first hand the United States in the process of disintegration. The congressional session of 1860-61, meeting in the murky interval between Lincoln's election and inauguration, struggled through a chaos of intrigue and confusion such as few governments have survived: President Buchanan "divides his time between crying and praying," wrote young Adams to his brother Charles;

the Cabinet has resigned or else is occupied in committing treason. Some of them have done both. The people of Washington are firmly convinced that there is to be an attack on Washington by the Southerners or else a slave insurrection, and in either case . . . they feel sure of being ruined and murdered.⁶

Was this the end of that beautiful Union to which generations of Adamses had devoted "their lives and sacred honor"? The youthful Adams' be-

³ *Education*, p. 44.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁶ *Letters of Henry Adams*, ed. Worthington Chauncey Ford (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1930), I, 66. Hereafter cited as *Letters*.

wilderness and anguish was so great that he could describe the Southern statesmen, the cause of this tragic ruin, only in terms of abnormal psychology: they were filled with illusions "oriental in their magnificence"; victims of hallucination, bent on "a wild and suicidal course"; ⁷ "maniacs" who should be locked up until sane again.⁸

Adams' experiences during the Civil War as his father's private secretary and secret propagandist, not only magnified his sense of Southern villainy, but also very likely helped shape the literary tool with which he was to spend a good part of his life attacking the South and her heroes—irony. As private secretary to Minister Adams, the young and impressionable Henry Adams was weighted with momentous secrets of state in an atmosphere of hostility and duplicity. Surrounded by professional diplomats for whom words were a form of deception, the young man had to learn how to mask his feelings among friends as well as enemies, in victory or defeat.⁹ Not even to his father could the young man open his heart, for as secret propagandist he was playing a dangerous game that would have certainly brought Minister Adams' disapproval. Had pro-Southern British or American enemies discovered the identity of the author of the series of letters appearing in the *New York Times* during the years 1861-62, Minister Adams' delicate and patient diplomacy would have been seriously jeopardized. To avoid detection, Adams used many ingenious subterfuges—date lines from places he had never visited, guidebook references to famous sights he had never seen, figurative language to avoid explicit statement of diplomatic secrets, and fictionalized characters. From his experiences as private secretary and secret propagandist, Adams acquired habits of deep reserve, of masking strong emotion with surface calm, and of speaking through indirections that remained with him the rest of his life. As Adams himself said, his generation had been "stirred up from its lowest layers" by the Civil War, "and there [was] that in its history which will stamp every member until we are all in our graves."¹⁰ Adams, who heard the "cyclopean battles" only from afar, nevertheless fought for the cause with all of his intensity, and emerged with an excellent education in the arts of dissimulation and duplicity necessary to the ironist.

Thus family history and personal experience provided Henry Adams with a lifelong object of hatred—the Southern slave owner. And his

⁷ Henry Adams, "The Great Secession Winter, 1860-1861," *Proceedings*, Massachusetts Historical Society, XLIII (1909-10), pp. 661, 670.

⁸ *Letters*, I, 77.

⁹ *Education*, pp. 130, 133; *A Cycle of Adams Letters*, ed. Worthington Chauncey Ford (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1920), II, 48-49, 60. Hereafter cited as *Cycle*.

¹⁰ *Cycle*, II, 47.

double role as private secretary and secret propagandist during the Civil War helped develop his major weapon for attacking this enemy—irony. The rest of this paper will be devoted to discussing Adams' ironic treatment of two Virginia heroes—John Smith, the founding father of the Old Dominion, and John Randolph, who masterminded that strategy of the Southern slave interest which finally led to secession and war.

The career of Henry Adams as secret propagandist came to an abrupt and painful end in January of 1862 when he suddenly found himself "skinned" by the *London Times*, "scalped" by the *Examiner*, and "laughed at by all England" for his remarks on the stinginess and dullness of London hospitality in his article "A Visit to Manchester."¹¹ Adams' worst fears had become a reality, all because the editor of the *Boston Courier*, despite Adams' discreet instructions, had placed his name at the head of his article. Although Minister Adams took the episode in a kindly spirit, Henry immediately ceased publishing. With the death of the secret propagandist, however, the historian was born, since Adams now began to devote his spare time to clearing up certain historical doubts as to the famous story of Captain John Smith and Pocahontas.

The irony in "Captain John Smith" was partly a manifestation of the extreme caution with which he began his career as a professional writer. The laceration by British newspapers in 1862 had so deeply wounded him that six years later, when he offered his "Captain John Smith" to the *North American Review*, he begged Editor Charles Eliot Norton not to sign his name to his scholarly article: "I am so unlucky as to be in a position that subjects me to the annoyance of being pilloried in print on the slightest excuse," Adams wrote; "in other words my name is a trifle too heavy for me . . . I have suffered so much from publicity that I prefer overcaution."¹²

Ironic indirection is the best strategy for one who prefers "overcaution" and at the same time wishes to be an iconoclast. As George Meredith described it, irony is the method by which a victim may be stung "under a semi-caress" in such a way that "in his anguish he is rendered dubious whether indeed anything has hurt him."¹³ In "Captain John Smith," Adams attacked two targets; the romantic historian who was more interested in a pretty story than in checking closely his facts; and the Virginia aristocrat who revered John Smith as the founding father of Virginia.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I, 101, 104.

¹² *Henry Adams and His Friends*, ed. Harold Dean Cater (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947), p. 37. Hereafter cited as Cater.

¹³ "An Essay on Comedy," *Comedy*, ed. Wylie Sypher (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1956), p. 42.

The adroitness with which he stung these two victims under "a semi-caress" reveals how naturally the young Adams mastered the technique of irony.

First, Adams stroked his victims with a velvet glove in preparation for the sharp sting which he delivered later. The enthusiasm which historians have had for this "most romantic episode" in the nation's history, Adams pointed out, is quite natural in a country whose past has furnished so little stimulation to the imagination. This enthusiasm, however, has "a little strained" these scholars' language and common sense, Adams declared with ironic understatement. Purposely inflating his language as a preliminary for his ironic revelations, Adams told how historians have dwelt on Pocahontas' "beauty and wild grace, her compassion and disinterestedness, her Christian life and pure character"; how they have uncritically accepted as gospel Smith's *General History*, "vying with each other in heaping praises which no critics were cynical enough to gainsay, now on the virtues of Pocahontas, and now on the courage and constancy of Smith." As an example of the sentimental style of American historians, Adams quoted a passage on the Smith-Pocahontas episode from Bancroft's *History of the United States* in which Bancroft dilates on "the gentle feelings of humanity" which "bloom, though unconsciously, even in the bosom of a child"; and "the impulse of mercy" which "awakened within her breast" as "she clung firmly" to Smith's endangered neck.¹⁴

With these elegant phrases still echoing in the reader's mind, Adams executed his ironic sting by quoting the following realistic picture of Pocahontas written by William Stracher, who was in Jamestown during the years 1610-11:

Pocahuntas, a well featured but wonton yong girle, Powhatan's daughter, sometymes resorting to our fort, of the age then of eleven or twelve yeares, would get the boyes forth with her into the market place, and make them wheele, falling on their hands, turning up their heeles upwards, whome would followe and wheele so her self, naked as she was, all the fort over.¹⁵

Also, Adams reminded his readers that there are "many families whose greatest pride is that they trace their descent from the Emperor's daughter that saved the life of Captain John Smith." Then he slyly added Meredith's "semi-caress": "It is to be hoped that this feeling is based more on their admiration of the heroism and rare qualities of the Indian child, than on her character as a princess of blood royal." The irony of

¹⁴ "Captain John Smith," *North American Review*, CIV (January, 1867), 12.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

this hope is soon made clear to the reader, for as he reads the results of Adams' research he learns that the "heroism" and "rare qualities" of Pocahontas were based on a hoax, and that the "princess of blood royal," from whom proud Virginian families claimed descent, was in reality a "wonton" and naked savage who loved to turn cartwheels with all of the little ragamuffins of Jamestown. "No object whatever can be gained" by discrediting the aristocratic descendants of Pocahontas, Adams ironically protested, "except the establishment of bald historical truth."¹⁶

The degree to which Adams had his tongue in his cheek when he wrote this sentence is disclosed in his letters of the period during which his essay was in gestation. To discredit powerful interests in Virginia, not to establish "bald historical truth," was the chief excuse that he gave himself for devoting his energies "to a literary toy like this" during the troubled times of British diplomacy in 1862:

. . . my pen is forced to keep away from political matters, unless I want to bring the English press down on my head, and in society I am a failure. So perhaps the thing is excusable, especially as it is in some sort a flank, or rather a rear attack on the Virginia aristocracy, who will be utterly gravelled by it if it is successful.¹⁷

Adams' main method of making a sneak attack on his old family enemy, the Virginia aristocrat, and incidentally at the same time making a sideswipe at the romantic historian, was to show the discrepancy between the idealistic version of the traditional Smith-Pocahontas story and the vulgar reality presented by documentary evidence. Here, for example, is Adams' comment on Smith's declaration that "God made Pocahontas the means to deliver me":

There is a devout form in this statement which is characteristic of the age, and the piety of a man like Smith, if his autobiography gives a true idea of his course of life, must have been a curious subject for study. But to anyone who assumes . . . that this introduction of Pocahontas is pure invention, this paragraph becomes doubly interesting, as showing to what degree of quaint dignity the men of his time could rise, even in falsehood.¹⁸

Adams intended his "Captain John Smith" to be a "flank attack" directed not only against the living among the Virginia aristocracy, but also against the long deceased John Randolph of Roanoke, a descendant of Pocahontas and an ancient enemy of the Adams family. In one letter,

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

¹⁷ Cater, p. 15.

¹⁸ "Captain John Smith," p. 27.

Adams was pleased to imagine the "shade of John Randolph turning green at the quaint picture" which he had given of Pocahontas, and in another, he expected that the ghost of Randolph would rise to haunt him for his "impiety."¹⁹ Some fifteen years later, as though he had not thought his literary sortie thorough enough, he seized the opportunity offered by John T. Morse Jr., editor of the American Statesmen Series, to deal John Randolph and the Virginia aristocracy another blow—this time a brutal frontal attack.

The decidedly acid tone of Adams' biography of John Randolph can largely be traced to Adams' extraordinary sense of family pride. In his opening pages, Adams described the ironic magnitude that a small incident played in the political bias of John Randolph. When Randolph was a boy, his brother was struck by the coachman of John Adams, then Vice-President of the United States. This insignificant occurrence, Randolph declared, was the beginning of his lifelong hatred of the Adams family. Randolph would have soon forgotten the incident, Adams pointed out sarcastically, if his brother had been struck by the coachman of the Governor of Virginia or a Lord Chancellor of England,

but that his brother, a Virginia gentleman of ancient family and large estates, should be struck by the servant of a Yankee schoolmaster, who had neither family, wealth, nor land, but was a mere shoot of a psalm-singing democracy, and that this man should lord it over Virginia and Virginians, was maddening; and the sight of that Massachusetts whip was portentous, terrible, inexpressible to the boy. . . .²⁰

Henceforth, Randolph never missed a chance to attack the Adamses. But the historian's revenge over the Virginia statesman was quite ample. Since the publication of *John Randolph* in 1882, Randolph's reputation has never recovered from the besmirching that it received from the hands of Henry Adams.

The Don Quixote metaphor was Adams' most brilliant device for ridiculing John Randolph and at the same time projecting the naturalistic rationale of his thesis. Both John Randolph and Don Quixote, Adams pointed out in the first chapter of his biography, were clearly products of their environments:

. . . to the people of Virginia John Randolph was a representative man, with qualities exaggerated but genuine; and even these exaggerations struck a chord of popular sympathy; his very weaknesses were

¹⁹ Cater, pp. 15, 13.

²⁰ *John Randolph* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1882), pp. 19-20. Hereafter cited as *Randolph*.

caricatures of Virginia failings; his genius was in some degree a caricature of Virginia genius; and thus the boy grew up to manhood, as pure a Virginia Quixote as ever an American Cervantes could have conceived.²¹

By comparing and contrasting these two representative men—Don Quixote of seventeenth-century Spain and John Randolph of nineteenth-century Virginia—Adams produced ironic insights into the influence of environment and heredity on the individual.

In his descriptions of Randolph's physique, Adams invariably emphasized those features that recall the figure and face of Don Quixote, but always with a subtle emphasis and distortion that leaves an impression of grotesque evil:

. . . this lean, forked figure, with its elongated arms and long, bony forefinger, pointing at the objects of his aversion as with a stick . . . this parchment face, prematurely old and seamed with a thousand small wrinkles . . . that bright sharply sparkling eye. . .²²

The common characteristic that, above all others, makes John Randolph and Don Quixote brothers is a rigid adherence to an archaic idealism. The anachronism of states' rights addled the brains of Randolph in the same manner as the ideal of knight errantry muddled the mind of Don Quixote. The doctrine of states' rights was gradually abandoned by Jefferson and his associates, in practice at least, as the pressure of events forced the nation in the direction of nationalism and centralization,

. . . but to Randolph it was always an inspired truth which purified and elevated his whole existence; the faith of his youth, it seemed to sanctify his age; the helmet of this Virginia Quixote,—a helmet of Mambrino, if one pleases,—it was in Quixote's eyes a helmet all the same.²³

With the passage of time, the ironic incongruity between Randolph's idealism and his surroundings became more and more marked. Nevertheless, he was ready at all times "to clap on again his helmet of Mambrino and have a new tilt at the windmill" of nationalism no matter how many times it demolished him.²⁴ In one of his most striking images, Adams described Randolph in his last years as being

. . . like a jockey, thrown early out of the race, who rides on, with antics and gesticulations, amid the jeers and wonder of the crowd,

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 255.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 254-55.

towards that winning-post which his old rivals had long since passed. He despised the gaping clowns who applauded him, even while he enjoyed amusing them.²⁵

Although the qualities—physical and spiritual—that relate Randolph to Don Quixote are numerous, it must be remembered that Randolph was a Virginia Don Quixote, a representative man of his time and society. There are therefore important differences between the two men which were the result of environment and heredity.

Early in his book, Adams described the possible effect on Randolph's character of the opposing forces in Virginia society of "old fashioned courtesy and culture and the roughness of plantation habits":

Extreme eccentricity might end in producing a man of a new type, as brutal at heart as the roughest cub that ran loose among the negro cabins of a tobacco plantation, violent, tyrannical, vicious, cruel, and licentious in language as in morals, while at the same time trained to habits of good society, and sincerely feeling that exaggerated deference which it was usual to effect towards ladies. . . .²⁶

Don Quixote also has that "exaggerated deference" toward ladies, but no one can associate the essentially kind but moon-struck Knight of the Sorrowful Face with tyranny or cruelty. The metaphors that Adams used to describe Randolph's political activities stress the pressures of his evil and brutal environment. When his fellow legislators showed signs of evading his will, Randolph stood over them and cracked "his whip as though they were his own negroes."²⁷ Violence of temper and language was "a part of his system, a method of controlling society as he controlled his negroes."²⁸ His debating tactics were like the famous fighting techniques of the rural South: "In the white heat of passionate rhetoric he could gouge and kick, bite off an ear or a nose, hit below the waist. . . ." ²⁹

The most powerful fact of Randolph's environment was slavery. Adams derived a good deal of bitter amusement from the irony produced by the conflict between Randolph's interests as a master of slaves and his declarations of love for the Negro. As a master of slaves, Randolph discovered an instrument for preserving slavery in the doctrine of states' rights that eventually destroyed the Old South and almost wrecked the nation. And all the while he was prostituting this once useful doctrine to the selfish interests of slaveholders, he "loudly and pathetically" pictured

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

himself a hater of the detestable institution of slavery and an "*ami des noirs*." ³⁰

The greatest difference between John Randolph and Don Quixote lies in the progress and quality of their madness. Randolph's madness was "noble at first in the dawn of young hope, but far from noble at last in the gloom of disappointment and despair." ³¹ For Adams, Randolph's madness was a source of satirical comedy—just as Don Quixote's was for Cervantes. But the development of the madness of these two representative men implies an ironic contrast: whereas the nobility of Don Quixote's madness increased as his career progressed, the nobility of Randolph's madness diminished until there was left only vicious insanity. About two-thirds of the way through his biography, Adams labeled a chapter "A Nuisance and a Curse." ³² Up to this point, Adams had treated Randolph as mainly a comic nuisance, but the rest of the book depicts Randolph as a dark curse laid upon the land. Noble madness distorted by the forces of environment and heredity into a malignant insanity—this is the major irony about which Adams constructed his biography.

The epithets applied to Randolph in the closing chapters of the book reveal how far the nobly mad Virginia Don Quixote has been transformed into an infamous Iago. To the New Englander, he was a throwback to the unregenerate child of Satan. ³³ To an Italian, "he would have passed for one possessed of the evil eye, one who brought destruction on all he loved, and every peasant would have secretly made the sign of the cross on meeting him." ³⁴ To the Darwin-conscious Adams, he belonged "to an order of animated beings still nearer than the Indian to the jealous and predaceous instincts of dawning intelligence." ³⁵ To Randolph himself, as Adams cruelly allowed him to say in the final sentence of the book, he was the result of "time misspent and faculties misemployed, and senses jaded by labor or impaired by excess"—all forever beyond recall. ³⁶

The formula that underlies the psychology of Randolph—extreme eccentricity plus a poisonous environment equals malevolent insanity—represents Adams' first attempt to account for human character in naturalistic terms. Naturalism, or the use of environment and heredity to explain character, is a concept that lends itself easily to irony, as the fiction and poetry of Thomas Hardy clearly illustrate. When a character

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

³² The chapter is concerned with Randolph's attempt to use Monroe as a tool of revenge against Madison.

³³ *Randolph*, p. 253.

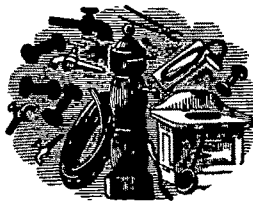
³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

believes he is divinely appointed to bring purity and nobility into the world, but is driven by a wicked environment and an evil inheritance to bring bloodshed and misery to a whole nation—this character is in the grip of an irony gigantic in its power and extent. Such is the case of Adams' John Randolph. On the other hand, consider the irony of the case of Henry Adams. He too was a product of an old and powerful family with an environment and interests directly antithetical to those of the Randolphs. An Adams' hatred for those arrogant, slaveholding aristocrats of the South, the Randolphs, was as instinctive as a Randolph's abhorrence of those dogmatic, high priests of New England politics, the Adams clan. Doubtless, the undistilled ancestral vinegar of Adams' biography of John Randolph weakens it as history; but as satire and irony, it achieves high literary excellence. It may even be considered, in some respects, Adams' best "novel."

Not content with the prostration of the Southern aristocrat achieved by the Civil War, Henry continued to resurrect the enemy in order to spear him with his pen. In "Captain John Smith," the secret propagandist peered cautiously from behind the scholarly robes of the historian to make some sly remarks about the founding father of the South in general and Randolph's Indian ancestry in particular. In *John Randolph*, Adams cast caution aside and sprang directly for the jugular vein of the enemy. If the ghost of John Randolph turned "green" in his grave, grisly shades of long deceased Adamses must have smiled approvingly while they looked over the shoulder of their descendant Henry, as he continued in the quiet of his study the war against the Southern slaveocracy which they had fought in the noisy arena of politics for so many generations.



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Wallace Stevens: The Delicatest Eye of the Mind

R. P. BLACKMUR SAYS THAT WALLACE STEVENS' "MODE OF ACHIEVING" a kind of metaphysical coherence "does not transcend its substance, but is a reflection upon a hard surface, a shining mirror of rhetoric."¹ Substitute "refraction" for "reflection," and "glass" for "mirror": the body of Stevens' work resembles rather that mountain of glass, the unclimbable enchantment of the fairy tale. One tries to climb, falls back and slides to the bottom; one pitches in an ice axe to fashion footholds, but the pitons do not hold, nor are the cracks that appear in the surface reassuring. One risks the whole marvel for the grim determination to make an ascent. It is to such a danger, in part, that Blackmur refers when he writes "it is almost impossible to quote anything short of a stanza from Mr. Stevens without essential injustice to the meaning."²

There remains, however, the mountain—its material as well as its form.³ One can walk around the base, considering that polished surface which is neither cold nor hot to the touch. One can step back and speculate upon the nature of the enchantment: Let the sun shine and it glistens, gives forth a diamond allure; but even the dullest air sinks into it, dissolving in those glassy deeps into the blues and greens and especially into the purples and violets of the spectrum which this prism arrests, gathers again and emits as the perfect uncommitted apparatus of light

¹ R. P. Blackmur, *The Double Agent* (Arrow Editions; New York: Doubleday & Co., 1935), p. 100.

² *Ibid.*, p. 84.

³ George Santayana, *The Philosophy of George Santayana*, ed. Irwin Edman (New York: Random House, 1936). From "The Sense of Beauty": "There is no effect of form which an effect of material could not enhance [raising] . . . to a higher power and [giving] the beauty of the object a certain poignancy, thoroughness, and infinity which it otherwise would have lacked. The Parthenon not in marble, the king's crown not of gold, and the stars not of fire, would be feeble and prosaic things." pp. 38-39.

itself. The metaphor may carry us further, for if it represents any true image of the poetry of Wallace Stevens it is also an indication of the way in which he made that poetry, his method for dealing with the data of the senses, particularly sight, and the problem of interpreting that data.

The whole of Stevens' work, to a greater degree than that of any other major poet of the first half of our century, attempts to replace representational seeing and relating, to come to terms with the possibilities and the dilemmas which the impressionist painters and symbolist poets encountered. Once the world had been fragmented, first in terms of color, later in form; once the eye's sovereignty over seeing had been questioned and revoked; the artist, a latter-day Adam, became the namer and shaper of a new world whose names and shapes were legion, dependent as they were on instantaneity—on the pose, color, state of the object or living being and its relation to all other forms of life and substance at one particular significant heartbeat of the artist. The society which would accept the evidence of the electron microscope that inanimate appearing crystals are actually living beings, viruses functioning on the brink of life, was prepared for scientific truth by artistic speculations which challenged the conventions of seeing and knowing. An aesthete like Bernard Berenson could not help but be concerned by the wholesale rejection of conventions which twentieth-century artists need as badly, he insisted, as did the artists of the past:

The words we use are conventions. Within us a seething cauldron steaming with stench and suave vapours; or a Noah's ark crowded with champing, milling, whirling, fluttering beasts and birds, creeping and crawling things, each standing for a something of ourselves, an incipient sensation, an urge, a wisp of thought, a yearning. . . . How name them, how describe them . . . and hardest of all, how stabilize them so that we end by agreeing on what sounds, what outlines will invariably call up the same words, the same images.⁴

But the artists rejected what Berenson defined as problem. They wished to take their chances with chaos, to avoid stabilization, to be able to construct anew from the garbage heap of sense experience—to play "The Man On The Dump": ". . . to sit among mattresses of the dead,/Bottles, pots, shoes and grass and murmur *aptest eve*." In his essay concerning "The Relations Between Poetry and Painting" Stevens wrote:

Does not the saying of Picasso that a picture is a horde of destructions also say that a poem is a horde of destructions? When Braque

⁴ Bernard Berenson, *Seeing and Knowing* (New York: Chatto & Windus, 1953), p. 9.

says 'The senses deform, the mind forms,' he is speaking to the poet, painter, musician and sculptor.⁵

Stevens' poem "Poetry Is A Destructive Force" invites the reader to consider the first half of the process Braque describes, the deformation that the senses impose, the "misery" of being incapable of really grasping any form, of "Nothing to have at heart." "He," the artist, may think he apprehends and understands a creature quintessentially, but "He tastes its blood, not spit"; he slides into its animality but not into its changing appetites; he who thinks vainly that because "Its muscles are his own" he has caught the essence of the creature, named it once and for all, tamed it to sleep in the sun is fooling himself in a mortal way; he and his naming will be rended and tossed to the winds the next instant:

The lion sleeps in the sun.
Its nose is on its paws.
It can kill a man.

Sister M. Bernetta Quinn's essay entitled "Wallace Stevens: His 'Fluent Mundo'" is concerned for the most part with examining the way in which the poet describes a world that is in a state of constant flux, a world of metamorphosis. Her analysis of "the difference made by the subject in the object"⁶—description—is based on the poem "Description Without Place":

A little different from reality:
The difference that we make in what we see

That difference is made by all the senses; the visual stimulus is but the first step in the process of recognition, which is of necessity that "horde of destructions," and recreation. Somewhere between the two processes, if there is an "in between" in a simultaneous experience, is contained one's individuality, one's peculiar manner of sifting sense impressions and responding to them. Sister Bernetta also points out that words themselves affect us,⁷ both the seeing and the hearing of them. Even abstract words evoke sense impressions and seem freighted with an aura that is not attached to their lexical meanings.

That man is no mere recording device tabulating experience and committed to a faithful rendering of such experience was not so long ago, as cultures are measured, a revolutionary idea. Those who exhorted the

⁵ Wallace Stevens, *The Necessary Angel* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), p. 161.

⁶ Sister M. Bernetta Quinn, *The Metamorphic Tradition in Modern Poetry* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1955), pp. 49-88.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

artist to hold the mirror up to nature seem not to have been concerned by the fact that a mirror image itself is a distortion of reality, a reversal which reflects not truth but excellent Jabberwocky. That symbol of nineteenth-century romantic aesthetic consciousness, the lamp, using its own resources to cast a warm glow, cast fitful shadows into dark corners, gave forth heat as well as light, and lured many a moth to magnificent dissolution. But to see only by one's own light is often not to see at all, unless one's candlepower is of the magnitude of genius. The perceivers of our own century interested in "the horde of destructions"—which the sun undergoes each moment, which nuclei of cells engage in during each mitotic engagement, which dissolves the landscape with each fresh glance—have made use of still another term to express the way in which their perceiving mechanism operates: the image is that of a prism. When he was considering La Fontaine's *Fables* Stevens wrote that the "conjunction" of brilliant language with the basic material of the senses "produces an effect similar in kind to the prismatic formations that occur about us in nature in the case of reflections and refractions."⁸ Comparing Villon's painting with Proust's prose he observes:

I was immediately conscious of the presence of the enchantments of intelligence in all his prismatic material. A woman lying in a hammock was transformed into a complex of planes and tones, radiant, vaporous, exact. A tea-pot and a cup or two took their place in a reality composed wholly of things unreal.⁹

Later in the same essay Stevens presents Cezanne's manner of "seeing" the real world:

I [wrote Cezanne] see planes bestriding each other and sometimes straight lines seem to me to fall. . . . Planes in color. . . . The colored areas where shimmer the souls of the planes in the blaze of the kindled prism, the meeting of planes in the sunlight.¹⁰

The style of La Fontaine produces an effect similar to that induced by "prismatic formations"; Villon's painting fragments the world by the cunning of its refractions of reality; Cezanne sees the innermost mystery and glory of the visual world, stripped to its ultimate shapes and colors, overlapping and shifting upon one another as the light plays over them "in the blaze of the kindled prism" which his own imagination provided.

⁸ Wallace Stevens, *Poems*, edited and with an Introduction by S. F. Morse (New York: Vintage Books, 1959), p. x.

⁹ Stevens, "The Relations Between Poetry and Painting," *The Necessary Angel*, p. 166.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

A prism requires an external source of light in order to perform its function, to be itself. Thus when Stevens comments in a "Study of Two Pears" that

The shadows of the pears
Are blobs on the green cloth.
The pears are not seen
As the observer wills.

he is not passing a cranky judgment upon cubists who render them as "viols/Nudes or bottles." "They [the pears] resemble nothing else," he writes, acknowledging the fact that the pears exist in a realm of light which plays upon and with objects, bestows upon them certain basic qualities of form and color which the eye cannot help but perceive: "They are yellow forms/Composed of curves. . . . They are touched red. . . . They are round/Tapering toward the top." They obey the rules of light, they cast shadows. These pears, however, are observed as still-life objects, seen from a particular perspective in a particular light. Such a study is truly an "Opusculum paedagogum," a little academic exercise, the equivalent of a microscope study of a stained dead cell, an attempt to halt, however briefly, the fluctuating world in its incessant shifts and motions. In this context "The pears are not *seen* as the observer wills," for, Stevens says, "The eye does not beget in resemblance. It sees. But the mind begets in resemblance as the painter begets in representation."¹¹

Stevens' initial description of a Tal Coat painting he had just acquired is a first movement from seeing to recreating:

The forms and arrangement of the objects are, both, full of contrariness and sophistication. . . . For all its indoor light on indoor objects, the picture refreshed one with an outdoor sense of things. The strong blue lines and the high point of the black line in the central foreground collect the group. The wine in the glass at the right hand warms, without complicating, the many cool blues and greens.

In his next letter to his Paris agent, the objects are seen very much as the observer wills:

Now that I have had the new picture at home for a few days, it seems almost domesticated. . . . I have even given it a title of my own: *Angel Surrounded by Peasants*. The Angel is the Venetian glass bowl on the left, with the little spray of leaves in it. The peasants are the terrines, bottles and glasses that surround it. This title alone tames it as a lump of sugar might tame a lion.

¹¹ Stevens, "Three Academic Pieces," *The Necessary Angel*, p. 76.

And the following month:

It is obvious that this picture is the contrary of everything that one would expect in a still life. . . . It is commonly said that a still life is a problem in the painting of solids. . . . Here are the objects painted with a slapdash intensity, the purpose of which is to convey the vigor of the artist. . . . It is a display of imaginative force: an effort to attain a certain reality purely by way of the artist's own vitality.¹²

As Samuel French Morse remarks, one learns from these excerpts something of the ruminative nature of Stevens' mind, resulting in this instance in a poem, "Angel Surrounded by Paysans." And in the poem the picture itself has disappeared, the strong blue lines and the high point of black line, the Venetian glass bowl, the surrounding terrines; intensity and imaginative force remain and speak:

Yet I am the necessary angel of earth,
Since, in my sight, you see the earth again,
Cleared of its stiff and stubborn, man-locked set

In the world thus cleared the light plays upon prismatic materials, upon glass, upon clear water, upon that most fanciful of refractors, the sea. It plays in "The Poems of Our Climate" upon "clear water in a brilliant bowl" in which are carnations, seen by an almost spring light which makes "fresh in a world of white,/A world of clear water, brilliant-edged" as a jewel; that vision, so complete, so soothing, but so cold, can never hold the "vital I," "the never-resting mind" that insists upon imperfection for delight, for cracks in the bowl that will flaw it and release multiple images to the willing fragmentation of the senses.

To "The Glass of Water," light, the lion, comes down to drink, to dabble at the water hole where microscopic creatures, "winding weeds," ruffle the surface, stir the flaws that stimulate

. . . there and in another state—the refractions,
The *metaphysica*, the plastic parts of poems

which "crash in the mind." The literal "being between states," in the center of the arena of sense combat is the greatest challenge the artist encounters; dare he announce the formation his mind has made after the resounding crash? dare he be "Someone [who] Puts A Pineapple Together," thus emphatically—

¹² The three excerpts about the Tal Coat painting are all from the introduction to Stevens' *Poems* by Samuel French Morse, pp. xvii-xix.

. . . It is that which is distilled
In the prolific ellipses that we know,
In the planes that tilt hard revelations on
The eye, a geometric glitter, tiltings
As of sections collecting toward the greenest cone.

The sea, with its infinite power for rearrangements, catches light in its most colorful roaring, and if it does not tame that lion it gives him fullest freedom to roam. In the November "Sea Surface Full of Clouds" the "tense machine/Of ocean," the "cloudy-conjuring sea" blooms in white and brown, blue and green until it is "crisped" from "motley hue/To clearing opalescence," which in turn rolls sea and sky together for "fresh transfigurings of freshest blue." The Cleopatra sea which age only enhances and custom has no portion of is an instrument tuned to accompany the angelic voice of imagination that can constrain or charm it, a Prospero or an Ariel. The "she" who has this power in "The Idea of Order at Key West"

. . . was the single artificer of the world
In which she sang. And when she sang, the sea,
Whatever self it had, became the self
That was her song, for she was the maker.

In the ordinary commerce of the world we accept the light and its revelations without question, though we may comment upon the value of the tones and shapes received. The maker, says Stevens, fragments and revises what seems, so that momentarily the world takes on his hues. Santayana comments on the artificer's power to concentrate meaning and beauty in his introduction to "Three Philosophical Poets":

It is always the fleeting moment in which we live. To this fleeting moment the philosopher, as well as the poet, is actually confined. Each must enrich it with his endless vistas, vistas necessarily focussed, if they are to be disclosed at all, in the eye of the observer, here and now. . . . Is not the poetic quality of phrases and images due to their concentrating and liberating the confused promptings left in us by a long experience? When we feel the poetic thrill, is it not that we find sweep in the concise and depth in the clear, as we might find all the lights of the sea in the water of a jewel?¹³

All the lights of the sea, all the glitter of the air pause and blaze in their separateness in that gemlike prism that is at once Stevens' poetry and the eye of his mind.

¹³ Santayana, *The Philosophy of George Santayana*, p. 341.

The most important struggle for a poet with Stevens' concept of the poet's task is the struggle to achieve composition. It is one thing to sit on the dump and itemize; it is quite another to select and establish relationships that suggest what has been eliminated as well as what remains. Randall Jarrell's "Reflections on Wallace Stevens" suggests that all too often Stevens is guilty of mere collection. R. P. Blackmur remarks that Stevens' "visual images never condense the matter of his poems; they either accent or elaborate it." Both of these comments are serious charges against an artist who considered that only through establishing meaningful resemblances and relationships could the mind form what the senses had deformed.

The same battle to control runaway matter had confronted Cezanne, who admired the new techniques of modeling and color that the Impressionists were working with, and yet missed in their work a sense of order and composition. His landscapes, such as the *Rocky Scenery near Aix*, with its planes and distances and textures suggested almost entirely by patches and basic geometric forms of color shadings, and his still-lives, in which color becomes yet a more important focus for composition, were the jumping off place for the cubism of Picasso and Braque, just as Van Gogh's excited brush stroke and use of color as an emotional force were to influence the painters who called themselves Expressionists.¹⁴ Andre Lhoté wrote:

The objects which, when subjected to the patient analysis of the Impressionists seem to be modulations of color embracing the whole range of the rainbow underneath the seeming unity of their specific coloration, these same objects, viewed in a different way, appeared to the Cubist painters as refractions, accents and transitions whose presence no one before them had suspected.¹⁵

It is precisely these unsuspected refractions, accents and transitions that Stevens had in mind when he wrote about resemblance as "a partial similarity between two dissimilar things" which "complements and reinforces that which the two dissimilar things have in common."¹⁶ The details of resemblance "come together so subtly and so minutely that the existence of relations is lost sight of. This, in turn, dissipates the

¹⁴ This paragraph is based in part on observations made by E. H. Gombrich in *The Story of Art* (New York: Phaidon, 1951), in the chapter titled "In Search of New Standards."

¹⁵ Lothar-Gunthar Buchheim, *The Graphic Art of German Expressionism* (New York: Universe Books, 1960), p. 17.

¹⁶ Stevens, "Three Academic Pieces," *The Necessary Angel*, p. 77.

idea of their existence."¹⁷ What complements and reinforces secures for the painting or the poem a sense of composition, and in a successful effort the composition appears so inevitable and logical that the work itself and nothing of the juggling remains. Had the artist but the power he could create the form of forms, the Platonic Idea in its completeness, with the infinitesimal number of strings, bells, levers, glues hidden and invisible in the whole, in "the essential poem at the centre of things" which the poem "A Primitive Like an Orb" contemplates. What a victory of composition that would be!

The central poem is the poem of the whole,
 The poem of the composition of the whole,
 The composition of blue sea and of green,
 Of blue light and of green, as lesser poems,
 And the miraculous multiplex of lesser poems,
 Not merely into a whole, but a poem of
 The whole, the essential compact of the parts,
 The roundness that pulls tight the final ring

To pull tight the ring of composition the poet becomes somewhat of a hunter and animal trainer; on the numerous occasions when Stevens writes of the destruction the senses perform he uses the image of a wild beast, most often a lion, to describe the process. The lion who sleeps in the sun in "Poetry Is a Destructive Force" is the mate of light, the lion who comes down to drink in "The Glass of Water"; the one represents the world of sense which can never be named or tamed, no matter how quietly it appears to sleep; the other is the fiercely playful force which dandles matter in its paws. Both are creatures of energy, ready to be transformed and to transform; both roar in the poet's consciousness—neither can articulate, can speak, as Stevens tells us in "Less and Less Human, O Savage Spirit":

If there must be a god in the house, must be
 Saying things in the rooms and on the stairs,
 Let him move as the sunlight moves on the floor,
 Or moonlight, silently as Plato's ghost,
 Or Aristotle's skeleton. Let him hand out
 His stars on the wall. He must dwell quietly.
 He must be incapable of speaking, closed
 As those are: as light, for all its motion, is:

¹⁷ Stevens, "The Relations between Poetry and Painting," *The Necessary Angel*, p. 161.

As color, even the closest to us, is;
 As shapes, though they portend us, are.
 It is the human that is the alien,
 The human that has no cousin in the moon.
 It is the human that demands his speech
 From beasts or from the incommunicable mass.

Actually, when Stevens says of the Tal Coat painting he bought that he felt the need to title it, and that this "title alone tames it as a lump of sugar might tame a lion" he gives us his real evaluation of the picture; this still-life of "slap-dash intensity" which is "a display of imaginative force" and "vitality" is nevertheless not a complete triumph of imagination in which the proper subordination to composition exists—it needs further "taming"—the wild beast can, however, be lulled temporarily by soothing it with a name, that is, a further imaginative definition.

If composition is not to be achieved by representation or by perspective or by catalogue alone, how can one court it? Wassily Kandinsky's answer in his *The Art of Spiritual Harmony* is an insight into the aesthetic probings made by working artists of the day:

The impossibility, and in art, the uselessness of attempting to copy an object exactly, the desire to give the object full of expression, are the impulses which drive the artist away from 'literal coloring' to purely artistic aims. . . . The creation of the various forms which, by standing in different relationships to each other decide the composition of the whole. Singly they will have little meaning, being of importance only in so far as they help the general effect. These single objects must be fashioned in one way only; and this, not because their own inner meanings demand that particular fashioning, but entirely because they have to serve as building material for the whole composition.¹⁸

How Stevens "composes" a poem out of the simplest visual building materials, cementing relationships until the items and the jointures disappear into the structure of the whole is brilliantly illustrated by "To an Old Philosopher in Rome"; the old man's bed, books, chair, candle and the nuns he sees from his window become Rome—both "the threshold Rome, and that more merciful Rome/Beyond":

The bed, the books, the chair, the moving nuns,
 The candle as it evades the sight, these are
 The sources of happiness in the shape of Rome,

¹⁸ Wassily Kandinsky, *The Art of Spiritual Harmony*, trans. M.T.H. Sadler (London: Constable & Co., 1914), pp. 59-60.

A shape within the ancient circles of shapes,
 And these beneath the shadow of a shape
 In a confusion on bed and books, a portent
 On the chair, a moving transparence on the nuns,
 A light on the candle tearing against the wick
 To join a hovering excellence, to escape
 From fire and be part only of that of which
 Fire is the symbol: the celestial possible.

* * * * *

It is a kind of total grandeur at the end,
 With every visible thing enlarged and yet
 No more than a bed, a chair and moving nuns,
 The immensest theatre, the pillared porch,
 The book and candle in your ambered room,
 Total grandeur of a total edifice,
 Chosen by an inquisitor of structures
 For himself. He stops upon this threshold,
 As if the design of all his words takes form
 And frame from thinking and is realized.

The other significant painter's technique which Stevens uses to realize a sense of total composition is color, both as the unifying principle of relationship of which Cezanne was master, and as an emotional, expressive force. Louis Untermeyer calls Stevens an impressionist, "fond of little blocks of color, verbal mosaics," but little blocks of color and impressionist mosaics were not at all what Stevens was concerned with. He explains in "Three Academic Pieces" in what way color "constitutes a relationship" between natural objects:

Take, for example, a beach extending as far as the eye can reach, bordered on the one hand by trees, and on the other, by the sea. The sky is cloudless and the sun is red. In what sense do objects in this scene resemble each other? There is enough green in the sea to relate it to the palms. There is enough of the sky reflected in the water to create a resemblance, in some sense, between them. The sand is yellow, between the green and the blue. In short, the light alone creates a unity not only in the recedings of distance where differences become invisible, but also in the contacts of closer sight.¹⁹

A poem like "Sea Surface Full of Clouds" is an example of just such a set of relationships. If anything can hold the shifting fluent world of this poem together, give it "resemblances," it is the meaningful use of color, the shadings of white and brown, the interplay of blues and greens,

¹⁹ Stevens, *The Necessary Angel*, p. 71.

which change in intensity and brilliance and are "transfigured" back into themselves by the sorcery of light, the maker and unifier.

A poem such as "Disillusionment of Ten O'Clock" makes use of color in a very different way. The colors—brilliant, and striking in their combinations—are one color, the color of the exotic and the strange, and it is opposed to the priggish white. The "nightgowns" of the poem are acceptable as literal nightgowns, and yet they may also be windowshades, the windowshades demurely drawn down for the night that a man on a walk around his quiet block or looking out from his bedroom window would see. There are only white shades with white "rings" or pulls—none purple with green shade pulls, none "strange/With socks of lace and beaded ceintures" like Austrian tasselled shades or French beaded and embroidered ones. In Expressionist painting color "becomes a vehicle of communication which serves to convey and to stimulate emotions; it becomes an expressive element,"²⁰ and so it is in this poem, and in many others, such as "Domination of Black," "Two Figures in Dense Violet Light," "The Man with the Blue Guitar," "Floral Decorations for Bananas," the last of which is a wonderfully witty, gaudy Cubist canvas. The most triumphant and consistent of Stevens' color=emotion equations are his conjurings with no color, the color which is the spectrum resolved, the crystal, the diamond, the glass, the clear viol of memory, and which represents a peace found only in the resolutions of the imagination. There is a revealing self-portrait of the artist fully aware of his special and particular powers in "Asides on the Oboe":

The philosopher's man alone still walks in dew,
Still by the sea-side mutters milky lines
Concerning an immaculate imagery.
If you say on the hautboy man is not enough,
Can never stand as god, is ever wrong
In the end, however naked, tall, there is still
The impossible, possible philosopher's man,
The man who has had the time to think enough,
The central man, the human globe, responsive
As a mirror with a voice, the man of glass,
Who in a million diamonds sums us up.

II

He is the transparence of the place in which
He is and in his poems we find peace.
He sets this peddler's pie and cries in summer,
The glass man, cold and numbered, dewily cries,
'Thou art not August unless I make thee so.'

²⁰ Buchheim, p. 12.

Notes

Vincent L. Eaton

WHEN Vincent Eaton died at Silver Springs, Maryland, on March 16, he was forty-six years old. He had been a member of the staff of the Library of Congress since 1935, serving in various capacities. In 1960 he had been made Publications Officer.

His interest in the American Studies Association came early, when ASA activities were centered in Washington. In 1954 the ASA received its development grant from the Carnegie Corporation. Robert Land resigned as secretary-treasurer, the association employed its first Executive Secretary, and Vincent Eaton became Treasurer, a post he held until his death.

All who were during engaged during the middle 1950s in expanding the ASA from a small society into its present status of 18 regional groups and more than a thousand members will remember the important role that Vincent Eaton played. We had a three-year grant, which was later renewed, enabling us to set up headquarters at the University of Pennsylvania and to embark on an extensive development program. The grant was not unlimited, and it was essential that it be employed to maximum effectiveness. It was Vincent Eaton's task to keep us solvent.

He would come to our meetings armed with carboned copies of a detailed treasurer's report, and after he had, in his modest, effective way, explained his figures, we knew then what we would be able to do, and how best to do it.

We depended on him utterly; if there was such a thing as an indispensable member of the American Studies Association, it was Vincent Eaton. Whenever President Robert E. Spiller and I were in doubt about whether to try something new—and there were many new plans, for there was almost no precedent to go on—we would always end up saying to one another, "Let's see what Vince thinks first." Afterward, when George Rogers Taylor and Hennig Cohen succeeded us, I am sure it was the same for them.

Vincent Eaton was quiet, friendly, shy, selflessly devoted to his work. His early death is a grief to his friends, a loss to the Association. I cannot imagine what an Executive Council meeting will be like without him.

L. D. R.

Reviews

Conducted by Theodore Hornberger

"In the Mystical Moist Night-Air"¹

AS NEARLY AS I CAN MAKE OUT, MOST GOOD STUDENTS OF AMERICAN CULTURE, intellectual history or literature are at least aware of the surprising extent to which occult doctrines permeate our intellectual and artistic history. But most seem to shy away from occult ideas when they encounter them—perhaps because of fear that their colleagues will think of them as somehow unsound; perhaps because any mention of such matters in the classroom inevitably brings forth enthusiastic but distracting undergraduate speculation about flying saucers, E. S. P. and related topics. Or perhaps it is merely because until recently we have lacked a systematic and academically respectable introduction to the field.² Fortunately, such an introduction is now available in John Senior's *The Way Down and Out*, a work not merely impeccable in its scholarship, but thoroughly sophisticated in its critical approach. Its purpose, according to the author, "is not necessarily to defend or attack occultism, but to understand it; and to achieve that purpose it is necessary to take occultism seriously" (p. xix). Our rational heritage predisposes us to view the universe in causal terms; Senior would have us remember that mystics and occultists do not. Like

¹ John Senior, *The Way Down and Out: The Occult in Symbolist Literature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1959); William York Tindall, *The Literary Symbol* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955); Ely Stock, "Nada in Hemingway's 'A Clean, Well-Lighted Place,'" *MASA Journal*, III (Spring 1962), 53-57; Lyman V. Cady, "Thoreau's Quotations from the Confucian Books in *Walden*," *American Literature*, XXXIII (March 1961), 20-32.

² There are, actually, a good number of popular works on the subject; they seem to have considerable commercial appeal. In the *New York Times Book Review* for January 7, 1962, I note two sizable display advertisements peddling "Fascinating books about/ PSYCHIC PHENOMENA/ THE WORLD BEYOND/ OCCULT SCIENCE," one a trade-book advertisement from E. P. Dutton & Company; the other, an invitation to join a book club specializing in occult literature. The books offered are, to say the least, of mixed quality, running the gamut from accounts of faith-healing to studies of oriental religion.

It is a curious fact, and one borne out by these advertisements, that if one follows the lead offered by almost any influential occult work, the trail eventually takes one to a major author. Advertised on both of these lists in the *Times* is *Cosmic Consciousness: A Study in the Evolution of the Human Mind* (Philadelphia: Innes & Sons, 1905; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1923) (and still in print) by Richard M. Bucke; sure enough this turns out to be the same Bucke who was one of Whitman's literary executors.

"primitive" people, they hold rather that "the universe is animate; there is an animating 'force'; this force can be controlled through sympathy and contagion in various kinds of ritual and discipline" (p. 8).

The Way Down and Out opens with a brief survey of the history of occult doctrines. Mr. Senior's purpose is both to "rehabilitate" the word occult, taking it "out of the pejorative vocabulary" and making it "stand, as it should, for a serious, traditional world-view," and also, while doing so, to give us a working notion of its central assumptions. The reader emerges from the survey convinced, I think, that the occult view has in fact been with us all along in Western civilization—although the Age of the Enlightenment undoubtedly represents a low point in its influence—and that in the East its force has never been seriously challenged. In terms of the history of ideas, literary romanticism with its interest in the Orient may be thought of "in part, at least, as a reaffirmation of the animistic universe" (p. 35). This section of Mr. Senior's book concludes (pp. 39-41) with a list of twenty-one "related notions" in which "occultists tend to believe." Being itself a summary, the list is impossible to summarize, but some crucial attitudes may be repeated: "the universe is one, single, eternal, ineffable substance." It is indeed "a living man." "The task of man is therefore self-realization. To know thyself is to be everything"; the man who achieves this state is not merely "in touch" with the spirit of the universe; he is God, "appraised of his possibilities by illumination, an accidental or induced state in which heat, fire, or light surround him and he sees ineffable and profoundly moving proof of the oneness of the universe." This vision he desires to communicate to "the less-developed mind on its unconscious levels." To do so he uses the symbol.

I have selected those aspects of this list which seem most relevant for literature. Mr. Senior fears that in dealing with the works of writers who feel themselves in the occult tradition, we, because of our rational bent, tend to construct "a false syllogism—I don't believe it, I like [the artist's work], therefore he could not have believed it" (p. 43). Such an attitude on our part can only produce distortion; whether or not we like the idea, these artists have more than aesthetic goals. They are not producers of aesthetic patterns; rather it is their purpose "to get us to participate, vicariously, in the experience of the vision" (pp. 53, 46).

William York Tindall comes to similar conclusions in *The Literary Symbol*,³ although his work is different in purpose than Mr. Senior's. In his effortless prose he seems less eager to prove anything than to turn over

³ The similarity in point of view is no accident. Mr. Senior was a student of Tindall's during the time that *The Literary Symbol* was taking shape. I am told that the student-teacher relationship was one of reciprocal influence.

enough facets of the literary symbol to show the whole stone. He does, however, concern himself quite explicitly with the symbol in its occult sense. Like Senior, he regards the romantic era as a period of "cosmic reconstruction" (p. 40), and quotes Coleridge as saying that "by a symbol I mean, not a metaphor or allegory or any other figure of speech or form or fancy, but an actual and essential part of that, the whole of which it represents" (p. 39).

I take as an indication of the slight difference in attitude between Tindall's book and Senior's a statement such as the following, referring to the use of the symbol by "the Transcendentalists of the early nineteenth century." Mr. Tindall writes, "At once prevented and teased by their instruments, they made the symbol a way to what feels like knowledge and is its only expression; for, like mystics coming home, these feelers could not translate their feelings into prose" (p. 41). I doubt that they would have wanted to. Senior is rather more forceful on this issue; he insists that the truth which the visionary desires to communicate is not translatable into prose, and that the best he can do is to recreate for the reader the sensation of the moment of revelation. It is not that the symbolic work is as near as he can come to expressing the truth he feels; rather it is that it is the only way.

Both books strike me as being enormously helpful and suggestive, even in their parenthetical points. Tindall's good differentiation between the metaphysical poets' "wit," which is based on connections between the seemingly unconnected (i.e., a flea and love), and the Hermetic conception of connections-as-equivalents, for example, was news to me, and should help draw boundaries and open up territory for scholars and critics dealing with those modern figures under the influence either of the metaphysical poets or of occultism.⁴ And as if to show us the way into these new fields, Mr. Tindall provides disarmingly perceptive comments about occult aspects of (to select a few Americans) Wallace Stevens, Herman Melville and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

To illustrate the usefulness of *his* rather more disciplined approach, Mr. Senior offers discussions of Rimbaud, Huysmans, Villiers, Mallarmé, Yeats and T. S. Eliot, a list which should suggest that his interpretation of the word "symbolist" is rather broad, although I think perfectly valid as an *ad hoc* definition. His discussion of T. S. Eliot is perhaps most rele-

⁴ Both Tindall's book and Senior's also have a curious predictive quality. To speak of one example which came to mind as I was reviewing my notes on Tindall: he intuitively rather casually that Emily Dickinson must have known the metaphysical poets; a recent article in *American Literature* (Judith Banzer, "'Compound Manner': Emily Dickinson and the Metaphysical Poets," XXXII [January 1961], 417-33) establishes just that.

vant here. While carefully qualifying what he says ("The author of *The Waste Land* was a bright young intellectual who picked up ideas much darker than he knew. But he did pick them up."), Mr. Senior succeeds in convincing at least this reader that a knowledge of occult conceptions can get one nearer to an understanding of what this poem is for than can all the explications and identifications of sources, glosses and translations which are available. The trouble with such approaches, according to Mr. Senior, is that "much of [this] evidence is like unevaluated FBI material—every guess, every anonymous phone call from every crank in Christendom, lies file by file, without any serious determination of its worth" (p. 178). Once we are familiar, for example, with the occult idea that one of the ways to illumination is "the way down," we understand the reason for the trip into the waste land, and the allusions to such occult systems as tarot cards and the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* come to fit into a far more purposeful pattern than we had suspected. It is also to Mr. Senior's credit that he never lets his enthusiasm carry him away: a comment like the following strikes me as refreshingly sane. "The ending of *The Waste Land* may be, poetically, disaster because the unfamiliar Sanskrit sounds silly, but the meaning should be clear and beautiful" (p. 183). Moreover, the pattern established in *The Waste Land* is shown to continue through other poems of Eliot. *Ash Wednesday* spells out in surprisingly explicit detail the process of purification of the self which is the basis of all occult systems: "the doctrine of *Four Quartets* is the perennial [i.e., occult or Hermetic] philosophy, and the imagery which clothes it, though it is largely Christian, is Hindu and Buddhist as well."⁵

Senior's critical conscience may be seen operating in a passage such as the following, in which he tries to define as closely as possible the nature of Eliot's commitment to the occult:

Is *Four Quartets* an occult work, then? It is based on occult doctrines, and the method like that of *The Waste Land* is universal analogy. Each of the four "quartets" represents one of the four elements and one of the four seasons. In them, what happens in history is juxtaposed with what happens in the life of the individual; what happens in the stars is said to happen in the blood; and since "all time is eternally

⁵ Occultism and Christianity are not, as Mr. Senior explains, incompatible. An occultist would regard Christianity, as well as other religions, as the slightly distorted remains of what was originally the vision of an occult saint, one who had seen the truth and had been moved to attempt to communicate it by constructing a symbolic system. Hence, in this view, Christ's speaking in parables. (To carry speculation one step further than we have any right to go, we may ask whether Eliot's "turning" to Anglo-Catholicism has anything to do with the way down and out. Perhaps for the sake of our Episcopalian friends we should hope not, but something within the Jewish consciousness of the present writer says, "Yes.")

present," everything is said to exist at once; and the task of the poet is, therefore, so to fix the apparently moving flux about us as to make us see the Absolute. (p. 187)

Or again, in his discussion of "Burnt Norton":

"Garlic and sapphires in the mud/Clot the bedded axletree." We should find this meaningless except for the image of the wheel suggested by the axle. The garlic and sapphires are the opposites, mixed in the mud of this world, which whirl on the samsaric wheel. Garlic and sapphires—the stench and the glitter; the one nourishes, the other dazzles. Or perhaps the lines do not mean this at all. These are only hints and guesses. A precise idea of the image is perhaps not possible, and perhaps poets should not write this way. But again, as in *The Waste Land*, though the surface may be inexplicable, the meaning of the passage is clear. "The dance along the artery/The circulation of the lymph/are figured in the drift of stars." The lyric celebrates the doctrine of corresponding wheels of existence. Things above are as they are below, as the Emerald Tablet said, and all opposites are reconciled when they are seen as part of a pattern. (p. 188)

This does not mean that conventional scholarship is useless in explaining Eliot's purpose in these poems. What it means rather is that Mr. Senior has given us the key to the basic pattern into which all these details fit. The occult concept of the yantra—a symbolic system, a pyramid, a mystery, an object, an art work designed as a means to grasp the absolute Something which occultists believe lies beyond—provides a more plausible basis for the structure of the poem and its use of imagery than anything we have had offered to us. The images themselves are frequently taken from occult sources; they are used as they would be used in a yantra.

"In America . . . , Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman, Melville, Henry James—all are influenced by occultism," says Mr. Senior (p. 51, note); undoubtedly the list could be made longer. Consider the case of Poe.⁶ I am not yet certain of the exact nature of Poe's commitment to the occult, but it already has become clear to me in the brief time since I first read Mr. Senior's book that it is sufficiently strong to justify calling Poe an occultist, and not merely, as in the case of some other Americans, a writer who used the occult.⁷ First, he believed in the power of words in the occult sense.

⁶ Mr. Senior, in response to a letter from the author, writes, "As far as Poe is concerned, I suspect from the Baudelaire and Mallarmé reaction, that he was serious about the occult. They were both shrewd judges. America was bursting with spooks—high class intellectual over-souls, socialistic phalansteries, rapping tables, Mormon revelations, Masonic rituals, etc."

⁷ Paradoxically, one could cite portions of Poe's criticism to bear this out and others which seem to contradict it. This is because one side of Poe's thinking is mechanical, as when he claims that he wrote "The Raven" entirely by formula, while

In the story "The Power of Words" a character *speaks* a star into existence. Second, his understanding of artistic inspiration goes so much further than the usual romantic notions that it has more in common with that of Blake than that of, say, Wordsworth, and like Blake's may best be understood as occult. Third, his "scientific prose poem" *Eureka* is a book about "equivalences" in precisely the occult sense of that term, and bases its reasoning on "analogy" in the occult, and not the modern critical, sense of the word. He insisted that we take *Eureka* seriously, that it was his magnum opus. If we do not, perhaps it is because we do not know what it is for. I would suggest that Poe intended it as a textbook of occultism, and that it can be read more consistently as that than as anything else. Fourth, the heightened sensitivity characteristic of so many of his protagonists is like that by which initiates of occultism perceive their visions. The visions themselves have a great deal in common with those of occult mystics (and, according to Aldous Huxley, mystic visions are usually similar).⁸ Moreover, the manner in which Poe's characters reach the supersensitive state of receptivity is frequently exactly what Senior calls "the way down." This is by no means a complete account of what *The Way Down and Out* has to teach about this one American author, but it should suggest something of the "fruitfulness" of the book.⁹

In his checklist of occult doctrines Denis Saurat¹⁰ lists two Americans, Emerson and Whitman, among his nineteen examples of authors who held at least some occult ideas. The list could be much longer. We do not have detailed discussions of the shaping power of occult ideas on American authors, although it would seem from a couple of recent publications that a start is being made.¹¹ Lyman Cady's recent discussion of "Thoreau's Quotations from the Confucian Books in *Walden*," for example, demonstrates an obvious familiarity with and competence to handle

the other side sounds very like those romantic or transcendental assumptions which seem most closely related to the occult, for example, the idea that the poet is a "seer." We have the testimony of numerous sources that Poe, late in his life, behaved more and more as though he were in fact some sort of visionary; there is every indication, in short, that he had become as committed to this body of ideas as he was capable of being committed to anything.

⁸ Aldous Huxley, "Heaven and Hell: Visionary Experience, Visionary Art, and the Other World," *Tomorrow*, III (Summer 1955), 7-35; Aldous Huxley, *The Doors of Perception* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1954).

⁹ Not all of these things are brand new. There is an extensive literature which deals with Poe's sources and with influences on him. But Mr. Senior's approach enables us to piece together more of the picture than we have ever seen before.

¹⁰ Tr. Dorothy Bolton, *Literature and Occult Tradition* (New York: L. MacVeagh, 1930), p. 70.

¹¹ Two earlier works on the general subject are Arthur Christy, *The Orient in American Transcendentalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932) and Fred-eric Ives Carpenter, *Emerson and Asia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930).

Oriental philosophy in its own terms, and Ely Stock's carefully-qualified discussion of "*Nada* in Hemingway's 'A Clean, Well-Lighted Place' " at the very least provides a fascinating possible second reading for that story; he takes *Nada* in precisely that sense in which Mr. Senior recommends: as part of a system of equivalent opposites in which Nothing is Something and the way Out is the way Down. There are also a few pioneer studies, though not of Americans, which admirably combine the insights and methodology of modern criticism with an understanding of occult influences; Mr. Tindall's discussions of Lawrence¹² and Joyce¹³ are there to mark the trail.

What all this means I suppose, is that we must learn to take authors seriously when they say that they are operating in terms of the occult process of revelation and inspiration. Perhaps *our* rationalistic predilections make this difficult to do, but it is clear that *they* take it seriously. As intellectual historians, we should not find it too hard to see that the romantic attempt to recapture the magical view of the universe involved the rediscovery of the world-view on which that magic was historically based, and that phenomena as diverse as the romantic scientific interest in the primitive past, Emerson's pose as the prophet of his people, and the tremendous popular interest in, say, astrology, are at least distantly related.

Certainly the occult pops up in unexpected places. Wrote Hamlin Garland, "If these super normal events are illusory, then all the events of my life are illusory. They happened and I recorded them."¹⁴ There can be no question that Garland meant what he said. Or: Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* began as a science-fantasy tale whose main appeal was to the imagination; the machinery of his plot was clearly descended from the pseudo-occult popular magazine stories, of which Edgar Poe's are only the most famous. Even after Bellamy had fallen in love with his book's economics, enough remained of the plot line to make its origin discernible, and to this day Bellamy (who had a brother who was a Theosophist) is popular with the Theosophists.¹⁵

¹² William York Tindall, *D. H. Lawrence & Susan His Cow* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939). See esp. pp. 130 ff.

¹³ William York Tindall, "Joyce and the Hermetic Tradition," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XVI (January 1954), 23-39.

¹⁴ *Forty Years of Psychic Research: A Plain Narrative of Fact* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1937).

¹⁵ For Bellamy's original plan for the novel, see Robert L. Shurter, "The Writing of *Looking Backward*," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXXVIII (July 1939), 235-61. For Bellamy's philosophical outlook, see Arthur E. Morgan, *The Philosophy of Edward Bellamy* (New York: Kings Crown Press, 1945), esp. pp. 5, 24 and 25. For a discussion of the Theosophists' reactions, see pages 30 and 33 ff. of Morgan's book.

With modifications, the approach which grows from an understanding of the nature of occult tradition and beliefs can be extremely fruitful in dealing with the rather large body of contemporary works, which, although not explicitly in the occult tradition, rest on assumptions which *are*. Mr. Tindall's chapter on what he calls the "poetic novel,"¹⁶ although perhaps too intuitive for some tastes, I found richly suggestive. Since Melville and Flaubert independently invented it in the nineteenth century, it has become the dominant form of the "better novel," but, as Mr. Tindall points out, has seldom been discussed in poetic terms. The list of novels of this sort is long enough so that any approach which sheds new light on them seems exceedingly valuable: Mr. Tindall in this chapter lists, among others, *Moby-Dick*, *Madame Bovary*, *The Old Wives' Tale*, *Finnegans Wake*, *A Portrait of the Artist*, *Anna Karenina*, *Ulysses*, *A Passage to India*, *Heart of Darkness*, *Nostromo*, *The Secret Agent*, *Party Going*, *Remembrance of Things Past*, *The Magic Mountain*, *The Trial*, *The Plumed Serpent*, *To the Lighthouse*, *The Sound and the Fury*, *Absalom, Absalom!*, *Under the Volcano*, *The Old Man and the Sea*, *Marmot Drive*. And Mr. Senior reminds us that we are dealing with artistic procedures related to occult theory whenever we discuss stream of consciousness. In Joyce, Woolf or Faulkner, what lies beneath the stream is the assumption that connections between seemingly unconnected things are in fact significant: the stream is "sky, whose bottom is pebbly with stars."

In a recent letter, Mr. Senior says, "In cutting my book, I threw out a lot of material on Fourier who was beyond question an occultist and some suggestions about his influence on American Literature. I'm sure the whole vein is rich." Our concern thus far has been primarily with the influence on literature, but as Mr. Senior's mention of Fourier suggests, the occult left its mark on other fields as well. I can clearly remember the humorous manner in which the professor in an American intellectual history course treated the phenomenon of Madame Blavatsky's popularity. He was a superb teacher, but it now strikes me that he failed to impress upon us the fact that however amusing the manifestations of popular occultism in late nineteenth-century America, and however rationally they can be explained as a sort of watered-down and popularized Transcendentalism, they should also be accounted for at least partially in terms of their own tradition. That is, although we can perhaps explain why the nation was ripe for them at that time—because of the number of nervous, neurotic widows and spinsters in the country, because of the

¹⁶ "Supreme Fictions," *The Literary Symbol*, pp. 68-101. By "poetic," he means "built on associations and equivalences which cannot be translated into prose."

extent to which romantic ideas in popularized form had filtered down from the intelligentsia, because of the psychological impact, particularly on lonely women, of the Civil War—the beliefs themselves are conventional statements of the tenets of an age-old tradition of thought.

Even the sciences do not seem to be immune from occult influences. Whether Professor Rhine's work at Duke is sound or misguided is very much a matter of debate between academic psychologists and True Believers, but C. G. Jung takes it seriously as evidence that there is Something going on. Both Mr. Senior and Mr. Tindall note repeatedly the occult implications (and frequently occult beliefs) in the works of both Freud and Jung.¹⁷ Certainly Jung's dead-serious investigation of "Synchronicity"¹⁸ is an attempt to relate meaningful coincidences to his larger conceptions of archetypal symbolism and the collective unconscious. "Meaningful coincidences" . . . he says, "seem to rest upon an archetypal foundation."¹⁹ I don't know what our historians of science are doing with the occult, but to use Mr. Senior's words again, "The whole vein is rich." Doubtless we should mine and burrow our way through these hills. We tend to forget that even educated Puritans who considered themselves scientists believed literally in astrology. They were not the first American scientists to do so, and I doubt they were the last.

I am convinced, in short, that these books, and especially Mr. Senior's, will be looked back upon twenty or thirty years from now as landmarks in critical and intellectual history, although I rather wince at the thought of the resultant studies—"Salinger and the Occult," "The Beat and the Bhagavad-Gita," "The Way Down to Walden Pond," "Pfaff's Restaurant and Whitman's Mysticism," "What Secret Power *Did* Ben Franklin Have?" Such studies, however, should shed light not merely on writers really in the occult tradition, but also on those who, like some of the figures in my not-altogether facetious list of articles, merely made use of elements which Mr. Senior tells us are in the broad tradition of occultism.

STUART LEVINE, *University of Kansas*

¹⁷ In line with these observations about science and the occult, one might add that it would be well for the psychological critics to know with what they are dealing. We have always known that certain literary artists of the nineteenth century (and even earlier) anticipated many of the major insights of contemporary psychology, and that Freud was deeply influenced by them. Now that the connection has been established between such nineteenth-century works and the occult, and between Freud, these works and the occult, we are perhaps in a position to reassess Freud's relation to intellectual currents of his time.

¹⁸ In his essay "Synchronicity: a Causal Connecting Principle," trans. R. F. C. Hull, in C. G. Jung and W. Pauli, *The Interpretation of Nature and the Psyche* (New York: Bollingen-Pantheon, 1955).

¹⁹ Jung, pp. 33-34. See also pp. 140-43.

The American Search for Self-Identification

THE SEARCH FOR SELF-IDENTIFICATION IS PROBABLY AS OLD AS RELIGION AND gains epic proportions in a civilization in which there is social unrest, uncertainty and the positive, if unconscious, will to correct the situation. The Oedipus legend, and the German fairytale in which the handsome beggar is discovered to be the long-lost prince, heir to the riches of the realm and the languishing hand of the princess, are examples. Both books in review¹ are engaged in a similar common quest: to identify America. Although neither author says so explicitly, the relative instability of our "melting pot" environment results in three unselfconscious reactions: the first is to cling to the eclectic security of the past from which we are derived; the second is to deny that we owe an individual responsibility to the present; the third is to trust that the future will take care of itself if we don't interfere too much. Both books are concerned that it may not be so and plead that we should understand ourselves better than we do lest we involve the mother country in unfortunate circumstances. Indeed, I presume this is the motivation of American Studies generally—to obtain greater self-knowledge than we presently possess and to be governed accordingly.

By way of describing them, perhaps it is worth noting one further characteristic which both books share: each is composed of essays which have appeared elsewhere, either in periodicals or as public addresses and each bears the title of the last essay. What special advantage there may be in following this editorial procedure I do not know unless it is to anticipate those who perversely choose to read backwards; but the author of one volume, John Kouwenhoven, is at least careful to suggest that the reader follow the one, two, three order. So be it. I did. And the flavor of the *Beer Can by the Highway* lingers on.

For Mr. Fitch, the issue of what is American about America is essentially a matter of architecture. In our attitude toward the type of shelters which automatically become our environment, he finds a clue to American character generally; and his essays should be read with this in mind. He writes not only specifically about the technology and aesthetics of building, but also about the social issues involved. His essay on Jefferson and Wright, for example, leads him to examine the social emancipation of women which has resulted from the increasingly flexible functioning of the domestic interior. And his essay which centers on the nineteenth-

¹ James Marston Fitch, *Architecture and the Esthetics of Plenty* (304 pp., Columbia University Press, 1961, \$7.50) and John A. Kouwenhoven, *The Beer Can by the Highway* (255 pp., Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1961, \$4.50).

century cookbook (*A Treatise on Domestic Economy*, 1842) by Catherine Beecher, carries the examination still further. F. L. Wright comes in for a good deal of worthwhile attention in several other essays, but the author does not ignore such important influences on the American scene as Mies and Gropius and his exposition of the independence and human wisdom of the latter is both sympathetic and inspiring. Mr. Fitch does not mind drawing on history to clarify and justify his outlook on the architecture of today; indeed, he devotes a special chapter to "The Uses of History" in which he discusses the past as a guide to contemporary analysis and action, rather than as an example to follow in the way that the eclectics of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries so unwisely and mistakenly did. Consequently, when, in another essay, he employs the tool of history to study the phenomenon of the village lawn which spreads from house to neighboring house without interruption as a symbol of democracy, he brings that which might have been obvious, but wasn't, into clear, recognizable focus so that the next time one drives beneath the village elms, he is prone to notice and contemplate features previously ignored. The two essays discussing the influence of the engineer on architecture and modern society and the aesthetics of plenty can be read almost simultaneously and are, indeed, slightly repetitious. In fact, if the collection of essays possesses any fault, it might be the echo in one essay of a point already made in another. Nevertheless, I am happy to note the echo and find in the plenty of ideas a satisfaction which generates its own aesthetic.

Whereas Mr. Fitch's essays are amply documented and illustrated, Mr. Kouwenhoven's are both whimsical and profound. His style emerges from the fact that the essays were written to be spoken on various occasions, and they carry the reader's imagination with the sparkle and energy of a spring freshet. By the very nature of the several occasions which prompted them, they are relatively brief. However, they suffer neither the tedium of the hour-long lecture, nor the superficiality of the impromptu after-dinner speech. They are full enough to state the case, from a discussion of modern advertising and its effect on modern society to a discussion of education, the curriculum and the arts; from an investigation of the issues involved in the change of American civilization from a handcraft to an industrial society, to a discussion of waste and abundance and the role of a democracy in that connection. This is the last and the title essay. In it, Mr. Kouwenhoven makes a plea for the dignity of man as an individual who must determine his own destiny and not have it regulated for him. He quotes Emerson to argue that "Nature makes 50 poor melons for one that is good," and asserts that our most

immediate need in America is for men and women "to keep all doors open to our self fulfillment while helping others to open doors themselves."

Both books parallel each other closely in concept and in ideals. Both are important as prods for the sluggish mind which might be curious about modern America and the modern world. Both note that America differs from the rest of the Occident quantitatively rather than qualitatively. Both present the optimistic view that the destiny of America is to help the human race by being human itself, but that self-knowledge is desirable toward this end. Yet both very humanly question the whereabouts rather than the fact of American civilization—like the person who awakes in strange surroundings to ask first of all where am I, rather than am I? What else is the justification of American Studies?

BARTLETT H. HAYES JR., *Addison Gallery of American Art*

GILMAN OSTRANDER, *The Rights of Man in America, 1606-1861*. xiii, 356 pp. University of Missouri Press, 1960. \$6.50.

THIS well-written essay in the history of democracy in America strives to cope with the inherent inconsistency of an outlook which lauded both liberty *and* equality, brotherhood *and* competitiveness. This is a history of circumstances as well as of traditions, and thus an exercise in social as well as intellectual history. The class structure, the philosophic assumptions, the role of King and Parliament are examined in early British nurture, and in their transplanted and developed forms. Puritanism, assemblies, constitutions, environmental factors, the impact of the Declaration of Independence and of the French Revolution are probed for their contributions to the definition of the Rights of Man in America, as are such symbolic figures as Jefferson and Jackson. Students of American Studies will be especially interested in pondering views and judgments in the chapter, "Literature and Democracy." Also evocative, but perhaps less satisfactory is the final chapter which attempts to sum up post-1861 tendencies—almost a hundred years of democratic experiences—in twenty-three pages covering topics from the then "new" industry to McCarthyism. This reviewer may be pardoned for thinking the muckrakers worthy of note in any discussion of the Rights of Man in America; he remarks their absence only as an example of the problems this chapter's sweeping generalizations and choices of detail create. The bibliographical essay is thoughtful and conscientious, and can be read with interest and appreciation.

LOUIS FILLER, *Antioch College*

THE GREAT EXPERIMENT IN AMERICAN LITERATURE. Edited by Carl Bode. viii, 151 pp. Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1961. \$3.50.

THE editing of two volumes of lectures, *The Young Rebel in American Literature* (1960) and *The Great Experiment* (1961) are ample justification of Professor Bode's plea that American lecturers be granted a European residence longer than the customary year. Since the earlier volume took the intellectual approach to literature, Professor Bode must consider that as valid as the formal approach used in this one—for that reason, this book might better have been called *A* rather than *The Great Experiment*. It takes considerable posturing on Professor Robert E. Spiller's part to make Poe the first significant American writer (and, if we are arguing for American originality, Poe's large debt to Coleridge for the phrasing of the 1831 Preface should be admitted, just as Whitman's space-time concept should be traced back to transcendentalism). Furthermore, the formal thesis breaks down in the deprecating final estimates of Dickinson, by Professor Dennis S. R. Welland: "Emily Dickinson's writing is not really an experiment in poetic technique"; and of Cummings, by Professor Bode: "He is still a poet who is more esteemed than he deserves to be."

The English lecturers seem to have taken their assignments more seriously than the Americans, who have tended to use what was already on the pantry shelf. But the book also reveals a healthy new trend of appreciation by the English and self-criticism by the Americans. With the formal approach so clearly stated in the Preface, one might expect in the Whitman essay less emphasis on "Song of Myself" and a fuller treatment of "Lilacs," "Out of the Cradle" or "Passage to India." Oddly, Robert Louis Stevenson is quoted twice in this essay, Gay Wilson Allen not at all. Yet it is gratifying to find praise for James Miller's excellent work, and to share Professor A. Norman Jeffares' own perceptive insights. Despite Professor Welland's devaluation of Dickinson as a poetic experimenter, his essay, the best in the book, is brightly, sensitively and thoughtfully written. Professor Geoffrey Moore's wit comes through in such phrases as "Hamlet in a grey-flannel suit" and "the split between Ebbets Field and Columbia Heights." Even though this critic rates Stevens below Eliot, he is willing to examine Stevens on his own ground, and does grant him some merit.

If this book offers greater enlightenment to the average English reader than to the American, scholars on this side of the water will nevertheless be impressed by the rich cultural fare which Professor Bode has presented at the American Embassy in London.

VIVIAN C. HOPKINS, *State University of New York, Albany*

CHARLES L. SANFORD, *The Quest for Paradise: Europe and the American Moral Imagination*. x, 282 pp. University of Illinois Press, 1961.

RECOGNITION that an Edenic myth informs much of American experience is no longer a novelty to American historians and has enlivened much recent interdisciplinary scholarship. In some ways Charles L. Sanford has undertaken the most ambitious study in this vein, but the scope of his inquiry leads to perhaps inevitable difficulties.

He is concerned "with the larger structure of thought and feeling rather than with textual detail"; and this book is the history and analysis of a remarkably comprehensive idea. He also wonders, however, "to what extent significant omissions may weaken the thesis of an interpretive work . . . which attempts to grasp the meaning of a whole culture through the study of key fragments." When such omissions include close readings of Melville and Henry Adams, there is room for wonder. And even a reader with vast sympathy for Mr. Sanford's thesis may feel uneasy about the holistic assumption that every incident and individual bears an internal relationship to every other; some flowers among the crannied walls and along the tortuous bypaths of history may be metaphysically mute. This may seem a minor point, but it renders unnecessarily vulnerable this serious and provocative approach to history.

In Sanford's analysis the image of paradise is compounded of two polar impulses—one toward self-assertion and the other toward submission, in larger terms the tension between an affirmation of progress and an attraction to regressive primitivism. This framework permits him to show how apparently antithetical positions—liberalism and conservatism or agrarianism and industrialism—draw upon and contribute to this mythic quest. For this insight alone, the book would be valuable. But Sanford finds too easy a transition from an agricultural to an industrial nation and ignores a jarring sense of cultural and artistic dislocation.

His analysis of Franklin and Jefferson clarifies with accuracy and intelligence; that of Bryant, Cole and the concept of the sublime shows social and aesthetic awareness. Less successful, it seems to me, are those introductory chapters which trace the development of the central myth from the ancient world through the New World colonization. These chapters draw heavily on secondary materials—not the best kind of evidence for a study of myth, no matter how skillful the synthesis. Some of the same stricture applies also to the chapter on diplomacy, which contends that the persistence of an Edenic myth explains American failure.

Despite these shortcomings this is a highly suggestive, widely ranging book with implications for low as well as high culture. The journey from innocence to experience is an American motif in many areas. But Sanford finds adherence to the myth a costly affliction and urges instead

a more widespread tolerance and a heightened awareness of life's limitations, a tragic sense of life which will help Americans deal maturely with reality. For him Herbert Croly's willingness to use Hamiltonian means to accomplish Jeffersonian ends and Henry James's sensitivity to complex experience point the way out of political confusion and moral illusion.

MARVIN FISHER, *Arizona State College*

MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER, *American Architecture and Other Writings*. Edited by William H. Jordy and Ralph Coe. xvi, 328, xii, 333 pp. Belknap Press, 1961. \$12.50.

AMERICAN culture has thus far turned up only two architectural critics of probable lasting consequence. One is Lewis Mumford. The other is the author of the essays here collected for the first time and impressively edited.

Montgomery Schuyler was something of an interloper in architectural criticism, a journalist by profession, working variously for the *New York World*, *Harper's Weekly* and the *New York Times*. In 1891 he helped found the *Architectural Record*, still a leading American periodical in the field, and contributed to it often. His articles in the *Record* and elsewhere display the catholicity of his interests. Following the editors' arrangement, we find pieces on "modern architecture," Richardson Romanesque, steel bridges, skyscrapers, the Beaux Arts movement, Sullivan and Wright. In most of his work, though, say the editors, there was too little fundamental seriousness, curiosity or rigor. Schuyler was "the architectural boulevardier strolling the avenue and urbanely discussing those aspects of the building which it presents to the passer-by. . . ."

Why, then, devote the greater part of the Introduction to an exposition of Schuyler's critical ideals, their sources in Ruskin, Viollet-le-Duc and others, and the American's application of these ideals to particular structures? Because, the editors believe, Schuyler's criticism is more valuable to us today as revealing the architectural "dilemmas of its time" than for "its absolute perspicacity." A right conclusion, surely, if somewhat at variance with their interest in the soundness of his aesthetic judgments and in the contemporary relevance of his ideals. The subtle dissonance in the editors' views on this point is heard again in the generality of their praise of Schuyler's achievement over against the specificity of their reservations about it, and again in a certain unevenness in the integration of their own expository and critical remarks. These disharmonies are due mainly, I suspect, to the ineradicable difficulties of co-authorship.

In major respects the Introduction is well handled, giving us the necessary historical depth, as in the pages resurrecting Schuyler's little known architect-friend, Leopold Eidlitz, and frequent insight, as in the observation that "if the thoughtful journalistic critic is frequently compromised by the mediocrity of what he is given to evaluate, he is sometimes misled when all of his critical tenets are realized in an inferior production." There is an ample index, a list of Schuyler's known writings and a running annotation of buildings and other allusions in the essays that is awesomely complete.

DAVID R. WEIMER, *Rutgers University*

ADRIENNE KOCH, *Power, Morals, and the Founding Fathers: Essays in the Interpretation of the American Enlightenment*. xi, 158 pp. Cornell University Press, 1961. \$1.95. Paper.

Miss KOCH has pulled together into a small paperback publication, without footnotes or bibliography, several lectures and writings she has previously presented in print concerning the character and thoughts of John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison.

Franklin, regarded by Jefferson as "the father of American Philosophy," is used "to delineate the American Enlightenment's underlying attitude of pragmatic wisdom" (vii): Jefferson is portrayed against the moral, political and personal implications of his "right to the pursuit of happiness"; while Hamilton, "who tended to equate the national interest with his own prejudices" (p. 78), is regarded as a frustrated Caesar and villain forever in search of the power which Adams laboriously sought to tame; and Madison, the reader is told, "achieved, in his thought and character, a total balance among Jefferson's ideals for the pursuit of happiness, Hamilton's understanding of strategic means, and Adams' realization of the need to check power with power" (pp. 103-4).

The author has provided a number of interesting interpretations, but seems to forget the shifting positions of "the fathers" as they were motivated by political opportunism, experience, or enjoyed the luxury of retired elder statesmen. Jefferson's choice of the words, "the pursuit of happiness," might well indicate more the acumen of an astute politician than the insight of a moral philosopher.

Chapters VII and VIII concern the development of an American philosophic tradition as a means of interpreting today the fundamental concepts of American democracy to Americans and to the peoples of other lands. "We must recognize that democratic reform exists" in backward areas, says the author, "when steps are taken to narrow the gap between

an impoverished populace and fabulously wealthy rulers" (p. 136). The reader is told that Madison, "at the close of his life, while in philosophic retirement" (p. 105) described the American experiment in free government as the "workshop of Liberty." By interpreting this to mean an "organized workshop, where workers together produce useful objects" (p. 129), the author has opened the way to a discussion of "work," "labor," "technology," "the control of machines for liberty, for bettering man's estate," limitations on the "diffusion of scientific information," etc., for the preservation of "the pursuit of human happiness."

After showing that liberty and power are interwoven, and that a proper balance between the two is essential to the preservation of free government, the author shifts into a situation where she uses the words "liberty" and "morals" interchangeably, without regard for their accepted definitions, and concludes that the "founding fathers . . . , by their joint activity, saw the necessity for the constant balance and tension of power and morals" (p. 149).

One wishes that the author had been more objective in presentation, better grounded in the history of the period of the "founding fathers" and less sly in the manipulation of words.

JOSEPH MILTON NANCE, *The Agricultural & Mechanical College of Texas*

SIGMUND SKARD, *The American Myth and the European Mind: American Studies in Europe 1776-1960*. 112 pp. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961. \$4.50.

IN 1958, when Professor Skard published his monumental two-volume *American Studies in Europe*, many of us wished for a companion volume, condensed in form, which would present the major trends and conclusions of the larger work. *The American Myth and the European Mind* is precisely what was needed. With sharpened emphases on East German and Soviet studies and their nature and significance, and on the fashioning of the image of America everywhere in Europe, the author has in four chapters, at a rapid but easily-followed pace, carried his narrative from 1776 to the present.

The philosophical, social and political implications of American Studies in Europe are here in clear focus. The American urge to explain America, the fact and myth as proposed and the fact and myth as received, are surveyed by a man who knows a great deal about them, who has seen them as presented in every country. In a sense his book is in large part a survey of the history of individual nations in Europe during the past hundred years from one special point of view—their image of America and the political and cultural conditions under which it was formed.

Clues to an understanding of many of our international problems lie in the contrast between British and French attitudes toward American history and literature, in the indication of the selective and distorted-beyond-recognition American civilization allowed to be seen in the Soviet bloc, and in even the bare titles of our books shown to be favorites in different countries.

Indicative of the development of American stature in the older and more sophisticated world of Europe, this small volume suggests our continued and pressing need to make ourselves understood. To Professor Skard, as to most other Europeans, Europe and America have in this century reversed their respective nineteenth-century conservative and liberal roles. His book suggests to this reader that we must demonstrate more clearly than we have that if Europe has reversed itself, America has not. And this is not to say that America has been all along but the thinly-disguised citadel of Hamiltonianism.

RICHARD BEALE DAVIS, *The University of Tennessee*

MAUD WOOD PARK, *Front Door Lobby*. Edited by Edna Lamprey Stantial. 274 pp. Beacon Press, 1960. \$4.00.

Front Door Lobby tells how after a century of struggle, when scorn and picketing and parade were over, women working for suffrage all over the United States piled state victories into a national victory. Mrs. Catt in the Foreword to *Victory How Women Won It* (1940) writes that the slowness of the victory was due to the failure of democracy: "It did not continue to march forward under the old banner of the Rights of Man." She says that much is to be learned from this hundred years of struggle. The value of *Front Door Lobby*, besides the fact that it is delightful reading, lies here.

Front Door Lobby is an elaboration of Mrs. Park's chapters in *Victory* on "Campaigning State by State" and "The Winning Plan." She and her Washington committee found that the education of public opinion, tact, determination and important friends eased the way to final victory. In troublous times, we get a picture of what charming, brainy, devoted women can do to forward the rights of man. Mrs. Park and her committee did their part in the skillfully coordinated national planning, kept their records, of which *Front Door Lobby* is a further account, laughed and cried over failure and success and found that nothing succeeds like success.

Yesterday's causes were slavery, woman's rights and liquor: today they are the same in different dress. If liquor flowed as freely now as it flowed when Miss Anthony spoke in school buildings, the battle for freedom

in the South would be bloodier. Today in the eyes of the picketing Negro students are the dedication, the kindness, the determination of Susan B. Anthony, Carrie Chapman Catt and Maud Wood Park. Some day these students will tell their story with tears and laughter, their victory won.

America is turning back for strength and inspiration to the fountain-heads of her greatness. No more valuable lesson can be found than that in the story of woman's suffrage.

MARY ELIASON, *Campbell College*

DANIEL J. BOORSTIN, *The Image; or, What Happened to the American Dream*. ix, 316 pp. Atheneum, 1962. \$5.00.

THIS is a book with a single idea and much very apt illustration rather than a systematic account of the history of an idea with full documentation. In short, it is an excellent example itself of what it sets out to attack: the substitution of an illusion for reality. The illusion is that there was in the recent past a "Graphic Revolution" after which the American Dream ceased to be an Ideal and became an Image. This image of the modern American mind is stated as fact in the opening pages and repeated in a variety of contexts, with dramatic and convincing examples of each until the conquest is complete.

Actually there was no such graphic revolution that can be dated and documented, nor was there this dramatic reversal of the American character. When Jefferson drew his famous picture of King George in the Declaration of Independence, he was proving himself a past master of the Image, and when Robert Frost read his poem at President Kennedy's Inauguration he gave a dramatic demonstration of the continuing vitality of the American Dream.

Nevertheless, Mr. Boorstin has pointed out a fatal trend in the modern mind, and a trend which is definitely on the increase; and he has argued his case like a good lawyer for the prosecution, with wit, learning and swift logic. Once one has accepted his thesis, the journey through the "pseudo-events" of news-making, hero-faking, travel-sterilizing, dissolving art forms and advertizing is a sheer and spine-tingling joy. In the same playful spirit, he concludes with a list of books for further reading (and writing) rather than a scholarly bibliography. Perhaps he *meant* all the time to give us an example of what fun it is to substitute the Image for the Ideal.

ROBERT E. SPILLER, *University of Pennsylvania*

CHARLES NEIDER, *Mark Twain and the Russians*. 29 pp. Hill and Wang, 1960. \$.50. Paper.

THIS "American Century Special" contains the documents in the exchange of views between Charles Neider and the Russian critic, Y. Bereznitsky, on the subject of Neider's edition of *The Autobiography of Mark Twain*. Bereznitsky's original review, Neider's reply and the Russian's counter-attack appeared in the *Literary Gazette* (Moscow, 1959); but Neider's final riposte has not been previously printed. To the four critical documents, Neider has added his own introduction, reviewing the facts of the exchange and justifying the present publication.

The ostensible burden of the debate is the conflict over rival interpretations of the literary character of Mark Twain. Against Bereznitsky's view of an "indignant" and "debunking" Twain, Neider offers "essentially a great fabulist." But the real debate does not lie along these lines at all. It follows an ideological course. To the assertion that official and unofficial America ignore the social critic in Mark Twain, Neider replies that it is natural for autocratic critics, limited to translations in which the art fails to come through, to suffer this constricted view of the subject. And in defense of his own handling of Twain in the *Autobiography*, Neider self-deprecatingly argues that other scholars have discovered still other "Twains." Apparently, for Neider, the liberalism implicit in any dozen partial, and perhaps erroneous, views of the author is more valuable than the autocracy implicit in any single view, however "right" or valuable that view in itself.

This exchange of opinion invites the reader to draw the ironical inference that liberalism is not available as an ideological weapon. Liberalism is the occasion for differences of opinion, but it is not, as Neider wants to make it, either cause or justification for holding any of those various opinions. Appeals to liberalism to justify an idiosyncratic opinion silence criticism as effectively as autocratic views which the liberalism intended to rebuff. The editors of the *Literary Gazette* were correct in punctuating the exchange when they did.

JAMES HINER, *Ely Junior College*

VICTORIA PADILLA, *Southern California Gardens: An Illustrated History*. 359 pp. University of California Press, 1961. \$10.00.

A student of American civilization needs regional studies like *Southern California Gardens* to sustain his national generalizations or to supply distributed and representative examples for his thesis. Miss Padilla's

book, a product of detailed and thoughtful research, is a specialized local study that relates to many central topics.

The book tells of contributions made by skilled European immigrants and by American explorers (plant searchers in other continents), of Americans from other states who had to make adjustments to climate, of resourceful men who developed a business (flower seeds) that supplies much of America and of the world, and of a comfortable middle-class victory. A business (nurseries) that once catered to alert, landed, aristocratic collectors now survives by selling ordinary standardized plants to the relatively indifferent populace on their small lots. What the rich enthusiasts used privately to do (establish gardens of rare plants), institutions (quasi-public botanical societies) now do.

Miss Padilla is specific on what plant-minded Spaniards, Mexicans and Americans have done for the adornment, front and rear, of homes. In recording successive fashions in landscape planting, she not only illustrates American faddishness but also shows that another clue to "the American character" is the house plant and the make-up of the garden. She traces the effects that real-estate and industrial development, rising costs and taxes, have had on specific enterprises (plant propagation indoors and outdoors).

Like other parts of America, Southern California has seemed like an Eden to newcomers, partly because of its native flora but more so because of its exotics. And the ideas embodied by the region's gardens, like the ideas implicit in many other American things, have origins in ancient and medieval civilizations.

RICHARD G. LILLARD, *Los Angeles City College*

WILLIAM R. TAYLOR, *Cavalier and Yankee: The Old South and American National Character*. 384 pp. George Braziller, 1961. \$6.00.

In this fascinating book William R. Taylor has made an impressive contribution both to Civil War literature and to the literature of national character. He has also given aid and comfort to future graduate students by demonstrating that a doctoral dissertation can still deal with widely available materials and illuminate traditional problems.

In dealing with the "Cavalier" and the "Yankee" he has sought to analyze the social conditions in nineteenth-century America which produced the need for creating such stereotypes and, by considering "what kind of worries and anxieties" attended this rationalization, to determine "what sort of needs it satisfied."

Professor Taylor points out that the two figures were related to a common national experience, and that they satisfied related needs. More-

over, he astutely observes that optimism and anxiety were in the pre-Civil War years "functions of the same situation." Sensitive Northerners, while optimistic about their growing wealth, worried lest the advances of industrialism corrode the essential characterological traits of restraint, self-control and self-discipline. Southerners, who dreamed of combining the Puritan ethic with a gentleman's appreciation of leisure, soon found themselves isolated and on the defensive, with the result that, Hamlet-like, they feared for the loss of their ability to act decisively and courageously. As a result writers forced upon the past an interpretation which satisfied their own profound insecurities.

Nevertheless, a significant difference separates the two images. The Yankee became, however reluctantly, a symbol of success, while the Cavalier became identified with a lost cause. The men who formulated the Cavalier ideal were largely self-made men who found it necessary to make impossible demands upon an aristocratic tradition. Edmund Ruffin's suicide serves as a convenient symbol for the eclipse of the ideal in the midst of a tragic war.

In the course of analyzing the mythology formulated in antebellum literature, Professor Taylor has provided fresh and insightful essays on numerous individuals, including William Wirt, Daniel Webster, Sarah Hale, William Alexander Caruthers, John P. Kennedy, James Kirke Paulding, William Gilmore Simms, Harriet Beecher Stowe and Edmund Ruffin.

JOHN A. HAGUE, *Stetson University*

THE CHRISTOPHER HAPOLDT JOURNAL: *His European Tour with the Rev. John Bachman (June-December, 1838)*. Edited with Preface and Biographies by Claude Henry Neuffer. 228 pp. The Charleston Museum, 1960. \$5.00 (paper, \$4.00).

MARK TWAIN would have liked this account of an early innocent abroad, the story told by Charleston-born Christopher Happoldt when at fourteen he accompanied his pastor to Europe. The boy kept his eyes wide open and recorded exactly what he saw, which was not always what appeared in guidebooks. Crossing the English Channel, for example, everyone was "dreadfully seasick; the cabin was strewn with ladies & gentleman, & the gentlemen forgot all their politeness—they laid themselves in the births, & allowed the ladies to lay on the floor." At Oxford, the Charlestonians breakfasted with Arthur Hugh Clough; some days later the young Southerner admitted that he had thought he "should never relish a breakfast without hommony," but that finally he was

becoming used to it. In London, they stayed with the Audubons, who seemed ordinary, nice people, except that Mrs. Audubon got up very early in the morning. There he saw the Tower, Madame Tussaud's wax works, Vauxhall and Covent Garden where he bought strawberries with extraordinarily large seeds. He liked the English, though they ridiculed Americans as "Ignoramaces," and he hoped that "in the course of a century, we may be as Literate a people as they are." The only fault he found "with the Germans is I think he eats too much." Frenchmen were difficult: they "expect all other nations to learn their language, & very few will learn another." Traveling about the countryside was pleasant, except that "Mr. Bachman is so great a chicken that he cannot sleep in a coach." Some countrymen whom he met in Europe did not appeal to young Christopher: "We went to an American chapel, where a Boston clergyman gave us a poor sermon, using a great deal of his native brogue." Throughout, his remarks are delightful; he was "thunderstruck" to see carousing on Sunday; one Channel crossing was spent in his "birth" in "cascateing & meditating"; at Carlsbad the "water is warm enough to scald a pig." When the innocent's adventurings were concluded, however, he was proud to observe that "Charleston looks as handsome as an English city." Things really haven't changed much; Mark Twain would have appreciated that—maybe not enough of us do.

LEWIS LEARY, *Columbia University*

A GUIDE TO MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO AMERICA IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. *Edited by B. R. Crick and Miriam Alman, under the general supervision of H. L. Beales.* xxxvi, 667 pp. Oxford University Press for the British Association of American Studies, 1961. \$13.45.

A United States Information Service grant enabled the British Association for American Studies to do a two-year survey of American materials in the British Isles, and the *Guide* is one of the results. The gigantic search of archives and libraries began with two and ended with five researchers working full time. Even though their findings fill almost 700 pages they did not incorporate into their listings materials from the earlier Guides to MSS. in Great Britain published by the Carnegie Institution, 1908-14.

The Carnegie Guides were restricted to the major libraries and archives, but the Crick and Alman *Guide* lists pertinent holdings in businesses, in Parish, Poor Law and Quarter Session Records, and in private, public and university libraries not previously covered in the Carnegie series and also lists new acquisitions in depositories included in the earlier series.

Although the entries are not as extensive as those in the Carnegie Guides, they contain enough pertinent information to demonstrate whether or not the papers are of interest for a particular topic. The editors also provide information on MSS. microfilmed for American libraries and their American locations, but this information is only partial, for many depositories do not keep such information. They also include annotations on MSS. which have been printed, but again, for obvious reasons, these notes are incomplete. The indexing is thorough and accurate and makes the volume particularly convenient to use.

Undoubtedly, other MSS. will come to light, and these locations will probably then be published in the *Bulletin of the British Association for American Studies*, and, one hopes, incorporated into new editions of the *Guide*.

The compilers construed "history" and "literature" in the widest sense and therefore attempted to include "all materials that could possibly be of significance to political, economic, social, and intellectual history, whether concerning American domestic and international affairs, or direct American influences in the British Isles," and they carried out their assignment admirably.

GEORGE HENDRICK, *Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität*

JAMES HARVEY YOUNG, *The Toadstool Millionaires: A Social History of Patent Medicines in America before Federal Regulation*. xii, 282 pp. Princeton University Press, 1961. \$6.00.

THE gullibility of Americans with regard to medical nostrums provides the theme of *The Toadstool Millionaires*. Extensively documented, this work covers the history of medical quackery from the colonial period to the time of the passage of the first Pure Food and Drug Act and concludes with an interesting epilogue concerning present practices. The epilogue stresses the failure of the often suggested cure-all of increased education to put an end to this belief in nostrums and other forms of medical quackery and the attempt to strengthen earlier regulatory measures.

The chief concern of the author is the battle by the honest medical practitioner and others to bring about reform in the face of the demand by the layman for one-shot quick cures. The impossible situation of the poorly trained doctors of the eighteenth century and earlier is clearly indicated. The nineteenth century brought the rise of truly scientific medicine, but because of the eclectic nature of the new approaches, medical confusion was intensified for the layman, and consequently the

manufacture and sale of nostrums rose to a new height. *Caveat emptor* was the rule with regard to most advertising, and a certain amount of schizophrenia in the news media resulted in the appearance of articles attacking fakery almost cheek by jowl with advertisements for Gray's Rheumatic Cure, William Radam's Microbe Killer and Bilious Buttons.

The book is weakened to some extent by the near-cataloguing approach that is used in the early chapters. While understanding the uselessness of patent medicines of the era, one wishes for more specific information regarding their actually harmful effects, such as "mercurial poisoning" and others. The work picks up in tempo greatly in subsequent sections dealing with nostrum promotion and the struggle to bring about the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act. The outlining of the labors of Harvey Washington Wiley, Samuel Hopkins Adams and others in the light of the times is stimulating reading.

The thought-provoking ideas of the epilogue lead the reader to think of *One Hundred Million Guinea Pigs* and similar writings of the 1930s and to wonder if the time has not come for as well-documented and well-written a work on present practices as James Harvey Young has now done on the earlier era.

CURTIS C. MACDONALD, *Colorado Woman's College*

LEON BRAMSON, *The Political Content of Sociology*. xi, 164 pp. Princeton University Press, 1961. \$4.00.

THE title of this monograph—a revised version of a Ph.D. dissertation submitted at Harvard in 1958—promises more than the book holds. The real intention of the author is limited to a study of the influence of political philosophies on theoretical sociology as exemplified by a critical analysis of theories of the "mass society."

In the first part the author shows how European sociology, whether it advocated change or was conservative (a dichotomy which is perhaps a bit too simple), was always concerned with the problem of order in a mass society—i.e., in a society where the old social bonds were breaking down and individuals seemed to be socially cast loose and isolated. In this context, the earlier theories about crowds and crowd behavior, masses and mass society are discussed and their "elitist" or "aristocratic" bias demonstrated. Bramson then proceeds to show how the concepts "mass" and "mass society" were received by American sociologists working in a liberal milieu. Finally the author analyzes the ideological background of contemporary theories of the mass society.

The book is thoughtful and erudite, but loosely structured. The author himself seems to feel that he has not quite succeeded in keeping the

second theme subordinated to the main theme, i.e., the influences of political thought on sociological theory.

This reviewer can, by and large, agree with Bramson's characterization of the differences between European and American sociology. That the latter was and still is primarily concerned with "social problems" while the former was concerned with *the* social problem is true—if we consider what goes by the name of sociology here and abroad. But the author, like many others who have made similar comments, overlooks that the minor "social problems" (like alcoholism, crime, prostitution) were the concern of European scholars, too, although their studies were often not labeled "sociology." And we can hardly agree that it was the milieu of liberalism which distracted American sociologists from dealing with the basic problem of social order. It seems more likely that the preoccupation with those minor problems was motivated by eagerness for social reform (the author makes this point himself) while a combination of ethnocentrism and contentment with the fundamentals of their society prevented American sociologists from raising any more basic questions—at least until the great depression.

As to the critical discourse on "mass society" theories, this reviewer has never been impressed with the concept of a mass society. He has always regarded it as a shallow and bookish idea. He therefore finds Bramson's treatise in this respect refreshing.

If mass society turns out to be a chimera conceived by "elitist" and "romanticizing" patterns of thought, the theory that totalitarianism is a product of mass society collapses; Bramson has taken great pains to demonstrate how much this theory is based on subjective assumptions which are without conclusive empirical evidence. In the concluding section Bramson takes a stand against naïve positivism and acknowledges the inevitability not only but the fruitfulness of "subjective" valuations in the social sciences. With this we can only agree, although it seems doubtful whether Bramson has added any essentially new arguments.

RUDOLF HEBERLE, *Louisiana State University*

WINIFRED L. DUSENBURY, *The Theme of Loneliness in Modern American Drama*. vi, 231 pp. University of Florida Press, 1960. \$6.50.

TWENTY-SIX modern plays, from *Anna Christie* to *The Member of the Wedding*, are here analyzed by Dr. Dusenbury to show how each comments significantly on the "age-old and world-wide" feeling of loneliness. Her belief, supported by quotations from the writings of David Riesman, Eric Bentley and others, is that loneliness "may be a result, and pos-

sibly a cause of the nihilism of today"; further, this "theme is of vital importance to the structure of the play and to its meaning." So, she has grouped the plays into chapters (Personal Failure, Homelessness, Socio-economic Forces, etc.) to clarify the playwrights' treatment of this phenomenon. One can, of course, raise questions about the vagueness of the philosophical (as well as socioeconomic) assumptions underlying this study. More specifically, one could quarrel with her claim that the theme of loneliness is "the root of the drama." But my major reservation about this kind of book is that it neglects the bases for aesthetic judgments. As a consequence, *Come Back, Little Sheba* becomes a better play than *The Iceman Cometh*, for it more neatly and clearly incorporates the theme. A statement about *The Iceman* ("since only prostitutes appear upon the scene, the play has an aura of abnormality by virtue of its absence of women") raises the issue of critical values. So, too, does the author's grouping of *The Time of Your Life*, *Craig's Wife* and *The Great God Brown* under the heading, "Conflict between the Material and the Spiritual." Finally, one questions specific treatments, for example, of characters in *Rocket to the Moon*. Dr. Dusenbury states that isolation and the yearning to belong to someone are the motives that bring Cleo and Ben together. But is this Odets' point? The failure to consider the play in relationship either to the dramatist's whole work or to its larger cultural setting (1938) makes the method of analysis used here ultimately superficial.

MARVIN FELHEIM, *University of Michigan*

MARSHALL W. FISHWICK, *Gentlemen of Virginia*. xii, 308 pp. Dodd, Mead & Company, 1961. \$5.00.

As a series of articles for a popular magazine, each of these brief essays might deserve a place. Their collection in a book will do little good but no harm, although one wonders why either author or publisher wanted to preserve these ephemeral sketches.

They have the considerable virtue of being, in the main, easy to read and breezily written. Often, Mr. Fishwick's turns of phrase are picturesque or striking. Occasionally he seems to write too rapidly and to proof-read too carelessly; for example: "Direct ancestors of the Virginians who put the Union together would devote their lives to tearing it apart." A greater defect is his reliance on personal predilections and subjective judgments. Thus he notes as a major reason for omitting Woodrow Wilson that "I am incapable of thinking of Mr. Wilson as Woodrow."

In the Preface, Mr. Fishwick states that his purpose is to stress continuity in the tradition of the Virginia gentleman. He includes John

Smith, William Berkeley, William Byrd II, George Mason, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, John Randolph, Robert E. Lee, Thomas Martin, Thomas Nelson Page, James Branch Cabell and George Marshall; in five generalized chapters, he has stretched the term to include Cyrus McCormick (not mentioned in the inadequate index) and John Jordan, as well as an unperceptive commentary on Ellen Glasgow. But I find no mention in text or index of George Wythe or John Marshall, and no treatment of Patrick Henry, James Madison, James Monroe, John Taylor, John Esten Cooke, Stonewall Jackson, Jeb Stuart, George W. Bagby, Carter Glass or Senator Byrd. Even in the vignettes that are included, there is little attempt to handle ideas, or to weave the narrative into a close-knit whole. They are pleasantly anecdotal and painlessly informative, but clearly Mr. Fishwick does not aspire to be a Virginia Plutarch.

EDD WINFIELD PARKS, *University of Georgia*

W. M. FROHOCK, *Strangers to this Ground: Cultural Diversity in Contemporary American Writing*. x, 180 pp., Index. Southern Methodist University Press, 1961. \$4.50.

THIS collection of iconoclastic essays advances the thesis that recent American literature is chiefly an ado about the central paradox of our culture: the insistent presence of "variety amid monotony." Revised from Fulbright lectures given to French audiences in and out of the classroom, the essays seem to have lost none of their colloquial verve in the process of being adapted to the proposition that American culture is not yet homogenized by the image-makers, whatever foreign critics—and our own social scientists—may aver and that the proof is to be found in the universal concern of our recent writers with the theme of cultural displacement. Professor Frohock re-evaluates such representative writers as Trilling, Fitzgerald, Cozzens, Millay, Dickinson, Pound and Kerouac from the point of view of their success in dealing with the displaced hero in a mobile society. (Fitzgerald was "a displaced person writing about other displaced persons.") He argues for example that Trilling fails both as a critic and a novelist because of his insensitivity to the cultural complexities of life outside of Gotham. Similarly Dwight Macdonald as a provincial New Yorker is blind to the verisimilitude of Cozzens' social milieu. Besides offering fresh readings of a number of crucial texts, Professor Frohock throws out a provocative array of sidelights on the intramural controversies that enliven our campuses. To the prospective Fulbrighter—and who is not?—the book opens many suggestive vistas.

ERNEST SAMUELS, *Northwestern University*

BENJAMIN QUARLES, *The Negro in the American Revolution*. xiii, 231 pp. University of North Carolina Press, 1961. \$6.00.

THIS detailed account of the Negro, slave and free, discloses laborers, messengers, informers, soldiers and seamen serving the Colonies and the King.

Highly instructive to a student of American culture are the political and military maneuvers on both sides of the conflict which resulted from the shifting ambiguities in the status of the Negro. For the embryonic nation was already entangled in confusion imposed by the necessarily pragmatic handling of a yet not fully recognized race problem. The various solutions to, or evasions of, many small practical problems of jurisdiction, ownership, rights, manpower, custom and morality involving civilians, separate colonies, commanders and both governments, north and south, amount to an anatomy of democracy struggling to establish itself. Current democratic pronouncements inspired Negroes to act with the same hopes as did other people, as well as to escape slavery.

Continuing the work of the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, Dr. Quarles has illumined some out-of-the-way recesses of the American past. These minor incidents in a revolutionary movement now recognized to be of deep and world-wide significance are not without importance to a full understanding of what, through the years, was to become of the new nation.

JOSEPH H. JENKINS, *Virginia State College*

THOMAS PHILBRICK, *James Fenimore Cooper and the Development of American Sea Fiction*. xi, 329 pp. Harvard University Press, 1961. \$6.25.

MR. PHILBRICK'S study, the first critical work which closely examines the development of Cooper's sea fiction, relates it to the work in that genre by his predecessors, both European and American, and to contemporary practitioners in the romantic and realistic phases of the years between 1820 and 1850. In his chapters on the work of Cooper's contemporaries, Mr. Philbrick reports the decline of American interest in the romantic vision of the sea. Cooper's own later work was modified by satiric intent (as in *Homeward Bound*) and the requirements of historical accuracy (the *Naval History*) in the direction of a stricter realism. This study is especially valuable for the demonstrations of Cooper's literary techniques. Mr. Philbrick analyzes Cooper's use of double points of view on the sea—that of the landsman and that of the seaman, observing that Cooper was able thus to exploit the romantic vision without abandoning the practical realism of professional seamanship. He notes that the author's descrip-

tions of principal vessels reflects an interest in man the individual and how these descriptions tend to give the vessel a life of its own, the values of which are then incorporated in the idealized seamen. In the later work the sea voyage is enlarged to *The Voyage of Life* and becomes a shaping moral force which "offers meaningful parallels to the lives of all men." Thus the range of Cooper's sea fiction, as analyzed by Philbrick, extends from romance to realism and from the celebration of individual achievement to the reverent description of nature as the manifestation of divine providence.

MANLY JOHNSON, *The University of Tulsa*

TERENCE MARTIN, *The Instructed Vision: Scottish Common Sense Philosophy and the Origins of American Fiction*. viii, 197 pp. Indiana University Press, 1961. \$4.50.

In recent years critical discussions of American fiction have tended to find common ground in a strong emphasis on a distinction between the novel and the romance. According to this distinction, made by Hawthorne and much earlier by Congreve, the novelist is controlled by a commitment to base his depiction of life on the observable social world about him. In contrast, to use Martin's words, "the writer of romance . . . can select, alter, and refract reality to form a world not in immediate competition with the actual social world. . . ." A good deal of the comment based on this formula—for example, Richard Chase's *The American Novel and Its Tradition*—has verged on the metaphysical. Indeed, it would seem, a metaphysics of American fiction may be in the making.

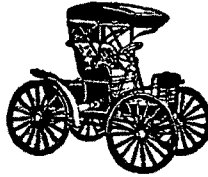
If so, *The Instructed Vision* should turn out to be of considerable importance. It is an effort to show how American fiction was initially shaped by what the author believes to have been the dominant metaphysics of American society during the period of the early Republic, the Scottish Common Sense "metaphysics of actuality." Placing an absolute value on "reality," this metaphysics encouraged a marked distrust of the imaginative representation of the American "social reality" in fiction. Finding themselves in "an anti-fictive context," American authors who aspired to write fiction discovered their medium to be the romance, which "allowed the writer, in effect, to desocialize experience in an effort to validate it imaginatively, or . . . to approach reality presocially, exempt from social prescription."

A weakness of Martin's argument lies in his failure to demonstrate adequately how it bears on specific works of fiction. His inquiry, often brilliant, is suggestive rather than conclusive. The book is carefully documented and has a good index.

LEWIS P. SIMPSON, *Louisiana State University*

American Calendar

Summer



1962

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. Meeting in Philadelphia May 14 to conduct the interim business of the ASA, the Committee was gratified to learn that membership has taken an upswing and hovers now, counting all categories, at the 1,500 mark, while substantial gains have also been made in library subscriptions. . . . Much of the Committee's attention was devoted to ASA's international role, where future opportunities for service await development. . . . As usual, the Committee prepared a budget, the first to be administered by newly elected Treasurer E. McClung Fleming, Winterthur Museum. Copies of the minutes of the meeting will be sent to all chapter officers, and to others who request them.

NORTHERN CAL. Fresno State College was host Mar. 3 to the Northern California chapter meeting devoted to the general theme of "Religion in America." George Kroles, Stanford, spoke on "The Christian Interpretation of History in the U. S."; Edwin Gaustad, Red-

lands, on "The Geography of American Religion"; Sanford M. Dornbusch, Stanford, on "Lay Interpretations of the Bible"; Henry May, Berkeley, on "Religious History: The Problem of Communications"; Irving Howe, Stanford, on "Religion vs. Secularism among American Jews"; and William Uphold, Fresno State, on "Some Theories about the Cause and Nature of the Current Religious Revival in America." After such knowledge, what forgiveness? Sunday morning an excursion around Saroyan Country was available for those who wanted it.

MICHIGAN. Joining with the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters at the Clements Library in Ann Arbor on Mar. 23, ASA of Michigan had a program of miscellaneous papers arranged for and presided over by Leonard K. Eaton, University of Michigan. The Rev. Walter M. Zebrowski, S. S. Cyril and Methodius Seminary, spoke on "Walt Whitman in Poland"; Maurice Brown, Michigan State, Oakland, gave a paper titled

"Santayana's Lucifer: Classical Christian Myth and the American Experience"; Hermann E. Rothfuss, Western Michigan University, discussed "German Civil War Letters from Camp and Hospital"; Betty E. Chmaj, University of Detroit, considered "The Radical Right and the Southern Mind"; and Gordon Rohman, Michigan State, examined "Thoreau's Transcendental Stewardship."

SOUTHERN CAL. Mar. 24 was the date of the Southern California chapter's spring meeting at Long Beach State College, where Douglas Adair, Claremont Graduate School, spoke on "Jefferson, Hamilton and Francis Bacon"; Robert A. Bone, UCLA, on "Irving's Headless Hessian: Material Prosperity and the Inner Life"; Kent L. Steckmesser, Los Angeles State, on "The Frontier Hero in History and Legend"; Charles S. Holmes, Pomona College, on "*A Connecticut Yankee*: Mark Twain's Fable of Uncertainty."

KY.-TENN. George Peabody College and Vanderbilt University were joint hosts for a two-day meeting of the Kentucky and Tennessee chapter. At Peabody on Mar. 30 a panel moderated by Thomas D. Clark, University of Kentucky, and composed of Earl Rovit, University of Louisville, Robert Bjork, Peabody, Durant da Ponte, Tennessee, and Douglas E. Leach, Vanderbilt, addressed itself to

"The European Image of America." At a dinner meeting later in the day at Vanderbilt, Louis D. Rubin, Hollins College, delivered an address on "The South and the Faraway Country." And also at Vanderbilt, Mar. 31, the general topic of "Religion in Southern Society" was explored by Constantine G. Belissary, Vanderbilt, in a paper on "Trends in the Social Thinking of Major Protestant Groups in the South"; by Earl Brewer, Emory University, in a paper on "Religion in the Southern Appalachians" with comment by James E. Sellers, Vanderbilt.

OHIO-IND. The Ohio-Indiana chapter met at Butler University Mar. 31 for a program consisting of a paper by Herbert J. Stern, Wabash College, on "Wallace Stevens: The Businessman as Poet"; another by John A. Forman, Kent State, on "Arthur Schlesinger Jr.: 'Christian Realist' as Historian" and Harry H. Hilberry, John Herron Art Institute, speaking at the luncheon on "American Art—When?"

WIS.-NORTHERN ILL. "Social Ideas and Literary Criticism" was the theme of the Mar. 31 meeting of the Wisconsin and Northern Illinois chapter at the University of Wisconsin, where Walter Rideout, Northwestern, was elected new chapter president. "Conservative Radicalism: Social Comment in the Work of Floyd Dell" was the sub-

ject of a paper by G. Thomas Tanselle, Wisconsin, while Wallace W. Douglas, Northwestern, spoke on "Deliberate Exiles: The Social Sources of Agrarian Poetics."

CHESAPEAKE. Informal talks by James Bear, director of Monticello, and by Frederick Nichols, University of Virginia, highlighted the visit of the Chesapeake chapter Mar. 31 to these monuments of the eighteenth century. At a business meeting, Richard H. Howland of the Smithsonian was elected new chapter president.

MIDCONTINENT. Mar. 31, a favored date, also saw the Midcontinent chapter meeting at Iowa State, where Richard Herrnstadt of the host institution was elected president, and outgoing president Robert Cobb, Kansas, delivered his presidential address on "History as Fiction: The Novel as 'Fact.'" In the morning session John Knoepfle, St. Louis University High School, gave a paper titled "Recollections of Inland Rivermen," and Sherwood Cummings, South Dakota, one on "Mark Twain's Rejection of Science." John Greene, Iowa State, and Donald Koch, Simpson College, were the discussants. In the afternoon Donald Marston, Monticello High School, gave a "Project Report of the Iowa Study Group," and Eugene Ferguson, Iowa State, spoke on the "Origins and Development of American Mechanical Know-how"

—with Stow Persons, Iowa, and Robert Schofield, Case Institute, as discussants.

NEW YORK STATE. "The American Character in the Industrial Age" was the theme of the spring meeting of the New York State chapter held Apr. 7 at the State University College at Geneseo. Continuing the chapter's earlier interest in the American character, Kant Kreuter, Colgate, inspected "The American Character as Viewed by Men of Letters"; Owen P. Stearns, MIT, focused on "James Bryce and the British View of American Character"; while Robert F. Wesser, University of Buffalo, analyzed "The Protestant Ethic as It Confronts Industrial America." Turning from steel and smoke to the garden, Reverdy Wadsworth addressed the dinner meeting on "The Wadsworths and Agriculture in the Genesee Valley."

NYC. The Metropolitan New York chapter held its spring meeting Apr. 14 at the Baruch School of City College. The general theme, "The Intellectual in America," was discussed from the point of view of sociology by Lewis Coser, Brandeis University, and from the point of view of literary criticism by Robert Gorham Davis, Columbia University.

MIDDLE ATLANTIC. "Canal Days in Pennsylvania and New

Jersey" engaged the interest of members of the Middle Atlantic chapter when they met Apr. 28 at Lafayette College to hear James R. Vitelli, Lafayette, on "'Passage—Immediate Passage!'"—some Notes on an American Theme"; Robert Lively, Princeton, "'Young Americans' and the First Crisis in Transportation"; and Donald Keith, Easton *Express*, "The Canals of Easton." After a business meeting at which James R. Vitelli was elected new president and Charles Bohner, University of Delaware, was elected new secretary-treasurer, the group spent the afternoon taking a barge trip on the Delaware Division Canal, with comments along the way by Col. John Richardson of the Bucks County Historical Commission. They concluded the day at a cocktail party at the Mercer Museum, as guests of the Bucks County Historical Society.

ROCKY MT. Wilson O. Clough, Wyoming, gave a talk titled "Not from Landscape: Notes on the Writer and the West"; Alex Evannoff, New Mexico, spoke on "The Turner Thesis and Mormon Beginnings"; Hazen Carpenter, U. S. Air Force Academy, discussed "Emerson and Christopher Pearse Cranch"; and Theodore H. Crane, Denver University, talked about "The Colleges and the Public, 1787-1870" at the Rocky Mountain ASA meeting, May 4, at the Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs. Newly elected officers of

RMAA are Michael McGiffert, president and Stuart James, secretary-treasurer, both of the University of Denver.

MINN. & DAKOTAS. Hamline University was host on May 5 to the ASA of Minnesota and the Dakotas for a program centered on "Culture of the Early Colonies." At a luncheon meeting, John Berryman, University of Minnesota, spoke about his poem *Homage to Mistress Bradstreet*. Other addresses of the day were by Richard Lyons, North Dakota State, "An Eighteenth-Century Play"; Gerhard Alexis, Gustavus Adolphus College, "The Colonial Period on Television"; and the following, all by members of the faculty of the University of Minnesota: Ernest Bormann, "Puritan Preaching"; Timothy Smith, "The Puritan Family"; Brom Weber, "Puritan Humor"; Robert Berkhofer, "Continuity in Indian-White Relations"; Peter Dowell, "The Meeting House and Puritan Culture"; and Johannes Riedel, "Colonial Music."

INTER-REGIONAL. A conference on "The Image of America Abroad and the National Defense" was organized by Southeastern ASA with the cooperation of eight other ASA chapters, the University of Florida and the University of Miami. Held in Miami Beach, May 4-5, it consisted of papers by Gerald E. Critoph, Stetson, "The Evolving Images of the United States"; John J.

Appel, Essex Community College, "Historiography and the Study of the American Image"; William Randel, Florida State, "The American Search for Its Image Abroad"—with commentary by Henry Wassser, City University of New York, and Richard D. Miles, Wayne State. After a luncheon meeting at which Willard Thorp, Princeton, spoke on "The Foreign Students' Image of America," the conference reconvened for papers by Percy G. Adams, Tennessee, on "Approaches to the Study of the Image of America in France"; Eugene Current-Garcia, Auburn University, "American Studies and the Alliance for Progress"; Jason Finkle, Michigan State, "The American Image in Vietnam"—with David M. Chalmers, University of Florida, and E. McClung Fleming, Winterthur Museum, as discussants. . . . The second day consisted of a panel discussion moderated by Arlin Turner, Duke, where the problem of "Molding the American Image Abroad" was examined by John Garraty, Columbia; Saul K. Padover, New School for Social Research; Edd W. Parks, Georgia; Francis A. Young, Conference Board; and Harvey Wish, Western Reserve. The program was arranged by Arthur Thompson, University of Florida, with local arrangements by George K. Smart, University of Miami. At the business meeting, Ben Rogers, formerly secretary-treasurer, was elected new president of Southeastern ASA, and

Gerald E. Critoph new secretary-treasurer.

INTERNATIONAL. The University of Pennsylvania was host to an International Conference on American Studies during the last week of April which brought together some 75 participants, including more than a score of foreign guests representing nine countries. W. Rex Crawford, Pennsylvania, the director of the conference, kept the exchanges of ideas and insights on a direct, personal basis by the provision of three small seminars in which the foreign participants met daily under the leadership of Henning Cohen, Morton Keller and Neil Leonard. . . . The seminars were provided points for departure by major addresses delivered by Leo Marx, Amherst, "The Machine in the Garden"; Saul K. Padover, New School, "The Inheritance of the American Revolution"; Daniel Aaron, Smith, "Literature as American Expression"; William McLoughlin, Brown, "The Heritage of Religious Thought"; John A. Kouwenhoven, Barnard, "American Culture: Words or Things"; Ellen Shaffer, Free Library of Philadelphia, "Pennsylvania Dutch Fraktur"; Samuel M. Green, Wesleyan, "The Arts: Picture of America" and Robert E. Spiller, Pennsylvania, "Problems in the Teaching of American Studies." Discussants for various addresses were Arthur P. Dudden, Bryn Mawr; Frederick Tolles, Swarth-

more; and Theodore Hornberger, Anthony N. B. Garvan, John McCoubrey and Charles Boewe, all of the University of Pennsylvania. . . . The group also visited Philadelphia museums, were guests at a cocktail party given in their honor by William McCarthy at the Rosenbach Museum and attended the spring meeting of the Middle Atlantic States ASA at Lafayette College. Funds to support the conference were provided by the American Council of Learned Societies and the University of Pennsylvania.

INSTITUTES. A student-directed American Civilization week was conducted March 26-30 at Alfred University. Melvin Bernstein of the university and Peter Blake, managing editor of *Architectural Forum*, were featured speakers on the program which dealt with "The Impact of Technology on American Civilization." . . . B. June West directed an Institute of American Studies at Eastern New Mexico University, Apr. 14, at which Michael McGiffert and Alfred Crofts, both of the University of Denver, spoke respectively on "The Problem of Rocky Mountain Regionality" and "The Asian Image of the United States"; at a luncheon meeting, Gordon Mills, University of Texas, took up the topic "American Studies: A Summation." . . . A symposium was held May 2-5 at Central Washington State College on the theme "American Values in a Time of Crisis," with

Herbert J. Muller, Ludwig von Bertalanffy, Kenneth Burke, Ira Progoff, Jaroslav Pelikan and Harold Taylor as participants. . . . The University of South Carolina held the 13th Conference on Early American History Mar. 23-24, with ASA member Robert D. Ochs among the participants. . . . ASA members Russel B. Nye and John Espey were among the speakers in a Conference in the Study of Twentieth-Century Literature held May 3-5 at Michigan State.

JOINT SESSIONS. ASA met with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in Milwaukee Apr. 28, and in a session presided over by Vice President Arthur Bestor, Illinois, Arthur Dudden of Bryn Mawr discussed political humor under the title "Swallowing Politicians Alive." Walter Blair, University of Chicago, and Arthur Link, Princeton, were commentators. . . . Meeting with the Midwest Sociological Society Apr. 13 in Des Moines for a program arranged by Wayne Wheeler, University of Chicago, ASA members heard papers by Richard E. Sykes, Minnesota, on "A Review of Social Change in Nineteenth Century America"; Gilbert Shapiro, Washington University, "The Necessity for Historical Trajectories"; Daniel J. Schler, Missouri, "Experimentation on Community Processes" — with C. Stanley Urban, Park College, as discussant. In the afternoon, Lyle W. Shannon, Wisconsin, spoke on

"The Economic Absorption of Immigrant Laborers in Racine, Wisconsin"; Ronald Kleitsch, Iowa State, "German Catholics of Minnesota's Sauk Valley"; J. Neale Carman, Kansas, "The Czechs of Republic, Kansas: A Study in Assimilation as Measured by Abandonment of Czech for English"—and Donald Cowgill, University of Wichita, commented. . . . Rocky Mountain ASA joined with the Rocky Mountain Social Science Academy at Colorado State on May 5, when Lawrence E. Gelfand, Wyoming, presided over a program consisting of papers by John E. Van De Wetering, Montana State, on "Some Intellectual Positions in the New England Great Awakening," and Gene M. Gressley, Wyoming, on "The Folklore of Mr. Thurman Arnold," with Paul C. Carter, Montana State, as commentator.

WEST. The second annual Conference on the History of Western America will be held at Denver Oct. 11-13. Advance copies of the program and information about attending may be had from John Porter Bloom, 228 Slade Run Drive, Falls Church, Va. The initial conference, in Sante Fe last year, led to the formation of a permanent association of persons interested in the trans-Mississippi West. Joint sessions with ASA are planned.

OLLA-PODRIDA. The American Society for Legal History has be-

gun publication of a valuable newsletter, *The Quarterly Legal Historian*, of which a limited number of the first issue are available to individuals on request to William F. Swindler, College of William and Mary. . . . Postdoctoral grants carrying a stipend not to exceed \$500 a month have been announced for scholars who need to work in the manuscript materials of the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library. The library's greatest strength is in French history before 1820, American history, 1800-1914, with emphasis on business and technology in both. . . . Heritage Foundation of Deerfield, Mass., is sponsoring a fellowship program, July 9 to Aug. 30, for undergraduates interested in early American Studies. For acting as guides in local museum houses, students will receive \$300, plus board, room, travel expenses to and from Deerfield. . . . ACLS has again announced fellowship aids to individual scholars for 1962-63, with stipends ranging as high as \$7,000. For full details apply to Marie J. Medina, ACLS, 345 East 46th Street, New York 17. . . . Forms will be available after Aug. 1 for the 1963-64 competition for postdoctoral awards to women in the fellowship program of the American Association of University Women. Stipends range from three to five thousand dollars, with no restriction as to age, field or place of research. . . . Next September Smith College will launch a one-year program open only to foreign women

students, and leading to a diploma in American Studies. . . . Stanley Pargellis, Newberry Library, gave the 1962 Rosenbach lectures in bibliography at the University of Pennsylvania on the subject "Americana Collectors in Europe and England, 1600-1800." Edwin Wolf II, Library Company of Philadelphia, will give the series in 1963. . . . The American Institute at Oslo University, directed by Sigmund Skard, has moved to new quarters on the Blindern campus. . . . ASA members Vincent Buranelli and Daniel Gilbert were delegates of the Association to the sixty-sixth annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science in Philadelphia, Apr. 13-14. . . . C. Hugh Holman, University of North Carolina, represented ASA at the recent inauguration of John Logan as President of Hollins College. . . . ASA member Otis Pease, Stanford, has received an SSRC Faculty Research Fellowship to study the relationship between urbanization and Progressivism. . . . New officers of Kentucky-Tennessee ASA are Dewey Grantham, Vanderbilt, president; Earl Rovit, University of Louisville, vice president; and Durante da Ponte, Tennessee, re-elected as secretary-treasurer. . . . The German Association for American Studies will meet in Kiel June 14-16. . . . ASA will hold a joint session with the American Sociological Association Sept. 1 in Washington. The topic will be "The

Uses of Sociology in American Studies." . . . The *Bulletin of the British Association for American Studies*, now published as a magazine of some 80 pages, contains essay reviews, articles and documents. Titles from a recent issue include "The British Whigs on America: 1820-1860" by D. P. Cook, "Five Months in a Rebel Prison" by Archibald McCowan, "Africa and America" by George Shepperson and "Samuel Clemens and the Progress of a Stylistic Rebel" by Tony Tanner.

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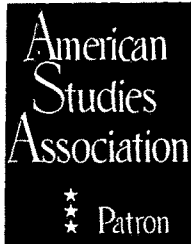
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WALTER J. ONG, S.J.
Saint Louis University

Synchronic Present: The Academic Future of Modern Literature in America

WITH MODERN LITERATURE UNDERSTOOD AS THE LITERATURE OF OUR OWN time—roughly twentieth-century literature, but especially that written after the beginning of World War I—a discussion of the study of modern literature can well begin with the fact that intense academic study of the literature of one's own time is something new. A hundred years ago the study of the then contemporary or near-contemporary literature was not taken to be at all the concern of formal education. It was carried on by writers for the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Quarterly Review*, the *Westminster Review*, the *Athenaeum* and *Blackwood's* in ways which, if not always genteel, had at least the advantage of appearing relatively casual.

The state of affairs is different now. Today the work of the serious writer—and often of the fifth-rater, if he is of sufficient sociological or pathological importance—is not merely picked over at random by chance critics but pinned down in the lecture hall and, in accordance with principles stated in the university catalogue and approved by accrediting associations, is devoured alive before entranced undergraduates or even graduate students all duly registered for the course. Scholarly bibliographies of studies on Joyce and Faulkner vie with bibliographies on Shakespeare, and while the former of these two modern writers did not live to see the appearance of the periodical devoted entirely to the study of his work, the latter has already outlived one devoted to the study of his. Institutions of higher learning work under constant harassment from new developments and trends. The interest in modern literature has repercussions throughout the curriculum. As current writing is gathered

into university halls, following Mr. Eliot's recipes in "Tradition and the Individual Talent" the dons are obliged constantly to reassess their assessments not only of the present but of the past. Jostled by the new Ulysses of James Joyce and Nikos Kazantzakis, scholars must have another look at Homer. "Agonizing reappraisal" has entered into the vocabulary of literary scholarship just as much as into other vocabularies of our time.

To understand our present situation, we will do well to examine the quite different situations which preceded it. We can do so only in the rough, for, although Stephen Potter's *The Muse in Chains* engagingly reviews aspects of the teaching of English in British universities up to 1937, so far as I know, no full-scale history of the teaching of English literature has been written, and a fortiori no history of the interaction of academic practice and literary creativity. This is regrettable, for such a history would carry us into the very center of the cultural developments which have produced our modern world, particularly the modern West, and most particularly the United States. Our present fascination with the literary production going on around us is no incidental, fortuitous matter. It is as characteristic a product of the twentieth century as technology itself.

Insofar as literature is indeed literature, it is of course ineluctably associated with the academic world. For the concept of literature is built up around the use of *litterae* or letters of the alphabet, and the academic world has taken the alphabet under its strict surveillance in those cultures which use this remarkable invention. Indeed, the teaching of the alphabet and its uses forms the hard core of formal education in all alphabetic cultures, where even the whole of formal education tends to be described, at least in its initial stages, as "letters." Ordinarily, a person is opened to the influence of literature only by passing through the academic world over one or another route. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that protests against too little academic influence on literature and too much academic influence alternate through literary history. The alliance between literature and the academy is too close to be other than uneasy.

As a result of this alliance, for centuries all but a few specially schooled persons have thought of even the oral performance of completely illiterate peoples as their "literature," implying that oral composition is merely a makeshift for the writing one learns in school—although this is not what oral composition is at all. The idea of nonliterary verbal composition totally uninterested in and unconscious of any program of visual fixity has been occluded by our academic institutions, which, abetted by typography (itself a by-product of the academies), have welded

together the concepts of verbal production and letters. Even though our present-day creative writers may be more consciously aware of the nonliterary, oral-aural creativity which Professor Northrop Frye in *The Anatomy of Criticism* quite rightly urges us to think of as "epos," through the past centuries generally the prestige of literacy has brought more and more workers with words to hanker after the literary rather than original epic form. Even Virgil is not Homer.

If at so profound and elemental a level there has been for centuries an interaction between academic activity and creative ambition, and if other interactions can doubtless be traced over the centuries, interactions between the academicians and the creators have nevertheless in our own age, and particularly in the United States, become so intense, so deliberate and so self-conscious as to demand altogether special explanation. Today the literary innovators are desperately hard put to keep ahead of the academic analysts. With the appearance of Thomas Parkinson's *A Casebook on the Beat*, even the undergraduate is being moved out into what he can feel to be the front line, where from the coign of vantage provided by the academic world, he can perhaps even predict what purportedly unpredictable maneuver the beleaguered beat will have to resort to next. The next step would appear to be automation academically controlled. And some would have it that automation of literary productions is not far away. A recent article explains how an electronic computer could conceivably be programmed with not only all the previous productions of an artist, but also with the interrelationship between the productions, the patterns according to which each new creation is related to what preceded it and the patterns according to which these relationships themselves change from the early creations to the latest, so that ultimately the computer can compose the composer's next creations before he does—or even whether he does or not.¹

This interaction between academic study and contemporary creativity was long in coming. Early literary cultures do not manifest it. Their academic work tends to be focused on the past. Although Aristotle is by no means an antiquarian and occasionally refers in passing to contemporary or near-contemporary practice, his *Poetics* is concerned basi-

¹ Fred Attneave, "Stochastic Composition," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, XVII (1958-59), 503-10. This and two other related articles are reported on under the heading "I.B.M. ozart's 42nd Symphony" in *Review of Research and Reflection*, I (1960), 45-50. The problem of programming the computer is, however, somewhat dismaying: one would have to work out in advance all the "rules" or "possible varieties of lawfulness" in musical composition. Although the "possible varieties of lawfulness" are potentially infinite in number, Mr. Attneave states that the varieties of lawfulness which the human "perceptual machinery" will "register" are limited and can be classified "economically" (p. 509).

cally with a literature already standardized by time.² Other ancient writers such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus and, later, Quintilian, appear to be rather more interested in contemporary performance, and Suetonius notes that the grammarian Quintus Caecilius Epirota, a freedman of Cicero's friend Atticus, began the practice of reading Virgil and other then modern poets.³ But the most contemporary-focused of such writers lack the urgent sense of present goings-on to which we are accustomed today. The reasons for this are obvious enough. Education and learning had at so early a date enlisted the efforts of relatively few individuals. Information was scant, communication difficult. The intellectual penetration of the past was still shallow, and the present, which shows up as truly the present only insofar as we set it against huge backdrops of the past circumstantially conceived, hardly had a distinctive character of its own.

Through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance formal study of all subjects was focused on Latin and a few Greek authors, largely represented, with varying degrees of exclusiveness, by the writers of classical times. What there was of formal literary study in the Middle Ages was basically past-focused. It was even more so at the height of the Renaissance. In the Renaissance, it is true, contemporary Latin writers such as Politian or Mantuan were compared with the ancients and might even be studied in the schools, as Mantuan was within a few years after his death. But the Latin which such writers composed was only partly their own, being a language chirographically and typographically controlled, and thus, even when spoken, isolated from ordinary oral development.⁴ The vernaculars, which had no literary antiquity, were given no attention whatsoever in the schools—unless we consider the sort of attention

² Aristotle mentions, for example, that the tragedies "of most modern poets" (*ton neon ton pleiston*) involve no character study, although they do have plot—*Poetics* vi. 15. 1450a, in *Aristotle, the Poetics*; "Longinus," *On the Sublime*; *Demetrius, On Style* (The Loeb Classical Library, eds. T. E. Page et al.; Cambridge, 1953), pp. 26-27. But the poets and tragedians with whom he chiefly deals by name were all deceased before his time.

³ Both Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in his various treatises on rhetoric and on the style of individual authors, and Quintilian, in his *De institutione oratoria libri XII*, are concerned with the practical business of training the orator, and their investigations of literary effects are regularly subservient to this practical end. On Dionysius, see S. F. Bonner, *The Literary Treatises of Dionysius of Halicarnassus* (New York, 1939), esp. pp. 98-104. See Suetonius, *De grammaticis XVI*, in *Suetonius*, ed. and trans. J. C. Rolfe (Loeb Classical Library; London, 1914), p. 421.

⁴ See Walter J. Ong, "Latin and the Social Fabric," *Yale Review*, L (1960), 18-31; "Latin Language Study as a Renaissance Puberty Rite," *Studies in Philology*, LVI (1959), 103-24; "The Vernacular Matrix of the New Criticism," in *The Critical Matrix*, ed. Paul R. Sullivan (Washington, D. C., 1961).

which we find in Richard Mulcaster's *Elementarie*, where English is indeed treated, but only as a suitable subject for tiny youngsters in what we today would call chiefly a kindergarten program, consisting, in Mulcaster's own words, of "reading, writing, drawing, singing, and playing."

The great change-over from Latin-centered to vernacular-centered instruction which presaged the subsequent drift of interest within English to the contemporary field, has come much later than most persons—sometimes even scholars—are aware. There are some rather unsteady references to lectures on English (and even American) literature in American college catalogues of the mid-nineteenth century,⁵ but these are atypical and the vernacular literature remains no more than a casual ornament in a Latin-dominated curriculum of higher education until the very late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁶ English leaked up into the universities from the lower levels of the curriculum, first as a language of instruction to replace Latin and then as an object of study.

⁵ *Amherst College, Catalogue of the Corporation, Faculty, and Students, October, 1827* (Massachusetts, 1827), p. 15, "Lectures: English and American Literature"—these lectures do not appear in the November 1835 catalogue, but in the 1840 catalogue we find (pp. 21-22) "Lectures: Rhetoric, Oratory, and English Literature, second term." *A Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Dartmouth College, 1835* (Claremont, N. H. [1835]), p. 23, states that in the Junior year the Rhetorical Department treated "The history and characteristics of the English language" and provided "critical examinations of portions of English authors in Prose and Poetry." *The Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Brown University, 1850-51* (Providence, 1851), pp. 26-28, lists a department of Rhetoric and English Literature which, however, confines its work to "the third year of the regular course," providing in the second term of this year instruction out of Whately's *Rhetoric* "followed by lectures on the History of the English language and its Literature . . . from Anglo-Saxon . . . to the present time" which lectures give "biographical sketches of the principal authors, together with criticisms of their writings." There is no mention of the students' reading of the authors for whose writings they are provided criticisms. Texts, of course, were rare and hardly suitable for most undergraduates. For ferreting out the foregoing and related information, I am indebted to Sister St. Mel Kennedy, O.S.F., of Saint Louis University.

⁶ See Stanley A. Matyshak, "From Rhetoric to Literature: The Establishment of English as an Academic Subject" (Master's thesis, Saint Louis University, 1960); Walter J. Ong, "Latin and the Social Fabric," *Yale Review*, L (1960), 18-31. Richard Foster Jones, *The Triumph of the English Language* (Stanford, Cal., 1953), treats attitudes toward English up to the Restoration, but is not for the most part directly concerned with the teaching of English. One must recall that the most voluble enthusiasm for the language could coexist with complete indifference as to whether the literature or even the grammar be taught in the classroom—in *The Defense of Poesy* Sir Phillip Sidney is still conjecturing as to whether English could be fitted with a grammar, and dismisses the thought with the pronouncement that "it needs it not." Howard Mumford Jones, *The Theory of American Literature* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1948), provides some incidental material concerning the introduction of American literature into curricula in the United States. Like R. F. Jones, he is concerned with more than academic attitudes.

But when English first came in, the language was studied, not the literature, and the older forms of the language—Anglo-Saxon and, at a somewhat later date, Middle English—received the lion's share of attention,⁷ partly because they were more like Latin, at least in relative antiquity and remoteness from ordinary speech.

The forces working for the introduction of English into the universities were often quite oblique. Nationalism was, indeed, one direct influence, but another less direct although perhaps equally strong was the presence of women, who had been newly admitted to the universities and who were traditionally far less schooled in Latin than men had been.⁸ Indeed for several decades after the introduction of a full course in English at the English universities, the women, although a minuscule proportion of the university population, were more numerous as students of English than the men, apparently because the men had an established tradition of not studying it.⁹

In the academic setting, moreover, English was often treated philologically and schematically when it was not being actually read or discussed as literature, outlines of English literary history and critical statements about the value of various works appear often to have preceded the actual reading of texts,¹⁰ and often a university which provided for examinations in English literature had not provided for instruction in the subject.¹¹ At least some reasons for this situation are obvious enough. The early teachers of English, themselves trained in the classics, would be likely to approach English literature somewhat indirectly, treating it by a kind of extrinsic analogy to Latin and Greek. Thus we find editions of Milton's *Paradise Lost* designed explicitly with the hope of classroom use in the early nineteenth century, when there are no anthologies

⁷ See Matyshak, "From Rhetoric to Literature," pp. 60-69, esp. p. 68.

⁸ See Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States* (2 vols.; New York, and Lancaster, Pa., 1929), I, 51, etc. It should be noted that in Woody's Appendix IV, "Textbooks Mentioned by Women's College Catalogues Since 1850," *ibid.*, II, 474-80, the quantity of titles under a particular curriculum subject is not always an index of the attention actually given the subject. A large number of titles might simply mean that a great many textbooks were available and that the program for the particular subject was so unsteady that choice of texts was random and scattered. Thus textbook titles for Greek, which certainly was not mastered so well as French in women's colleges, outnumber those for French—and Latin! For information on English teaching to women, I am greatly indebted to an unpublished paper, "Women in the Tradition of the Teaching of English Literature in America," by Wayne A. Knoll, S.J., of Saint Louis University.

⁹ See George P. Krapp, "Literature, English, Teaching of," *A Cyclopedia of Education*, ed. Paul Monroe (New York, 1911-13), IV, 52.

¹⁰ Matyshak, "From Rhetoric to Literature," pp. 146-59.

¹¹ George P. Krapp, "Literature, English, Teaching of," *A Cyclopedia of Education*, IV, 51.

of English literature available for such use.¹² *Paradise Lost* fitted into the curriculum after a fashion, not because it was English but because it was an epic like the *Aeneid*, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

A century ago, when the study of English was in its infancy, the directions which scholarship had to take were obvious enough, at least many of them. Editions had to be prepared, dictionaries of national biography compiled, bibliographical tools of all sorts devised or improved, the *New English Dictionary* constructed, histories of English literature written. Anthologies had to be got together—and good ones were latecomers on the scene, since their subsidiary biography and bibliography and criticism could only retail material got together through more basic research.

As basic research continued, more or less exhausting the earlier materials—although never quite doing so, of course—it tended to let its focus of attention wander more and more from the Anglo-Saxon and Middle English through the Renaissance and seventeenth century, the eighteenth century and even the nineteenth. Scholarship is always a voracious thing, but through the past hundred years the number of scholars was increasing by leaps and bounds, and the efficiency of their work was being stepped up by rapid transportation and other technological aids. The earlier periods of English literature were soon pretty well picked over, and, however constant the need for revisionist history always remained, more recent literature, and eventually contemporary literature itself, proved highly enticing. Moreover, as the study of English literature matured, those who studied it were less and less familiar with the Latin required for an adequate approach to earlier English literature, not only in the Middle Ages and Renaissance but also well through the seventeenth and even the eighteenth centuries. Later English was more English English, and more accessible on this score to an English-trained generation.

Furthermore, the intensive work on the past had made the present more accessible. Although it stresses "originality" to a degree and in ways unknown in oral-aural cultures, literature has to be studied within a tradition. The effort to secure a scholarly hold on the English literary past by providing texts of earlier works, commentaries on them, literary histories, monographs and massive special studies and a wealth of bibliographical tools, was tremendously successful on the whole, however im-

¹² See, for example, *Milton's Paradise Lost*, with explanatory notes by Rev. J. R. Boyd (School and Academic Ed.; New York [ca. 1800]; *The First Four Books of the Paradise Lost*, with notes critical and explanatory . . . for the use of schools by Rev. J. R. Major [with] a critique upon the *Paradise Lost* by Mr. Addison [abridged] (London, 1835)—both listed in David R. Stevens, *Reference Guide to Milton* (Chicago, 1930).

perfect in many details. As a result of this effort, the opening years of the twentieth century came into possession of earlier literary tradition in a more reflective and detailed way than any other age had been. The context out of which contemporary literature had arisen and was arising had been charted. With the possible exception of Neo-Latin literature written after the work of the great sixteenth-century classicists who founded modern literary scholarship (a literature of a special sort, with special limitations), no active literary tradition had ever before been in such complete reflective possession of its past as the literary traditions of English and other major West European languages were by the early years of the present century.

The relationship of the study of modern literature to the past is thus twofold. First, the study of modern literature simply terminated the movement which has carried the focus of academic literary interest first from Latin to English, and then forward from Old English through the intervening ages into the nineteenth century and thence to the present. *Victorian Studies* has been duly founded, in accord with this diachronic pattern the foundation of a full-scale academically supported *Twentieth Century Studies* should follow, and quite shortly, for the movement of focal interest from the past to the present accelerates through its successive stages. There are already entire publications, such as *Twentieth Century Literature*, not to mention a wealth of articles scattered through various journals, which have prepared the ground. The earlier periods are by no means used up, and they never will be, but they are indisputably more picked over than the literature just rolling off the presses or not yet written. The Promised Land of scholarship lies ahead.

Secondly, as already hinted, the study of modern literature is related to the past in the sense that it has been made possible and has been given body by our developed knowledge of the past. It is quite impossible to study the present in isolation. We can study the past precisely because we have as a constant point of reference our own present from which the study of the past is being made, even when we do not consciously advert to our present. Conversely, to study the present, we must hold it up against something. So absolute is the necessity for a point of comparison that if nothing else is available, we inevitably project an idealized image of the past to meet our need. But an accurately constructed image is much to be preferred. And this, thanks to the various kinds of historical studies which have become possible in the past few hundred years, we are approximating more and more, despite the persistent tendency of doctrinaire interpretations to foul the picture.

Because of its dependence on the circumstantial reconstruction of the past, only recently become possible to man, the focus on the present

which marks modern literary studies is not exclusively a literary phenomenon. Indeed, a present-centered historicism, the natural culmination of any well-developed historicism, is one of the characteristic marks of any informed outlook in our times. Ours is the age which has more detailed and circumstantial knowledge of the past than any earlier age had. In our age the study of the past continues to grow, and indeed, as is evident in the development of Biblical archaeology and of paleontology, not to mention astrophysics, continues to penetrate further and further into the past, but the focus of interest is no longer there. The past is studied with reference to the present in which it terminates. We study Biblical archaeology not merely for antiquarian purposes but to understand ourselves and where we are. We study paleontology for comparable reasons. Astrophysics carries us into ever vaster reaches of past time, but it also helps us prepare for the future—for the advent of the little green men from outer space or for the next ice age.

The interaction of past and present in the study of literature is nowhere more strikingly illustrated than in a recent book on Homer and the oral tradition, Albert B. Lord's great monograph, *The Singer of Tales*,¹³ which brilliantly develops the earlier work of the late Milman Parry. Here we find an interest in Homeric epic form moving into a comparative study of present-day Yugoslavian singers of tales, who, it is found, are *effective only insofar as they are illiterate*. From the point of vantage secured by Parry's and Lord's painstaking interviewing and recording, where literacy registers as not merely irrelevant but as a definite disability because of the special cultural squints which it entails, it becomes possible to evaluate manuscript cultures and our post-Gutenberg typographical cultures with singular detachment. The book's sensitive preface, written by Harry Levin, who found himself as an observer close to the work at its inception and through its completion, alertly picks up the implications here and ties them in with lines of thought developed elsewhere, most notably in some of their aspects by Marshall McLuhan (himself a sixteenth-century scholar now domiciled in the twentieth century but much given to commuting).¹⁴ These lines of thought force us to see ourselves through the Homeric-modern Yugoslav complex, making us aware of the fact that we are living in an era when verbal activity, including of course literature, is largely dominated and determined by typographical practice and of the further fact that this era is in some measure drawing to a close under the impact of the electronic

¹³ Cambridge, 1960.

¹⁴ See particularly the periodical *Explorations*, published from 1953 to 1959 at the University of Toronto under the editorship of E. S. Carpenter, McLuhan and others.

media of communication. The Parry-Lord investigation, at first faced into Greek antiquity, appears at this point as faced into our own future.

What is more, we encounter here not merely an impact of past on present or of present on past but a true interaction. There can hardly be any doubt that Milman Parry's special type of interest in Homer was made possible by the fact that he lived when the typographical era was breaking up: the older presuppositions of an all but exclusively typographical outlook were no longer tyrannizing over the more alert minds. One can see this same breakup back of the tremendous twentieth-century progress in Biblical studies. And it would not take a great deal of work to correlate the breakup of the typographical outlook with the growth of historical awareness generally, for as men have acquired the detailed knowledge of the past which is history, they have been forced to see, as earlier men could not, the circumstantial differences between one age and another. It is ironic that the acquisition of this detailed knowledge of the past has depended largely on typography, so that our awareness that the typographical outlook establishes its own special perspectives for viewing actuality has been brought about by typography itself.

In Lord's book, which is both brilliant and typical of today's brilliance, we can see how twentieth-century penetration of the past intensifies interest in the past, while this interest itself in turn implements a critique of twentieth-century culture which gave rise to such interest. We should perhaps note here that we are not dealing with a cyclic phenomenon. There is no "return" to the past here. Quite the opposite. For every excursion into the past forces a greater concentration on the present. The situation is curiously like that of the individual stories within the tradition of tales which Professor Lord's singers sing. Here each rendition of a story exists only once within a tradition of which it itself and others like it—but never quite the same—are the epiphanies.

From one point of view the shift of focus in literary study from the past into the present would seem to imply no more than that we have arrived at a kind of live dead end. We have pretty well worked over the accumulation of earlier material and are now reduced to using up new material as fast as it appears, but, since it apparently is going to appear indefinitely and in ever-increasing bulk, we can reassure ourselves with the thought that there will always be work to do.

With this kind of thinking there goes a great deal of uncertainty, of course, as to the nature of the work to be done. It has been suggested by R. W. B. Lewis that "contemporary literature is not really a subject for scholarship," and that although "it can be a subject for criticism,"

such criticism is "only of a provisional kind," since "in a deep and insuperable sense, contemporary literature must always be unfinished business."¹⁵ And another writer, Fred B. Millett, has urged that if the term scholarship

has any meaning in relation to contemporary English literature, it is a very different meaning from that it has in relation to the Renaissance, the eighteenth century, or even the Victorian period. The term *scholarship*, in the sense of a careful scientific manipulation of literary documents, is only rarely applicable here, although it may be exhibited by the best biographies of twentieth-century literary figures.¹⁶

These statements, quite true in the sense in which they are intended, do not fully register the uniqueness of the present situation. Our relationship to the literature of our own time, as against that of past ages, is not defined simply by the fact that we are closer to this literature than to that of the past. We cannot define this relationship in what may be called a simple diachronic view, imagining a line protracted from the past into the future and considering ourselves as moving along this line depositing literature as we go and improving our view of what we have done as we move to a greater distance from each deposit—some-what as a painter might stand back after applying a brush of color to a canvas. Time gives distance.

There is, of course, some relevance in this analogy. Certain gains are realized by the passage of time, since we can improve our reactions by reflection and comparison, which take time, and since occasional aberrations in judgment—not so common on the part of skilled readers as popular mythologies about literature and art suppose—can be corrected by reflection and comparison.

Nevertheless, this simple linear construct will not do. It does not enable us to register certain essential facts in our relationship and that of literature to time. Time has different densities at different points, since the interaction of past and present varies both in manner and in intensity not only at various times but in various civilizations at various times. For example, within approximately the past two generations, at a certain point within Western civilization, billions of years removed from the beginning of the universe and apparently hundreds of thousands of years removed from the appearance of the first man, it has become apparent

¹⁵ R. W. B. Lewis, "Contemporary American Literature," in *Contemporary Literary Scholarship: A Critical Review*, ed. Lewis Leary (New York, 1958), p. 203.

¹⁶ Fred B. Millett, "Contemporary British Literature," in *Contemporary Literary Scholarship: A Critical Review*, pp. 187-88.

that our universe has an age of some five to ten billion years. The mere knowledge of such a fact concerning the past and its consequences regarding our extrapolations into the future fills our own age with time in ways unknown before. The time sense achieved at this point in time by the West is now spreading mercurially or has spread across the entire globe, but the various civilizations to which it comes are themselves at various tempos because of their relationship to past time, and they are affected by this time sense variously. Persons in the West are aware of this fact, or should be, and this awareness in turn complicates their own sense of time. And what has been said here with reference to cosmic history applies proportionately to the other historical senses developed within the past few hundred years, most particularly for our purposes to the sense of the historicity of literary forms.

The purely linear sense of time, what we have called the purely diachronic sense, the sense that events are strung through time and no more, fails to do justice to the present situation because one of the characteristics of the present is the way in which it appears to have caught up into itself the entire past. Our mid-twentieth-century sense of time is synchronic—and that in at least two ways: first, it feels the present as the front of a past which was vastly different from itself and yet with which it is in a multitude of ways continuous; secondly, it feels diverse fronts of the past as existing in the present in terms of the various cultures across the face of the earth which are variously related to the past and thus to the present, but which are now all part of us since, with our global awareness, all cultures are more and more present to one another.

Although, as Professors Millett and Lewis have indicated, the concept of scholarship applies to the present in a sense somewhat different from that in which it applies to the past, the synchronism of our sense of time is such that the sense of scholarship, even as applied to the past, is going to have to be revised. The adjustments in our concept of scholarship when the concept is applied to the present on the whole represent gain rather than loss, enlargement and enrichment rather than sheer limitation. We are not only the first age which has happened to study intently its own literature. We are the first age which has been able to do so. And we have been able to do so because, whereas earlier ages may have been necessarily shortsighted with regard to their own times (and we shall always labor to some extent with this disability), we are "depth-sighted" with regard to ours, or at least in our most alert minds we can be so "depth-sighted."

Depth-sightedness confers advantages not merely on the present, where as we have seen our synchronic sense is at its most intense, but also on

our study of the past. For having developed a synchronic immediacy within the present, it is only natural that we should develop a similar immediacy in so far as possible in our approach to the past. There is no particular virtue, except from the narrowest point of view of a blindly typographical culture, in having masses of accumulated manuscripts and decades of leisure to mull over them if, regarding the past which they represent, we lack the immediacy of perception which we can bring to our own age. And, having tasted this immediacy in the best scholarly and critical work on our contemporary literature, we should never again be satisfied with the kind of scholarship which had not known it. The work of scholars in Renaissance times—not only the schoolmarmish Ascham, or on the Continent the suave and precious Rudolph Agricola, the loquacious Scaligers, or knowledgeable Adrien Turnèbe, but even the highly sensitive Vives and Colet and Erasmus, for all the latter's historical sense in the presence of a text—falls short of the kind of sensitivity we look for today in dealing with the past because, through no fault of their own, men of so early an era could not yet react to their own age with full historical sensitivity. Two or three centuries later Dr. Johnson or Hugh Blair still had insufficient reflective grasp of their own milieu if we go by standards which we must impose on ourselves today. We today sometimes fail to approach earlier work sufficiently on its own terms and are otherwise not always at our best, but when we are, our reflective sensitivity to our own problems plus a freedom of movement from present to past and back again gives a suppleness and an insight into the past which is, by all standards, remarkable. I have in mind work such as Eric Auerbach's *Mimesis*, M. H. Abrams' *The Mirror and the Lamp*, or the work of Leo Spitzer or Charles S. Singleton or Helmut Hatzfeld, or the criticism of Blackmur or the critical theorizing of Wellek, Wimsatt and Brooks, or, at another level, the work on the literature of the ancient Hebrews and their milieu done by William Foxwell Albright. These writers and others—of whom there are many now—exhibit an ease of movement back into the past and an insight there such as man could hardly have at earlier periods when society was less reflective and articulate about its present.

The way in which focus on the present produces tensions which are highly productive can be seen in the case of the "New Criticism." Although this criticism to some extent concerned itself with older works, there is no mistaking the fact that by comparison with the criticism which went before it, it was contemporary in its focus. To see this one has only to examine the selection of poems in Brooks's and Warren's *Understanding Poetry* (first published 1938), which has put the "New

Criticism" and its principles in reach of every college-trained person in the land. Of the 229 poems in this volume (1953 edition), almost 40 per cent are from twentieth-century authors. It is impossible to find any similar textbook in previous periods at all comparable to this in its emphasis on contemporaneity. The early sponsors and/or Great Archetypal Symbols of the New Criticism—persons such as Richards, Leavis, Pound, Eliot or John Crowe Ransom—were deeply involved in the creative activity of the age, even when they were as academically committed as Dr. Leavis. Leavis' *New Bearings in English Poetry* and *Revaluation*, not to mention *Scrutiny*, were about as programmatic as criticism, academic or other, can well be.

As the opposition to the New Criticism formed (to no one's surprise, for the New Critics were certainly inviting opposition), one detects beneath the other issues the disagreement between the older, established academic mind, accustomed to dealing academically with the past as past, oriented strongly toward Latin and Greek, and the present-focused mind. The Milton issue in great part turned on this disagreement. For one group, Milton's Latinate expression was good, for the other bad. But Milton was a symbol of the past in more than his Latinate expression. He stood for a feeling for English literature which went back to the time before English was an academic subject, for he was one of the earliest authors to be introduced into the classroom, where he had fitted even when Latin with its attendant Greek was in full control because, although he had written English, he had produced an epic consonant with Virgil and Homer. The Milton question was seldom set expressly in these perspectives, but they were there to guide the drift of argument none the less. Eliot focused the issue by nominating as Milton's polar opposite James Joyce, who was a mere parvenu but who, we were told, was more glorious than Milton because Joyce's "rhetoric" and "music" could not be imitated.¹⁷ This deft statement wiped out Milton's partisans with the man himself and gave a neat advantage to Joyce's contemporaneity, for there had in fact hardly been time for any Joyce imitators to mature. Eliot's reservations about Milton were far more restrained and nuanced than was commonly recognized by those who thought of him as a "debunker" of Milton, but the reservations did evince a present-focused mind in at least one of its phases.

Other key maneuvers in the battles over the New Criticism suggest similar alignments in terms of past and present. The differences between

¹⁷ T. S. Eliot, "A Note on the Verse of John Milton," *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, XXI, collected by Herbert Read (Oxford, 1936), pp. 37-40; see also Marvin Magalaner and Richard M. Kain, *Joyce: The Man, the Work, the Reputation* (New York, 1956), p. 270.

Scrutiny and other groups at Cambridge often, although not always, involved a difference between an English-language literary outlook and a somewhat Latin-oriented one. Perhaps the concentration of the militant opposition upon Pound and Eliot was due in part to the feeling that they were old enough to know better: both had been educated when English was just barely established as an academic discipline, and before the academic focus of interest in English had moved even close to the present. Significantly, both Pound and Eliot had been in and out of the academic world, finally choosing to be out—possibly because as a result of the movement which they had sparked, they could now be assured of continued close contact with the academic world simply because they were among the leading writers of the century.

As everyone is aware, the tension between the New Critics and the historical scholars has by now diminished to the point of virtual disappearance. But the effect of the earlier contest on both sides had been considerable, and it remains. The New Critics, or their epigoni, have assimilated vast amounts of historical and other scholarship—for which, on the whole, they had had no positive dislike, but simply, as some of them thought, no time. But everyone, meanwhile, has assimilated a great deal of the best in the New Criticism—its close attention to literary effects rather than to sheer detail,¹⁸ its concern with circumstantial discrimination, its psychological awareness, its ability to be articulate about some all but ineffable aspects of interior organization, its determination to get inside a work of literature on the latter's own terms and to wrestle with the knottiest issues instead of caroming off such things in a shower of impressionist similes.

The fact is that the extremely minute detailed awarenesses with which the best literary scholarship today operates were developed in great part through the New Criticism's attention to modern literature. At their optimum, they appear impossible in the case of literature other than one's own contemporary vernacular. No one can achieve a responsiveness to literature of the past, no matter how hard he works, quite so comprehensive, so total and so immediate, as that which the same person can achieve with regard to the literature of his own living linguistic world—although once again we must remind ourselves that a familiarity (and the greater, the better) with literature of the past is a necessary condition for full reaction to the present. It is not strange that close attention to present-day literature has produced an articulateness and penetration in

¹⁸ For the difference between attention to effect and to detail, see instances in William Van O'Connor, "Modern Literary Criticism," in *Contemporary Literary Scholarship: A Critical Review*, pp. 221-22.

literary criticism such as we have never known before, nor is it strange that this same articulateness has sharpened the issues in literary scholarship generally outside the critical field as such, and that it has brought a new depth (not without occasional distractions) to the study of earlier literature. There is no doubt that criticism and literary scholarship generally today, whatever their real difficulties (such as the complication of issues, tendencies toward special vocabularies and mere massiveness, perhaps overproduction, not to mention the inevitable complement of imperceptive or poor work), are far more articulate than was ever the case in the past, when, generally speaking, the most exquisite awareness of literary effects and the most sensitive and total reaction to them was accompanied by critical analyses and literary theory surprisingly underdeveloped.

Our articulateness today even about the past can in great part be traced rather directly to the New Critics' concern—not exclusive at all, but intent and real—with contemporary literary activity. Rosemond Tuve's *A Reading of George Herbert*, for example, is unthinkable without the New Criticism and its interest in the present literary front. Miss Tuve's prelude to this book was her own *Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery*, which revises present interpretations of the past and in doing so agitates and re-agitates all the preoccupations and techniques of our own literary performance, using the study of modern literature to show by comparison and contrast the niceties of the real issues in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Professor Richmond Lattimore, Father Herbert Musurillo and others are busy now on classical Latin and Greek, in which they are opening many areas with the help of awarenesses sharpened on modern literature.

At this point it becomes evident that the New Criticism is considerably less mysterious than it has sometimes been made out to be. It really does not replace anything in particular. Insofar as it is new, it is simply the criticism which is generated at the point when academic attention is turned first on the vernacular and then finally on contemporary productions in the vernacular. The New Criticism was the product of the first age when thousands of persons became intent on academic, and ultimately scholarly analysis, as penetrating and painstaking as academic procedure can make it, of the literary activity actually going on around them.¹⁹

In an age given to lamenting its own overspecialization, it is ironic that among the most striking phenomena in the study of literature should be the interaction, often deliberately encouraged, of literary study with various extra-literary awarenesses and lines of thought. Yet it would

¹⁹ See Walter J. Ong, "The Vernacular Matrix of the New Criticism," in *The Critical Matrix*, pp. 3-35.

appear that such interaction is one of the characteristics of our time. For the pulling together of temporal perspectives which has resulted in our synchronic sense is accompanied by other convergences, as ranges of activity which had earlier separated are brought together again. Literary scholarship and criticism as well have availed themselves of the resources not only of philosophy and theology and cultural history, but of psychology, sociology, anthropology and the physical sciences, not to mention technology, the practical utilization of which began many years ago with the appearance of the printing press and has currently matured in the use of electronic computers for the collation of literary texts.

There are those who decry this rapaciousness of literary scholarship and criticism, but it has been going on from the very beginning. We are no more untoward in availing ourselves of Freud or of Malinowski than earlier writers were in making use of the faculty psychology, the old four-element physiology, or the Stoic or semi-Stoic physics which we find underlying the quasi-critical writings of the age of Sir Philip Sidney. Indeed, we have if anything more warrant than before for utilizing a great variety of approaches—provided always that we know as far as possible what we are doing when we are doing it—since there is a valid sense in which fields such as psychology and anthropology are themselves becoming more articulate about man's interior in its relation to the exterior world. With the development of phenomenological psychology and of the anthropology and semantics on which it draws, the problem of expression is becoming a preoccupation of a great number of disciplines and is interpreted more and more explicitly as a central problem of human existence. Many disciplines are converging more and more on the depths of man's interior, where literary creation takes place, even though this creation is in a sense a process of exteriorizing the interior. The creators of literature themselves have deployed their own interests as variously and as often as scholars and critics have, and they have done so in the past as well as in the present. The kind of knowledge finding its way into *Finnegans Wake* is more elaborated, but essentially no more diverse than that threaded through *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. Cicero's prescription that the orator should know everything to be a good orator must always apply with equal force to the literary scholar, who operates at the communications center of humanity and who today lives in the age of "area" studies and interdisciplinary programs of learning.

Another pulling together which today parallels the synchronization of temporal awarenesses is that which assimilates the academic and extra-academic worlds to one another. There has always been considerable kin-

ship between politics and the academic world, of which almost from the beginning lawyers have been denizens. But the extra-academic world of modern industry and business has lately been assimilated to the academic as it has become in profound ways more scholarly, more reflective, than milieux concerned with material productivity and commerce have ever been in the past. The migration of personnel back and forth between the universities and industry is ample evidence of this fact, and while this migration affects the physical sciences most, it is by no means restricted to them. The extra-academic world is more reflectively involved with communications than ever before. Even at the engineering level the involvement can be highly sophisticated, as when architects, city planners, anthropologists and professors of English get together to study media of communications in modern urban centers.

Within the field of literary study itself perhaps the most significant phenomenon accompanying the synchronization of temporal and other awarenesses has been the growing together of the academic study of literature and the writing of literature. What has happened, at least in the United States, is not merely that academic investigation has caught up with present trends so that it can talk about them, as we noted earlier, as soon as they develop. There is a positive interaction which goes beyond this. There is so much study of literature close to its point of production that the production itself is intimately affected by academic activity and affected directly as it has never been before. The creative artists are paying attention not only to what the critics are saying but also to what the professors are saying, if indeed a distinction between the two is still feasible. The effect on Ben Jonson of his master Camden was one thing—parental, personal, somewhat retrospective, inspirational. Camden had initiated Jonson into the life of literature. But the effect of the academy has today extended far beyond this. The consciousness of literary structure which an intelligent undergraduate turning professional writer can bring from the classroom to the writing of short stories would put Edgar Allan Poe to shame. From his Aphthonius and other authors, Shakespeare could learn a great deal about writing, and did. But he had not studied in school the plot structure of Kid and Marlowe nor psycho-analyzed the audiences in the bear pits. We must not forget the narrowness of early literary study, however we admire its intensity. Until the advent of vernacular literature, almost the sole structural form which was taught as a whole in the classroom was the structure of the oration—a structure applied in one or another author from antiquity through the Renaissance to virtually everything from poetry to letter-writing.

The present intimate effect of academic activity on literary production presents new problems, moral problems, which we are far from even stating satisfactorily, let alone solving. If academic activity is directly influencing much writing today, what responsibility does it have to society to develop writing programs suitable for mankind and for individual men? All writing, Allen Tate has said, is programmatic. But how does one program a writer's vision? How far can what is programmatic about writing be rationalized and evaluated in advance? It has been, to some extent, by the founders of *Poetry* magazine, the Southern Fugitives and many others, although generally in language so apocalyptic as to be relatively meaningless at the time to those outside a small group.

The role of scholarly activity in influencing production extends far beyond that of the midwife, presiding over literary works at their birth. Scholarly activity today has a direct effect on sales. The publishing success of Faulkner is certainly in great part academically induced. When *The Town* first appeared, it was informative to see how it shot immediately onto the list of best sellers (rather far down) and almost as immediately dropped off. The Faulknerians, who are, one suspects, largely in the colleges and universities or not too long out of these institutions, were more alert than less academic readers: poised en masse, they knew exactly what they were looking for, and their joint purchases catapulted onto the list for a moment a writer normally too demanding on his readers to qualify for long as a best seller. Someone might do a study of where James Joyce would be without the American universities and colleges. Or Wallace Stevens. Or William Carlos Williams. Or where Dylan Thomas might be today if the academicians had not stopped bothering with him.

The situation was never quite like this before. Despite a certain real and inevitable interlocking of interests between the academic and literary worlds, neither in Chaucer's day nor in Shakespeare's nor even in Keats's were vernacular productions thus dependent upon academic attention, which, as we have noted, did not extend officially to vernacular literature at all, much less to current vernacular literature. Academic influence on the formation of taste was real enough to engender quarrels, such as the ancients-and-moderns controversy. But the sense of a community of teachers and writers—if not always too peaceable a community—which overpowers one in reading studies such as Alfred Kazin's *On Native Grounds* or the comments in Kimon Friar's and Malcolm Brinnin's anthology *Modern Poetry* cannot be matched in earlier ages. Although Pope and Theobald were both sensitive, each in his own way, to some of the real problems which Shakespeare had to face, neither was capable of

stating the literary problems of his own age with the circumstantial finesse with which those of our own age are regularly articulated today in the better quarterlies. Literary history had not been so developed as it is today, and the psychological, sociological and general cultural matrices of literature had not been so thoroughly studied and related to literary production in the way which leaves us in our present *embarras de richesses*.

One of the noteworthy aspects of the present situation is that complaints about a so-called academic style are heard today not only in extra-academic circles but probably even more often in the universities and colleges themselves. Being academic is obviously not what it once was—at least in the United States it is not. Academic writing is not writing done in the way those teaching literature want. It may well be writing done in the way those teaching literature cannot help. But who is not teaching literature these days? Those whom we study always teach us, no matter how much we turn on them our critical guns. When twentieth-century American universities and colleges put some of their best efforts to learning directly from the poets and novelists around them as well as from the past, can it be helped if they learn too much for their own good? Perhaps we should enlarge Douglas Bush's suggested moratorium on productive scholarship²⁰ to include a moratorium on study of contemporary literature. Such a suggestion might possibly be taken seriously were it not that it has already been acted upon. For this neglect of real study of contemporary work is approximately the beat poets' program, and the results have not always been impressive.

In the last analysis, there appears to be nothing to do academically about contemporary literature which does not involve a closer and closer study of contemporary literature. By this I do not mean that any student, much less all students, should be encouraged to study contemporary literature to the exclusion of other literature. Far from it, for our ability to interpret contemporary literature will remain a function of our ability to interpret the literature of the past. On the other hand, we shall in the future have to study the literature of the past with the contemporary more and more at our elbow. Mere antiquarianism is a luxury which can no longer be tolerated in an age in which planning ahead has become a central human concern, an age in which change has become institutionalized. Those of us who are concerned with the past must examine it more closely than ever before, but with the full knowledge that in a world as unified as our own the synchronic sense of time is at least as important

²⁰ Douglas Bush, *The Renaissance and English Humanism* (Toronto, 1939), p. 132.

as the diachronic sense, of which the synchronic sense is of course the necessary outcome.

The stage at which we have arrived, where modern literature can be experienced as the front of a massively reconstituted past, is destined to change in many ways, of course, and ways which we can hardly predict. No one today can safely forecast what the genres derivative from the modern novel will be fifty or a hundred years from now, much less ten or twenty thousand years hence. Yet because of our accumulation of knowledge and our reflection on it, these productions of the future would perhaps not astonish us too much. We have reached the point at which we can comfortably think in a constant matrix of historical change. We are in somewhat the situation of the Irishman who had transcended the stage where he could be surprised: "I didn't sell my pig for as much as I thought I would, but I didn't think I would."

The urgent sense of the future which overpowers us today derives from our sense of the fullness of our own present, charged with the past. The academic mind at its very best is perhaps more charged with the sense of this fullness of the present than any other mind in our society. It is for this reason that modern literature, the literature being created around us now, appears to us and is a matter of such serious concern. In it the reflectiveness of this reflective moment in history becomes present to itself. At this moment the flight into nostalgia and the past, which always threatens those concerned with literature because of the connection between literature and the mythologizing tendencies derivative from the psychosomatic alliance between the human organism and the (more or less) cyclic seasons, becomes peculiarly deadly. In *The Two Cultures* C. P. Snow, speaking more of British than of American culture, notes that the humanities have failed to orient themselves toward the future with the explicit dedication that marks the physical sciences of today. Perhaps it is not quite so bad on this side of the Atlantic as Snow makes it out to be on the other. Our new and thriving academic interest in modern literature—remarkably robust by comparison with what obtains elsewhere in the English-speaking world—is, I hope, a sign that we are alive to the future which challenges our time.



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Historical Depth in Comparative Culture Study *

ANY COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CULTURES RESTS UPON A CERTAIN NUMBER OF assumptions which though generally held today do not command universal subscription. First of all it is assumed that there may be, with proper regard for diffusion, discrete *cultures* and not simply stages of *culture*. Such an assumption is not maximal but minimal and stresses the concept of culture as system.¹ Paralleling as it does the development of mathematical physics, the growth of the history of science and the wide application of the scientific method, this position diverges from an evolutionary theory of process in that it separates change from system and makes it at best an incidental and unstressed aspect of each culture controlled in each instance by the cultural system itself.² An evolutionary theory would relate cultures according to their classification upon a ladder of change. This method, although useful in the study of change, does inhibit the variants in culture typology and is certainly methodologically very dangerous at the outset of a comparative study of cultures.³

Secondly the comparative study of cultures must have as a corollary the concept of culture areas or spatial boundaries to the operation of

* Substantially the present text was presented to a planning conference of the Human Relations Area Files in April 1962.

¹ A recent statement of the complexities of this concept is in Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Culture and Personality* (New York, 1961), pp. 8-26.

² The classical approach toward change in historical or literate societies is given in A. L. Kroeber, *Configurations of Culture Growth* (Berkeley, Calif., 1944), pp. 3-15, 838-46. Wallace discusses the implications of evolution for such studies and stresses the relation of biological evolution to culture change in the Pleistocene and earlier periods. *Culture and Personality*, p. 60 ff. An alternate view is championed by Leslie White who sees in the changes of cultures through time the foundation of a system of culture quite distinct from any individual culture. Leslie A. White, *The Science of Culture* (New York, 1949).

³ Irving Rousse, "The Strategy of Culture History," *Anthropology To-day*, A. L. Kroeber, ed. (Chicago, 1953), pp. 64-67.

that culture. Without such boundaries there can be no definition of the degree of conformity which defines a culture system and no limit to its extension. Characteristics most widely shared might be thus greatly, perhaps unduly, emphasized and differences between cultures either exaggerated or minimized.⁴

These boundaries can be fixed in at least three ways. First of all, they can be determined by the observation of the geographical extension of the culture traits selected. Thus an urban culture may extend across the limits of the city into neighboring countryside. This method leads to hazy indeterminate boundaries but has the advantage of considerable internal consistency.⁵ A second method is to fix the boundaries arbitrarily and then observe all the variants within those boundaries. This method has clear objective boundaries but may include as wide cultural variants as those of metropolitan New York.⁶ A third method seeks the boundary by narrowly defining the group which shares a culture on class, racial, occupational or other grounds such as the French Aristocracy, the American Negro, the scientist. While this last method even further increases the internal consistency, it usually embraces only a small fraction of the total range of human behavior categories and leaves unresolved the larger problems of society and institutions.⁷

Additional difficulties of definition plague any effort to introduce historical depth to the consideration of a culture area. In most instances the descriptive ethnologist contents himself with placing the changes through which the culture has passed under a heading entitled "history." History then becomes the past of the culture observed. With a single field observer the method has some validity since, in terms of his observation, past events of the culture he describes are structured and interpreted by that culture at the time he observes it. Assuming that the length of his observation is reasonable and not unduly extended, the past then becomes a part of the world view of the culture under consideration. The field observer's own interpretation of the archaeological and documentary materials he uncovers is of a different order. His conclusions are in no sense a part of the culture under observation, however great their validity and demonstrable "truth," but instead are a part of the

⁴ George P. Murdock, "The Processing of Anthropological Materials," *Anthropology To-day*, pp. 477-78.

⁵ Such a study seriously orientated toward theoretical problems is Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New York, 1946).

⁶ Among the most influential are R. S. and A. M. Lynd, *Middletown* (New York, 1929) and *Middletown in Transition* (New York, 1937) and W. L. Warner "Yankee City Series" (New Haven, 1941-47).

⁷ W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (New York, 1918-20).

observer's own society and only related to the group under study by the threads of acculturation and culture contact. They represent, in cultural terms, foreign elements not properly introduced into specific description. Difficulties multiply when the work of several observers is combined. Without overstressing the obvious, the cultural contact of previous ethnographers becomes history for later observers. More important, the past has in each instance different starting points which may span important cultural and social changes and introduce quite evident differences in the culture itself.

To an historian the very use of the term history is in itself often ambiguous and obscure. The historian generally limits the use of the term to the written record of past unique human actions. The anthropologist includes not only those events for which a written record exists; he stresses the repeated aspects of past human actions at least as much as the unique and is equally as interested in natural phenomena as in human actions. In short, for the anthropologist cultural history is the past of any given cultural system which can be arrived at through any verifiable source of evidence. The latter's view may seem more reasonable in view of his goals, but in so broadening his aims the anthropologist partly loses the precision of the historian and certainly communication between the two suffers badly. Moreover, for both the line between pre-history and history becomes obscure if not meaningless.

It may well be that the historian's conservative view has much utility for the anthropologist. In a parallel controversy over the definition of culture, the necessity to separate the conceptualization of a custom, artifact or institution from the directly perceived evidence of the act, i.e., ceremony, tool or church, has become apparent and proved very useful. There is a tendency of some anthropologists to restrict the term culture to group shared concepts or intellectual constructs which, taken together, are assumed to have an internal validity and to constitute a system. This system, superficially at least, has many of the characteristics of more rigid scientific systems and, most important for historical inquiry, has terminable life which may end before or subsequent to the disappearance of the perceptual behavior, artifact or institution which gave rise to it.

Certain controls are necessary in order to construct a cultural area file in which: 1) not only the cultural activities but the systematic concepts of the area appear; 2) some clarity of chronology is maintained; and 3) the evidence is the language of the group under study and the point of view of the modern researcher is minimized. Some of these standards have already been met by the Human Relations Area Files. A 200-culture

world sample of existing cultures is well buttressed by a host of less complete but useful cultural files. Begun in the 1930s by George Peter Murdock and his associates as a guide to existing literature, with the title of the Cross-Cultural Survey, the files grew rapidly under the stimulus of war and postwar adjustment.⁸ The method is basically a simple one. Each page of text selected is marked by a category number for the information it contains, and a copy of that page is placed in the file under each category. In this way the information on a single subject but derived from many texts can be located easily and compared.⁹

Elaborate steps are taken to guard against the personal bias of the analysts and to ensure equitable marking. Where material is plentiful, sampling techniques are employed in the selection of texts which are concerned only with the "ethnographic present," a term of some historical obscurity which means the present and the past as known by the cultural group.

However useful the techniques and data of the Human Relations Area Files may be for cross-cultural studies, they remain somewhat indeterminate for historical studies and seem to need further elaboration in order to deal with cultural change.

In a parallel inquiry the Index of American Cultures set up on an arbitrary basis certain narrow limits to the culture system.¹⁰ At the outset, in order to define the period under consideration, it was decided to limit each culture study to a fifty-year period. This length of time would permit at least the possibility of substantial change. At the same time the continuity of a culture over at least two generations or one median lifetime seemed essential if the cultural concept was to be of any use in the kind of discrimination which the historian feels required to provide. The first period we selected was 1675-1725.

Since the survival of historical documentation runs in favor of urban over rural areas something in the order of ten to one, it seemed essential to select an urban area and, in order once more to reduce archival complexities, the administrative unit of the county was selected. The first

⁸ George P. Murdock and others, *Outline of Cultural Materials* (New Haven, 1961), pp. xi-xxi.

⁹ *Ibid.* and *Analyst's Handbook* (New Haven, n.d.).

¹⁰ The Index was begun by Dr. Frank Somers and myself in 1953 while Charles F. Montgomery was Director of the Henry F. DuPont Winterthur Museum and subsequently directed by myself. It has been supported by the Copeland D'Andelot Fund at Winterthur, the Smithsonian Institution, a Carnegie Foundation Grant to the Department of American Civilization at the University of Pennsylvania and anonymous grants. It is available for consultation at both the Henry F. DuPont Winterthur Museum and in the Department of American Civilization, University of Pennsylvania.

selection was Boston, Suffolk County, Massachusetts. Because it had for one boundary the Charles River, which isolated Cambridge and other portions of Middlesex, properly a part of the Boston complex, we added to Suffolk County those parts of Middlesex easily visited in a single day's journey and return from the State House, a radius of twelve miles.

In the hopes that our historical documents might be of use in the comparative study of world cultures, Murdock's *Outline of Cultural Materials* was applied to our materials in much the same way as was done in the Human Relations Area Files. All materials were marked by at least two research assistants, doctoral candidates who had the M.A. A balance between historians and anthropologists was sought. In general the Murdock categories applied well except in matters of colonial government, acculturation and statements bearing upon the total culture. These difficulties were inherent in the decision to use only original sources and not their interpretation by any modern or recent writer. They do not imply any serious criticism of the categories or their applicability.

The definition of our source material was simple, its selection highly controversial. We determined to include only texts written, published or used in Boston between 1675 and 1725. This opened to us a wide range of diaries, sermons, laws, newspapers, court records, inventories, wills, scientific writings, institutional records and governmental records. Although few of these texts contained direct interpretations of Boston culture (or cultures), they all contained a wide variety of brief fragments of evidence touching upon many aspects of life or categories of behavior. In consequence the material averaged 25 categories per page.

The difference between the sort of information presented by such an historical file and that published by a field anthropologist is both quantitative and qualitative. The texts consist of direct statements without interpretation or evaluation by the participants in a culture. Such evidences are very often incomplete from the point of view of a modern researcher and require competence within the culture to be fully understood. As such they often do not, at least upon first examination, meet the standards of the Human Relations Area Files' categories which were designed to classify qualitative and quantitative statements about various aspects of human experience. (Fig. 1)

These conditions meant that each text selected should not only contribute richly to the file but in categories hitherto not touched upon. Sermons, for example, as the most frequent colonial Massachusetts publication, might have been processed extensively but tended to repeat one another in large part. Public records were sampled on a chronological basis which covered all of the 50-year period under consideration. Some

(FIG. 1) Samuel Sewall's Diary, Sept. 14-17, 1718

796 Organized ceremonial	851 Social Placement	346 Religious & educational
779 Theological systems	794 Congregations	structures
829 Ethnosociology	554 Status, role & prestige	331 Construction industry
798 Religious persecution	484 Travel	342 Dwellings
186 Ethnocentrism	574 Visiting & hospitality	264 Eating
		521 Conversation

3:Sewall G-5 (1714-1729) 1882 NL7 Historical Massachusetts NL7

1718.]

DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL.

195

Sept^r 14. 1718. Lord's day, Mr. Dwight pray'd and ⁷⁹⁶preach'd very well. Dan. 3, 16. Shadrach— Doct. ⁷⁷⁹When the Authority over us require that which is unlaw- ⁸²⁹full of us, we must be Noncompliers and Dissenters. ⁷⁹⁸Mention'd the Cross in Baptisme. They are to be Com- ¹⁸⁶ended who stood out in 1662.¹ Is it not something to have our Names put into a Book of Martyrs in addition to the 11th Hebr. Sewall, Lynde, Davenport, Quincey, Dudley, ⁷⁹⁴of the Council present, Mr. Achmuty. Gov^r Saltonstall's ⁵⁵⁴Daughter Christophers, and his Son-in-law Gardner,² Capt. White of Windsor.

Monday, 7^r 15th. Set out for Hartford, brought on our ⁴⁸⁴way by Maj^r Chandler, Gardner and others as far as Ashford; Visited Mr. Hale, gave him 10^s and a chief man of ⁵⁷⁴the place $\frac{1}{2}$ Crown to drive a pin in a very fair Meeting ³⁴⁶House they have now building. Dined at Coventry. ³³¹Lodg'd with Col. Quincey at Olcot's, about $\frac{1}{2}$ way between ⁵⁵⁴the Notch of the Mountains and Hartford; the sun now ⁴⁸⁴Setting. Company went on.

Tuesday, 7^r 16th. Rode over Hockanum to the great River, about 5 or 6 miles. Mr. Pitkin came to us. Mr. Woodbridge had me to his noble House where I dined ³⁴²and Lodg'd. He and Madam Woodbridge entertained us very Courteously; saw his fine little Son, who walks about.

Wednesday, 7^r 17th. Lt Gov^r Gold and Super^r Justices ²⁶⁴give us a Breakfast. Mr. Woodbridge brings us going to ⁵⁷⁴Windsor, where I visit my old Friend and Classmate Mr. ⁵²¹

Hoar, and of Joanna, wife of Edmund Quincy. President Leonard Hoar married Bridget Lisle, daughter of the Cromwellian Lord Lisle, who survived him and married Hezekiah Usher, Jun., whom she also outlived. Madam Usher was therefore the widow of Mr. Dwight's grand-uncle. She died May 25, 1723.—Eds.

¹ This refers to the ministers who had been ejected under the Act of Uniformity.—Eds.

² Elizabeth, daughter of Governor Gurdon Saltonstall, married, first, Richard Christophers; her sister Sarah married, first, John Gardner.—Eds.

areas still remain weak in comparison to others because, in part, Bostonians did not carefully record all aspects of their life. Church records, critical writings, scientific works and additional diaries could certainly be added advantageously to the corpus and may be in the future. Meanwhile the Boston file has approximately 250,000 entries from about 10,000 pages divided as follows:

Diaries	1500 pages
Sermons	1000 pages
Laws	2130 pages
Court records	1230 pages
Newspapers	700 pages
Probate & wills	1500 pages
Almanacs & science	500 pages
Town records	1350 pages
Miscellaneous	300 pages

There is only very slight and general importance to the *number* of file slips in each category. Basically, quantitative studies can only be done upon the data as recorded and not upon the grouping of data. Thus statements of quantity are included in probate materials, population data and at random throughout the file. These can, of course, be treated statistically. On the other hand, the concentration of data on funeral customs, visiting or religion and its absence in categories touching hygiene, building practices or ship design does not necessarily represent significant aspects of Boston culture between 1675 and 1725. Only court, probate and governmental records have been sampled adequately or included in a complete form. The problem of photographic reproduction, survival and sheer quantity made the balance of the file uneven though not deliberately biased in its selection. In order to minimize this effect each source as a whole is rated bibliographically and a code summary printed on each page of the text.

From the outset the selection of sources has been a thorny problem. It has proved quite impossible to satisfy the historian's total inquisitiveness since any source omitted is an inadequacy. On the other hand, if it be assumed that something like habit or custom exists, then its role in the culture may be as well demonstrated by one informant as by another. The test of the informants must come from the use of the file. To what degree information is adequate in all pertinent categories and how valid is the interpretation of those customs by the informants can be answered only by cultural tests. Samuel Sewall, for example, an exceedingly wealthy, powerful and conscientious man, saw himself playing an

important role in the colony which other sources confirmed. Moreover, as time passed his own viewpoint aged, his activities changed and he noted inroads into his prestige which other sources of a very different nature once more verified.

Naturally to an historical inquiry there are limits which do not apply to the contemporary field worker. There are few references to personal hygiene, to sanitation, to intercourse, matters on which the New England colonists traditionally remained silent. More serious, the obvious is seldom discussed. The technology of house construction must be inferred from indirect references, the details of dress, of tools, of living arrangements are all too often absent.

But there are compensations for these inadequacies. First and most important, the language, the terminology and all its meanings remain as intended and used by the culture. A bed may have no wood in it but only the pallet and its furnishings. A church is not a building but a body of worshipers, a plantation is a colony not a farm. Furthermore, even if the sources should in theory be extended they are at least all valid culturally, and their evidence must be organized and interpreted as a preliminary to further investigation.

An additional and very interesting test of the textual sources has come from the objects selected for inclusion in the file. The range of artifacts which meet the strict historical standards agreed upon is distinctly limited because few colonial Massachusetts objects are dated and because little significant archaeology has been done in the Boston area. The nature of their design, the symbolism they embody and the manner of their execution has sometimes reinforced judgments drawn from documentary sources, sometimes suggested rapid and important social change and occasionally given evidence of the culture's ethos of a clear and forthright sort. Colonial silver and gravestones nicely balance the wills and sermons, and in some instances anticipate the growth of discontent and political divergence. In order to be fairly used such objects must be treated precisely as any document describing custom or social trait would be. Its evidence in any of the many areas it reaches is analyzed and noted but not evaluated, this last being left to the researcher. (Fig. 2) Thus the Winslow sugar box is itself evidence of acculturation (177), mnemonic devices (211), writing (212), condiments (263), smiths (326), weapons (411), hardware (414), utensils (415), property (422), gift giving (431), decorative arts (531), status (554), ordering of time (805), ethno-botany (842), ethnozoology (825), ethnoanatomy (826).

Some measure of the role of the artifact in the culture seemed required for most researchers. Under a new category, 118, we therefore added to

11: Winterthur R-5 (1702)

NL7 Historical Massachusetts NL7

Object: Sugar box

Date: 1702

Size: H. 5 1/2", L. 6 7/8",
W. 5 5/6"

Material: Silver

Presumed Use: Sugar storage,
gift, display

Construction: Raised, cast, chased,
soldered

Maker: Edward Winslow
(1669-1753)
Boston, Mass.

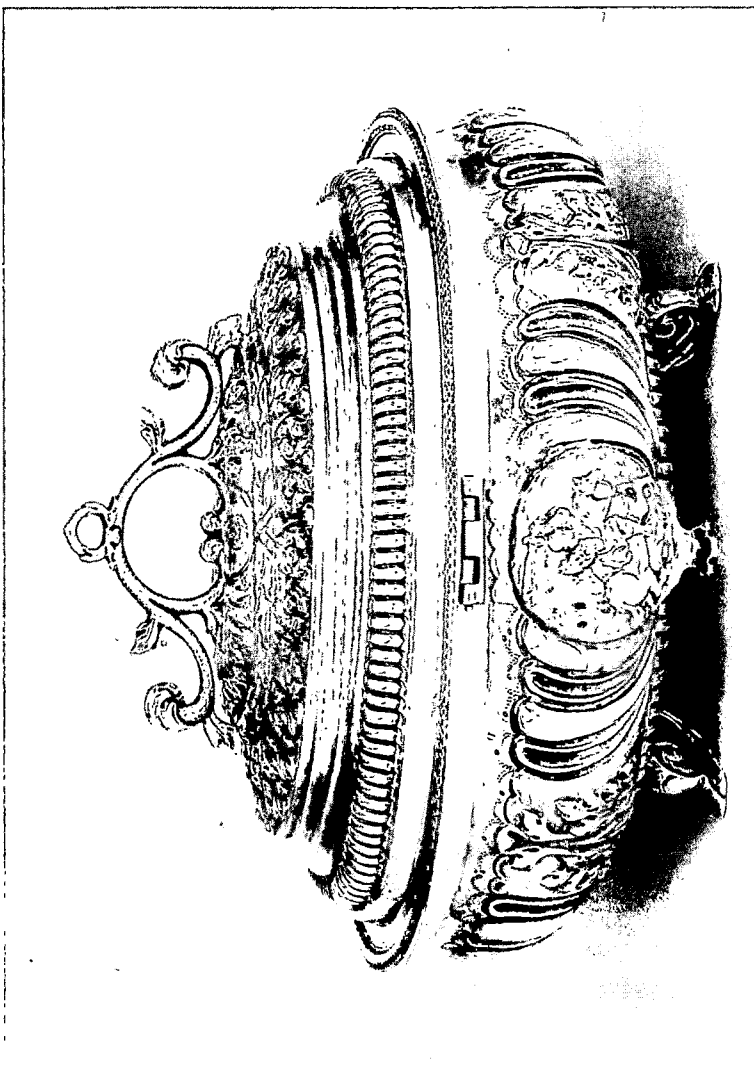
Pres. Loc.: The Henry Francis
du Pont Winterthur Museum

object
and text

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118 Description:

415 Raised silver box, oval in shape, chased and repoussé decoration. Hinged
 326 cover with hinged medallion clasp. Cast scrolled handle and four cast feet
 531 soldered to body. Cover design formed by series of stepped concentric ovals
 414 with chased and punched designs of varied foliage and gadrooning. From cen-
 824 ter outwards these designs are: (a) leaf-and-punch foliage with small me-
 825 dallion containing woman's head on center front and back, (b) laurel wreath,
 826 (c) leaf and punch, (d) three smooth ridges, (e) a wide band of gadrooning,
 411 (f) a smooth ridge, (g) flat outer band with punch-design edge. Body of box
 422 has gadrooned lower rim, and four major panels separated by acanthus-leaf
 212 design on punched background. Tapered gadrooning frames medallions at rear
 431 and sides and on front clasp. All four medallions show a soldier on horse-
 804 back with upraised sword in one hand, shield in other. Only rear medallion
 805 shows figure on ground below horse. Maker's mark, EW over a fleur-de-lis in
 211 a shaped shield, is on cover on each side of hinge; EW in a shield is on body
 of box on each side of hinge. Engraved on bottom, O/ DE Donum WP 1702.
 Weight of box is 15 oz. 5 pwt.⁷

415 Function:

263 Sugar boxes were used to hold lumps of sugar, which were sometimes dipped
 273 into liquor before being eaten.⁹ This box was originally a gift, and was
 431 probably used as a display piece.

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554 Evaluation:

This is one of the most elaborate and imaginative pieces of American silver
 415 craftsmanship of its period. It is one of eight American sugar boxes known,
 326 all of them made in New England, and four of them made by Winslow.^{1, 8} Three
 178 others were made by John Coney and one by Daniel Greenough. Of the Winslow
 531 boxes, which vary only slightly in size and design, three have soldier-on-
 177 horseback medallions and two bear the date 1702.⁹ All these American sugar
 805 boxes are of the same basic oval shape, though they vary in size and detail.
 825 No exact counterpart to the design of this Winslow box has been found among
 826 English or Continental plate, although many of the motifs used were in vogue
 554 in Europe in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.¹⁰ Confi-
 ture boxes were, however, used in the homes of persons of rank in Restoration
 England.²

159 History:

326 Maker: Edward Winslow (1669-1753) was the son of Edward and Elizabeth
 167 (Hutchinson) Winslow⁴ and the grandson of John Winslow, who came to Plymouth
 466 on the Fortune in 1621, and his wife Mary Chilton, one of the Mayflower's
 585 company.⁶ It is thought that Edward Winslow was apprenticed to Jeremiah
 587 Dummer.³ Winslow married (1) Hannah, daughter of the Reverend Joshua Moody
 793 of the First Church, Boston, (2) Elizabeth Dixie, widow of Benjamin Pember-
 361 ton, and (3) Susanna Farnum, widow of Caleb Lyman.⁶ Winslow lived on King
 342 Street in a house with ten rooms including his study and a working room.⁵
 625 He served as constable of Boston in 1699, tithingman in 1703, surveyor in
 632 1705, overseer of the poor in 1711 and 1712, and as selectman in 1714, de-
 735 clining re-election the following year. He was captain of the Militia and
 701 major of the Boston Regiment in 1729 and colonel in 1733. Winslow was second
 575 sergeant of the Artillery Company in 1702, lieutenant in 1711, and captain
 693 in 1714 and 1729. He was sheriff of Suffolk County from 1728 to 1743 and
 634 judge of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas from 1743 until his death.¹ He
 794 was a member of the Old South Church.⁶ His nephew, Moody Russell, was one
 604 of his apprentices; others are thought to have been Peter Oliver and William
 165 Pollard.³ When Winslow died in 1753, he was survived by several children and

118 History (continued):

159 grandchildren, and predeceased by at least four sons.¹² He left an estate
326 valued at £1083.18.5, including about £6 in tools, £74 in plate, £20 in
165 slaves, £122 in furniture, and two houses, one on King Street worth £666.13.4
428 and one on Middle Street worth £200.⁹

413 Owner: This sugar box was probably made for Daniel and Elizabeth (Belcher)
567 Oliver as a gift from Lieutenant Governor William Partridge. Daniel Oliver,
352 Boston merchant and member of the Council, married Elizabeth Belcher on
342 April 23, 1696. She was the sister of Jonathan Belcher, Governor of Massa-
361 chusetts, whose wife, Mary Partridge, was the daughter of the donor. It is
435 believed that the son of the original owners, Judge Peter Oliver, took the
sugar box to Britain when he fled during the American Revolution, for it was
415 found there in recent years.¹¹

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8. Masterpieces of New England Silver, 1650-1800 (Cambridge: Harvard
University Press, 1939), Nos. 200, 201; Fig. 19.
9. Phillips, John Marshall. American Silver (New York: Chanticleer Press,
1949), pp. 54, 57; Plate 14.
10. "Masterpieces in American Silver," Antiques, LV (February,
1949), 117.
11. Smith, Helen Burr. "New Light on a Silver Sugar Box," Antiques, XLIX
(March, 1946), 178.
12. Will of Edward Winslow, Suffolk County Probate Records, XLVIII
(December 14, 1753), 299-301.

a photograph details of maker, owner and manufacture, its dimensions, chronology and present whereabouts. All of this information and photograph on a single page served as the file slip. To the file slip we added under category 118 a full history of the maker, of the original owner, of the function and manufacture of the object and finally an evaluation of it in terms of other work of the maker, other work of the culture and within Western civilization. The object thus described and located can be fully appraised by the researcher, although he may disagree with some of the evaluative comments. The narrow bounds of selection and the historical details included have made this part of the file slow to develop and expensive to produce. Its values in demonstrating the immense importance of material objects in the study of historical societies has seemed to completely justify its labor and cost and should, I feel, be part of any cultural file, literate or nonliterate.

It is of course obvious that the entire process adds no new information. The Index does not embody a host of new materials, though some have previously been little used. At best 10,000 pages and 250,000 entries are a small fraction and an inadequate sample of the total sources. Yet despite these handicaps, the Index does answer some routine inquiries well. It is a modest source of information about a well-defined community over a fifty-year period. The data is not confused by generalities dealing with New England as a whole, Massachusetts or the Puritans or the seventeenth century. It bears directly upon a precise, albeit narrow, group. Also, since the material is arranged according to well-established anthropological practice, it can be used for comparative culture studies. A host of interesting problems arise from this potential dealing with chronology and cultural uniformity. Many other concepts drawn from the Human Relations Area Files can similarly be applied to this material.

For historians the greatest usefulness of the file may come from its ability to inform on a wide range of cultural activities quickly and easily. The student of politics can, in a moment, inform himself on religious theory, economic practice or family life. The military historian can easily grasp some pertinent aspects of technology, city planning and mathematics. The wide distribution of such information previously has discouraged its general use.

A modest but real value comes from the relatively universal terms used to describe categories of human experience. The absence of democracy as an equivalent of government, of frontier as a state of mind, the discovery of poetry under 539 literary texts, the introduction of a kinship term and the weight given to it and to social stratification, may, in some instances, be novel experiences for the colonial or American specialist.

But probably the most important value of such arrangements of material comes from its use as an encouragement to hypothesis formation and system speculation. With so small a penalty in terms of time and effort the researcher is encouraged to explore all possible aspects of his problem; to investigate, to him, unlikely relationships; to posit many instead of few answers; to treat historical problems as phases of wider social laws, in short, as social science. The file brings the historian measurably closer to development of a genuine laboratory and in fact as a new instrument holds promise of new types of research as yet only dimly realized. What is most surprising to an historian is not that Human Relations Area Files procedures involved some difficulties when applied to historical materials but that they involved so few.¹¹

It may well be that all or a part of our experience with the Index of American Cultures is inapplicable to the larger and more varied sample of world cultures included in the Human Relations Area Files. Certainly an easier interpretation of historical depth remains open. This could simply include samplings from the historical writings or beliefs of the culture under consideration. Such a sampling might be justified on the ground that these beliefs and writings were in fact the only historical reality of the existing or recent culture.

While an historian would certainly acknowledge the usefulness of such materials for the establishment of an ethnohistory of equal value to the scientific concepts which underlie the ethnophysics or ethnobotany, he also certainly would not limit his consideration of the history of a culture to such materials. Instead he would extend his purview to include materials which would not only indicate attitudes toward history but also change within the culture itself.

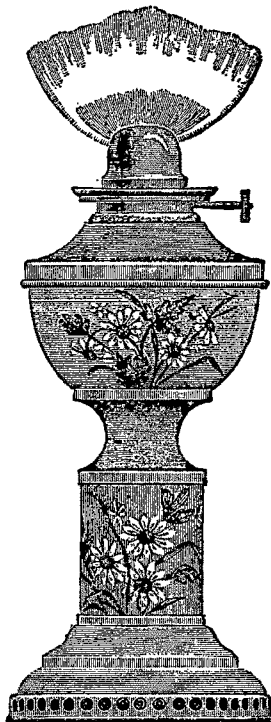
My own inclination is to argue strongly for such extension since the problem of culture change is fundamental to the study of culture. To an historian it would seem that until culture change can be defined, described and catalogued the fundamental usefulness of culture and cultural terms is sharply restricted. Moreover the Human Relations Area Files with its wide geographical and racial coverage has a very great potential capacity to test concepts of change in many different situations.

Apart from professional interests of the historian, many ethnographers would subscribe to the usefulness of a culture history based upon sound historical methods. Only on such a foundation can measurement be

¹¹ This value was well illustrated in a recent incident. An historian of Indian-White relations in the colonial period thoroughly familiar with Samuel Sewall's diary had his attention drawn to the use of an Indian's corpse for anatomical study. The incident, unimportant as an event, might prove of the greatest value in reconstructing Puritan attitudes and the limits of their efforts toward religious conversion.

made of the artifacts, attitudes and customs which are pragmatically based upon recent experience and those which survive from a past but no longer present utility. In the long run such understanding remains basic to even a limited interpretation of any culture.

Many other paths can be followed to construct historical depth perspectives for a system of world cultures, but it is hard to imagine that they will not be forced to meet the standards of cultural origin, sharp definition of time period and clear agreement on area boundaries. To do less may create serious historical distortion.



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The M-Factor in American History*

IS THERE ANY SUCH THING AS "NATIONAL CHARACTER"? IN PARTICULAR, IS there, or has there ever been, an American Character? Many critics question, or even deny the idea. Students of American civilization generally seem to start out by thinking there must be an American Character. But then they encounter great difficulties in defining this character—that is, they find too many different or contradictory types, none of the types unique, all of them appearing also in other cultures, a few of them perhaps unstable across the years. The result? Conscientious scholars are driven to despair, and decide that American society is neither consistent nor original nor completely different; therefore we have no distinctive character.

Now this, I submit, may be just a little foolish. For theoretically it isn't scientific, and practically it doesn't make sense. Theoretically, is it not a poor kind of science which says that, because you and I cannot wholly know a thing or exactly define it, it doesn't exist? Just because we cannot scientifically define Americanism would seem a quite insufficient reason for ignoring its existence. What has not existed, rather, may be that intuition of causes, that exact grasp of detail, that art of proportion, that science of social structure, which will enable us to say: this is, in a sum total way, different, *sui generis*, peculiar. After all, a combination does not have to be unique in all its elements, or even in a single one of these elements, to be different in sum total. I will assert that theoretic-

* In late June 1961, by invitation, twelve professors from New Haven gave an "America Week" at the University of Munich—with some thirty-five sessions on the history, law, literature, art, philosophy, psychology and economy of the American people. The present paper reproduces, with but slight textual amendments, one of the addresses delivered on that occasion. The pointed references to Yale's history were suggested by a preceding session on American higher education and by the speaker's notorious interest in the subject.

cally there may be an American Character, even though that character may have been composed of familiar elements, even though it is only the proportions which have been different, even though the resulting society may be mixed, contradictory, pluralistic, unjelled. The very indeterminism of a society may be a distinguishing mark. Theoretically, I see no barrier to believing that an American Character may exist.

On the contrary, on the grounds of common sense, I see many reasons to believe that there is and has been an American Character, for one thing because the most intelligent thinkers and observers have thought so, and have kept on thinking so, across the years. These observers may have differed in the labels they attached to us, they may have argued about the causes of our American peculiarities, but every one of them has thought that the Americans are a little odd in their psychology, and a little different in their social institutions. Crèvecoeur went so far as to call the American a "New Man." And he defined this new man as the Progressive: "He is an American who leaves behind his ancient prejudices and manners." But whatever the definition, from Crèvecoeur to Tocqueville to André Siegfried, from Dickens to Bryce to Denis Brogan, from Lieber to Keyserling or Robert Jungk, the most thoughtful commentators have asserted that there is and has been (and, alas, will continue to be) an American Character.

What caused this Americanism to emerge? Many things, no doubt; far too many even to list in this paper. So I shall confine my attention to a single prevailing characteristic of our people: the migration factor in our history, our excessive mobility. Yet before I take up the Moving American, allow me to recall some classic interpretations which have exercised a strong influence on the writing of American history, and on thinking about America generally.

How are Americans different? In the beginning was the Word, and the Word had it that we were a Chosen People, a seed sifted out of the populations of Europe, a community of saints destined to create a better society on this earth. Like the Israelites of old, we were a people under divine command. As we sang in the old hymn: "O God, beneath thy guiding hand our exiled fathers crossed the sea!"

After about one hundred and fifty years, there succeeded to this Biblical interpretation the thought that, if we were not always more holy, we were at least more free. As an independent nation, our destiny was to bring liberty, self-government, republicanism, the art of federal decentralization to the succor of oppressed mankind. So to the religious mission there succeeded a political mission—which was what Alexis de Tocqueville came to study.

From the beginning, also, there had always been an economic mission. America was El Dorado: the golden opportunity, the country of get-rich-quick, the land of the second chance, the asylum for the poverty-stricken. So, as foreign and native observers alike commented, America was (1) the land of goodness, (2) the land of liberty, and (3) the land of plenty.

For a long while these three national myths satisfied. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, however, there emerged a series of more sophisticated, or "scientific," explanations, and, in particular, one which has exercised enormous influence. What was it changed Europeans into Americans?

For historians of the past generation, the Frontier Hypothesis of Frederick Jackson Turner supplied the classic answer. It was the *frontier* experience which made us different. That is, it was our struggle with the wilderness—it was exploiting the vast free lands of the interior—it was freeing ourselves from the past, "breaking the cake of custom," leaving behind the fetters of settled society and the refinements of civilization to start over again in the woods—it was the lonely pioneers chopping out clearings on the road westward—it was getting together with other pioneers to rebuild a simpler, freer society—it was pulling up stakes and repeating the process—it was moving and moving again until in 1890 the free land and the West were all used up. On the frontier, said Turner, society became atomic, individualism flourished, democracy was generated, national legislation was encouraged. The opportunities of the West also opened a gate of escape for the oppressed of the East, and so contributed to the democratization and Americanization of the seaboard. The frontier also transformed personal character. As Turner phrased it:

That coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness; that practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful to effect great ends; that restless, nervous energy; that dominant individualism, working for good and evil, and withal that buoyancy and exuberance which comes with freedom—these are traits of the frontier, or traits called out elsewhere because of the existence of the frontier.

In effect, said Turner, it was primarily the molding influence of the Frontier which had transformed so many European materials into a new American amalgam. In his oft-quoted phrase, the frontier was "the line of most rapid and effective Americanization."

For a long while this satisfied. But about thirty years ago, when Turner died, and his imaginative idea was making its way into popular speech, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt was using the disappearance of the frontier to justify a welfare state, a number of people discovered political

reasons for questioning the doctrine. Historians themselves grew uneasy. For one thing, the hypothesis seemed too nationalistic, too provincial. For another, the Frontier concept embraced too many overlapping or discordant influences. Again, the frontier cause seemed to be credited with inconsistent results: it made Americans both sectional and nationalistic, cooperative and individualistic, repetitive yet original. Once again, one wondered how many Americans could have been affected. And how were we to stay American after 1890, when the frontier disappeared? In the upshot, the frontier theory seemed to explain far too much by far too little.

Yet, for all this, it was a difficult theory to discard. For if the frontier did not produce the effects ascribed to it, what did?

I believe we now have at least a small part of the answer. It has been hinted by many perceptive observers, not least by Tocqueville or by Francis Lieber or by Sarmiento. I call it the M-Factor in American history.

What made and kept us different was not just the wildness of the North American continent, nor its vast empty spaces, nor even its wealth of resources, powerful as must have been those influences. No. It was, first of all, the M-Factor: the factor of movement, migration, mobility. Colonization was one part of it; immigration, another; the westward movement itself was a fraction, but only a fraction, of the whole. This whole began with many old-world uprootings. It gathered force with the transatlantic passage. It flooded on to the farmlands of the mid-continent. But increasingly it meant movement also *away* from the frontier, from farm to town, from region to region, from city to city. Individuals, families, churches, villages, on occasion whole countrysides have participated—and continue to participate. Francis Lieber said that in America he felt as if tied to the arms of a windmill. To him, movement had become our “historical task.” And Sarmiento was so staggered by our propensity for traveling around that he predicted that, if the trump of doom were suddenly to sound, it would surprise two-thirds of the Americans, out on the roads like ants.

In all this, I repeat, the frontier played an important but limited part. For if people moved to the frontier, they moved also before there was a frontier, moved behind and away from the frontier, and kept on moving even more enthusiastically when the frontier closed.

Let us put it this way: Frederick Jackson Turner was a great poet-historian, who more than half sensed the power that was in migration, but then imprisoned this giant in the rough homespun of the vanishing pioneers. So we of a later generation must once again return to the great question: What has made and still makes Europeans into restless Americans? I venture herewith some tentative speculations, in the hope that we will find in them ideas worth working out.

My basic proposition is obvious: Movement means change. To transfer is in some part to transform. "*Wanderung meint wandlung*," as the Germans put it. And all forms of movement, from mass exodus to simple milling around, have shared in this subtle process of alteration.

Why should motion cause change? First, because *institutions* do not move easily. A few will be destroyed; many more are damaged; nearly all are shaken, and have to be pruned, simplified, or otherwise adjusted to survive the transplanting. To a degree *displacement* means *replacement* of institutions.

Why again should migration cause modification? Because the migrants are not average people. As a group they do not represent a fair cross-section of the society they are leaving; as individuals they tend toward exaggerations of one sort or another; as settlers they won't wish to reproduce the society they have left, or succeed in reproducing it even should they so desire.

This brings us to the third great reason for change, the new circumstances: that is, the hardships and accidents of the crossing, the strangers encountered on the road, the unaccustomed climate and geography of their new environment. Movement means exposure, and successive exposures compel unexpected changes.

It may be urged that more credit should go to the strangers and the new countries. Or it may be observed that migrations are often the result or the symptom of changes that have already taken place in the parent society. And with both these ideas I agree. On the one hand, many immigrants were Americanized only long after they got over. On the other, not a few American types, like the puritan and the businessman, had already appeared in sixteenth-century Europe. So migration served both as prologue and as epilogue; it has been the means of change and the effect of change (as well as the cause). Yet no movement of people or institutions, however started or motivated, can take place without further alterations. For migration selects special types for moving; it subjects them to exceptional strains on the journey; and it then compels them to rebuild, with liberty to choose or refuse from the mail-order catalogue of Western experience. On top of all that, repeated movements, such as we in our country have known, seem to have a cumulative, or progressive, effect.

What parts of a civilization, what elements in a society, does the M-Factor attack? Apparently, all parts. Before his death Ellsworth Huntington, who was one of the earliest American scientists to become curious about this phenomenon, came to see in migration a selective force so strong that it affected the stock and temperament of a people as well

as its culture. After some hesitations, I believe we will concur. For I believe it can be demonstrated that movement changes the physical population, the institutions and group structures, the social habits and traditions, the personal character and attitudes of the migrants.

Allow me to offer some random, familiar illustrations at this point.

The American population? It was formed and re-formed by migration. To begin with we were all immigrants. Moreover, because the Atlantic was open, people from many lands and nations came to these shores, until we were the leading conglomerate of the West, a Rainbow Division of Europe. Political scientists call us a pluralistic society. Sociologists find culture conflicts endemic.

Again because the migrants did not all come at once, but in intermittent surges, and because in free movements the later comers, as strangers, are handicapped and must enter the lower levels of their class and occupation, the natives or earlier-comers have repeatedly found themselves pushed upstairs, to the more skilled jobs, to the managerial posts, to the position of employers and capitalists. At the same time, moving upstairs was difficult, so difficult that the older stock felt it had to cut down on the number of its own children, if it was to graduate them into the higher levels of living—so difficult that the next-to-last comers tended to resent the labor competition of the newcomers and tried to exclude them. Thus the Yankees industrialized with the aid of other people's children. Meanwhile these laboring generations, as they matured, tried to keep the jobs for themselves and, whether as skilled artisans or later trade union bosses, as Know-Nothings in the 1850s or McCarthyites a century later, became the strongest champions of immigration restriction, the most suspicious of new foreigners, the uncompromising 100 percenters. So from 1820 to 1920 what ought to have been for the Anglo-American population a series of European additions became instead a progressive physical substitution. And after 1920 the freedom to immigrate was shut off by the votes of the very groups which had benefited from it earlier. But why did not and has not this stepladder movement of infiltration produced a stratified, hierarchical, skyscraper society? The answer is again the M-Factor, but this time internal migration. Inside, the freedom to move remained, and a man could get out of his cellar in town by building a one-story cabin up-country, or he could come off his eroded acres into Chicago, where the rising buildings and professions had elevators in them.

If we now turn from questions of nationality and occupation to the age and sex characteristics of our population, we find that here, too, the M-Factor has left deep marks. For three hundred years, or at least until the

great depression, we were a young country. We boasted of it. Foreigners rarely failed to mention the childlike innocence, the boyish enthusiasm, the youthful drive and bustle and activity-for-activity's sake of these strange Americans. The youth of America, quipped Oscar Wilde, is its oldest tradition. And perhaps we were guilty of a certain "shortage of adults." At least the demographers have proved that our Constitution was made for adolescents—as late as 1820 the median age of the population was only 16 years, and it was not until well into the twentieth century that that median soared above 25. That is, it was only after preventive medicine had started to prolong the lives of the infirm, and immigration restriction had cut down on the annual influx of bachelors and young marrieds, that we first really began to feel middle-aged. How does the M-Factor figure in this? Well, students of migration have rediscovered the fact that it is overwhelmingly the young, between the ages of 15 and 25, who move—and in the first waves or pioneer phases, it is primarily the young men. The frontiers, whether of farm or factory, start emphatically male (*Oh Susannah, don't you cry for me!*).

Yet the men were not to have it all their own way, for the M-Factor can give things a sardonic twist. Migration has perennially represented rebellion against past tyrannies or authorities, against the father no less than against the lord or priest, against the husband no less than against the father. Thus, after the first settlements had been established, the open spaces and open opportunities of this country just invited the younger generation to leave home and strike out on their own, and the able young men accepted the invitation. Even today it is the rare son of ability who does not insist on leaving the town where he was born to try to make his way in a larger world. Meanwhile the pioneer women, being scarce as well as weak, found that they had inadvertently acquired a scarcity value. For them, as well as for the children, migration meant progressive emancipation—an emancipation eventually crowned by woman suffrage, Mother's Day and much symbolic statuary. Thus, as our lonely forefathers pushed relentlessly westward, and the idea of equality came galloping up behind, the Pioneer Mother replaced the Pilgrim Father on the sculptor's pedestal in the town square. (Whether the statuesque Miss America has now replaced her bronzed mother in the popular imagination I leave to braver men to say—we may note only the querulous complaints of our English and Continental friends that we are today a woman-run and child-dominated subcivilization.)

If we next pursue the M-Factor from our population to our economy, what will we find? An economy in which transportation has loomed extraordinarily large—witness the railroads, the automobile age and the airplane industry of today—witness also in our myths how prairie schoom-

ers and pony express, paddle wheelers and the long whistle of the trains, Ford cars and the Spirit of St. Louis have entered into the folklore of our people.

*The wheels are singing on the railroad track
If you go, you can't come back.
Hear the whistle blow.*

For Americans, it has been said, the automobile restates a national principle, since, after all, the settler was the first auto-mobile. In the U.S. a mile is something to put behind you. Where else would you find a place named Stillwater Junction?

More soberly, if our interest runs rather to our religious peculiarities, it might be observed that the need for settlers, and the ease of exit and entrance from one colony to the other, made toleration and disestablishment of churches almost inevitable from the start. The same ease of escape then long made it difficult for the states to impose adequate taxation, or any other really burdensome regulation, on their footloose citizens. A Virginian did not have to stay in Virginia. A Yorker could go to Michigan. If a business failed, or a marriage, the simplest thing was to decamp. Other states would welcome you. So, by and by, Reno became a monument to our vagrant fancies in matters matrimonial.

Again, politically our moving habits not only made possible but reinforced a decentralizing, federal tendency. Legally, the absence of customary law in the new settlements must have fostered the excessive American dependence on statute law. Migration also splintered our first establishments of higher education, in the sense that it led to the founding of many colleges instead of concentration on a few national universities. Thus my own institution, through the efforts of its migrating graduates, became a mother of colleges a full century before it could accumulate enough substance in New Haven to rival the great foundations of Europe. Finally, our peculiar instability of family homesite, and the lack of a national capital or home, shifted emotional loyalties to things that could be carried with us, such as declarations of principle and constitutional theories. And eventually, to bind ourselves together, we were forced to insist with an unusual, almost tyrannical, emphasis on such assimilative codes and social practices as are commonly summed up in that telltale phrase: "The American WAY of Life."

But enough of such random illustrations.

Let us now proceed to ask, on a more systematic basis, how, just how, have migration and movement acted to convert Europeans into something rich and strange?

Considering the matter first on a broad social scale, I would propose that the M-Factor has been (turn by turn or even all at once): (1) the great Eliminator; (2) the persistent Distorter; (3) an arch-Conservator; (4) an almost irresistible Disintegrator or Atomizer; (5) a heart Stimulant or Energizer; and (6) the prime source of Optimism in the American atmosphere, a never-failing ozone of hope. Also, (7) the Secularizer and Externalizer of our beliefs, and (8) the Equalizer and Democratizer of social classes. Indeed a little reflection will suggest still other ways in which migration has shaken its European ingredients into new patterns. But on this occasion let us consider merely some of these eight, with just a hint or two of historic events by way of illumination.

Migration was the great Eliminator? Nothing could be plainer. In theory you can't take everything with you when you move. Some goods are too bulky or delicate to be put on ship; some household possessions will fall out of the covered wagon. Again, in a free migration, not all elements in a society will wish to move; the dregs will be too spiritless and impoverished to emigrate unaided; the ruling classes entirely too successful and satisfied. Check this theory against history and what do we find? In the early colonization there came out of England the rising middle classes, with some admixture of the lowest elements, but with only a few aristocratic leaders. Ours started, therefore, as a decapitated society, virtually without nobles or bishops, judges or learned lawyers, artists, playwrights or great poets. Taking a hopeful view, a student of mine once maintained that settlement transferred the accent from *nobility* to *ability*. Considering the transfer culturally, however, one must recognize a tragic impoverishment. Despite all our gains of goodness or plenty or freedom, the men of the highest attainments and greatest skills had stayed home—and with them their arts and refinements, their leisure-class culture. The same process of abandonment, of flight from the elite and their standards, would be discernible later in the settlement of the West. Axiomatically, the fine arts, the theoretical sciences, the most advanced tools and machinery, are not found or produced on moving frontiers. Like war or fire or inflation, migration has been a great destroyer of inherited treasure.

At first glance such destruction may seem only temporary, to be replaced "when we have time." Yet meanwhile some elements are missing, the balance is changed, the old society has been distorted—and before long one may get reconciled to doing without. On top of this, the M-Factor has promoted distortion in an even more drastic way. For moving forces the reclassification of values. Why? Because the land of destination attracts more strongly for one or two presumed goods than for the others (as for economic opportunity perhaps, or political freedom,

or the right to worship in one's own way). So if a family is to go, they have to believe, or persuade themselves, that the particular goods to be realized are more important to them than all the other social goods, which may be diminished, or even be left behind altogether. If similar movements are made by later generations for like reasons, then these cherished values may rise almost to the status of holy commandments or natural rights, and in the nineteenth century become the polar magnets in a new value system. By elimination and wilful distortion a moving people becomes a narrower society: thinner and shallower, yet in some things much more intense.

This calls attention to a third and almost paradoxical characteristic of migration: its conservatism. People moved to save as well as to improve. But when they found they couldn't take everything with them, then a curious thing often happened. They came to value even more highly what they had succeeded in preserving. Having suffered such privations, having sacrificed so many other possessions, they clung to what was saved with a fiercer passion. Witness the Puritans with their Wilderness Zion, the Mormons under Brigham Young, or even Turner's leapfrogging pioneers. For these last, as for so many others, it had become easier to move than to change their vocation, their habits, their antiquated methods. To put this bluntly, for them the cheap lands of the West made it easier to keep on with their soil-mining and strip-farming, and possible to avoid such painful changes as learning a proper care of the land, or the new crop rotation of the advanced parts of Europe and the East. So for the American farmer—or agriculturally speaking—the westward movement became the great postponement of American history. They profited personally, but it was a postponement nonetheless—just as in the flight of the New England textile industry to the South in our times. In France, before De Gaulle, the peasant and small shopkeeper clung stubbornly to his land or shop, but politically moved constantly to the left. That is, economically, he might be a selfish reactionary, and even vote for Poujade, but by changing the name of his party leftward he was sure he was making "progress." Did not some of our American pioneers give themselves the same feeling of progress by moving westward? Migration, I would suggest, could be a way of promoting change—and of avoiding it, too. Flight can be an escape from the future as well as from the past.

The M-Factor, we must next realize, was an almost irresistible Dis-integrator or Atomizer. Few authoritarian institutions from Europe could stand the strain of Atlantic distances or the explosion of American space. So either they decentralized or died. Witness the early church. In Virginia the episcopal organization proved so little suited to the far-

flung tobacco plantations that the Church of England almost withered away, whereas in New England the Puritan branch of the same church developed a localized or Congregational organization, and flourished. Then, later, when the Irish immigration poured life and vigor into American Catholicism, the hierarchy, intuitively recognizing that moving out on the lands might cripple the Church as well as weaken the individual's faith, did their best to hold the new arrivals in the seaport towns, at least until some interior communities could be effectively churchied. Ultimately, I believe it will be found that our Catholics have moved less often, less widely and less soon than their Protestant neighbors, hence have missed certain corrosive acids and opportunities in the M-Factor.

One of these opportunities, of course, was to stand on your own feet, to make your own way, and if need be to move again. In our expanding settlements the arm of the State (like the authority of the bishops) shriveled, and a kind of physical individualism sprouted. On the trail, society tended to break down into chance parties of moving families or individuals. And at the destination everything was to be reconstructed. It took energy and courage to move, and more energy to make the move succeed. Hence migration was a great stimulant to action—and when such action repeatedly succeeded (or, as we may say, “worked”), then perhaps the beginnings of a habit of action had been established, both for oneself and for one's neighbor. The American reputation for activism, as for self-help and neighborly helpfulness, surely needs no underlining.

Migration was not only the Destroyer, Distorter, Conservator, Atomizer and Energizer of western society, but its most effective “Optimizer.” First of all, out of the welter of old-world classes and temperaments it selected the up-and-coming and the hopeful. Pessimists didn't bother; you had to be an optimist to move. Next it required sacrifice and waiting, and so captured many believers, the men of faith. Finally, it rewarded the successful—and those who weren't lucky were given a second try. America the Golden was the land of the second chance. And from failure it offered a full timetable of escapes.

I realize that it is customary at this point to do a ritualistic dance around the statue of the golden calf—and credit our optimism or success primarily to the sheer wealth of the continent. But if we did become a “people of plenty,” and if that plenty left its mark even on the size of our automobiles, let us not forget that the beginnings were almost invariably hard, and what the land long offered most of was tough places and violent weather. What kind of plenty was it converted the gravel patch of New England into smiling farms? Lots of hard work, I should

say, and plenty of faith. Again, who but a lunkheaded optimist would grow wheat in western Kansas? Or who in his right mind would go settle in Dakota? No. The Black Hills gold and the U.S. farm bounties, these bonanzas were later and almost accidental discoveries. In my book, optimism made more states than vice versa. Many a town existed first, or only, in the imagination. "Boost, don't knock" has been the slogan of new communities just abuilding, and the booster is Mr. Johnny-come-lately. We began as migrants, that is, wishful thinkers, and each wave of immigration, each boatload from abroad, brought us fresh injections of this heart stimulant. For Europe's poor, the freedom to come changed "tomorrow" from a threat into a promise. For its men of faith, the act of moving and moving again substituted "the future" for "the heavenly hereafter." And with time the mission of American idealists came to be in and for this world. From infant damnation to the social gospel is but a long tramp.

I hope I may be forgiven if I now pass over the secularizing and externalizing influences of mobility (which Sorokin has explored) in favor of its equalitarian and leveling effects. For these democratic tendencies seem to me particularly important, and I have stumbled on some odd illustrations.

Here the theoretical argument would be that the M-Factors are often democratic in their consequences, first because for the lower classes emigration means "*getting out from under*," the first step on the road up; secondly because the hardships of the journey are no respecters of birth (witness the miserable failure of the early "Gentlemen" of the Jamestown Colony in Virginia). In the third place, and most significantly, the process of resettlement is a process of making new mixtures, out of a gathering of strangers, each without authority, credentials, reputation or other priority than that of arrival. In a new community (frontier or town) family and past performance hardly count. Everyone has to make his own mark, and stands equal with his fellow-strangers. The social competition, as it were, starts over, with all the camaraderie and "gamesmanship" of a new catch-as-catch-can. Migration has been a great Mix-master. And mixtures of anonymous elements are necessarily more democratic, at least at first. So much for doctrine. Now for my illustrations.

My first illustration, if you will allow the personal reference, comes out of an effort to understand my own university. How explain Yale College of the 1890s, a college that prided itself on its democracy? It is true there were a few Whitneys, Vanderbilts or Harknesses, with social pretensions and inordinate allowances. Yet evidently the game was wide open, and any self-help student from no matter how humble a background or obscure a school had a chance to show what he could do and

rise to the top and be the honor man in the Senior Society elections, if he had what it took. Now how was it possible that a college like Yale, with almost two hundred years of tradition and family attachments, could still offer so fair and square an opportunity to all comers? Because Yale was, in a sense, an annually renewed community, and because its constituents came, not just from around New Haven or New England but from all over the country, without prior knowledge of each other or claims to authority. It was a skeptical Harvard professor, European born, who first taught me this truth. Listen to George Santayana:

The relations of one Yale student to another are completely simple and direct. They are like passengers in a ship. . . . They live in a sort of primitive brotherhood with a ready enthusiasm for every good or bad project, and a contagious good humor.

. . . Nothing could be more American. . . . Here is sound, healthy principle, but no scrupulousness, love of life, trust in success, a ready jocoseness, a democratic amiability, and a radiant conviction that there is nothing better than oneself. It is a boyish type of character, earnest and quick in things practical, hasty and frivolous in things intellectual, but the boyishness is a healthy one, and in a young man, as in a young nation, it is perfection to have only the faults of youth.

What Yale College and the Frontier, and indeed much of the rest of America, had in common, Santayana suggests, was young Americans in a new mixture.

If this first illustration comes with a strange sound, let me hasten to propose my second. It concerns dogs. In France, on sabbatical a few years ago, I seemed to run into only two kinds of dogs. One was the pampered, pedigreed poodle, sitting with his mistress in the restaurants, even eating from her plate: the fine flower of canine aristocracy, and most grandly indifferent to strangers. The second type was nondescript and fierce, the savage watchdog at peasant doorway or château gate, guarding the family domain and inherited possessions, "*les situations acquises*." This character disliked strangers on sight, and promptly tried to chew them up. After one or two close calls with such receptionists, I came back to the States—and found dogs of all sorts of ancestry, chiefly mixed. But what they showed mostly was curiosity, and a sort of friendly expectancy. Their tails said: "Howdy, stranger." For they were not guarding any particular place. They belonged to traveling men, and had been around.

My third illumination, if we can call it that, concerns money. Foreigners still accuse us of being excessively money-minded, of measuring every-

thing by the almighty dollar. Our defenders answer: it's not the money, it's the power and the achievement. You make a million to prove you're a man; then, like as not, you give it away. After all, you can't take it with you.

Yet can't you? As I was once thinking about the M-Factor, it suddenly came to me that on a journey, or in a new community, money was one of the few things that you could take along. Cash took the place of your pedigree or family letter of credit. It spoke with a certain authority, East or West. Money was power? Yes. But especially it was currency: the power that you could take with you. So on the moving frontier, in the new towns, it was differentiation by dollars that first disturbed the democracy of new mixtures.

Having got diverted by some of the social consequences of the M-Factor, I cannot do justice to some of the most interesting effects of all: the influence of migration on personal character and attitudes. In the moment remaining let me merely suggest possibilities.

Was it not the psychological imperatives of migration, even more than frontier land, that helped make and keep us a nation of optimists? Was it not the physical demands of colonization and resettlement, as well as Calvinism and middle-class origins, that made us into such a nation of workers, activists, materialists, instrumentalists? The difference between what André Siegfried calls "homo faber" or the American, and homo sapiens or the European, is it not perhaps that one of these characters has been sitting still? Whereas we, poor pilgrims, have itching feet. Restless to start with, we have become more so with repeated displacement. *Here today and gone tomorrow*. The wandering mania has got into our blood, our houses, our attention, our very ways of speech. *Come on! Get going! Don't be a stick-in-the-mud! You don't want to get left, do you? It's a good year to make the move. So long! I don't know where I'm going, but I'm on my way. Anywhere I hang my hat is home, sweet home, to me.*

In the revealing American vernacular it is impressive to observe how many things are defined in terms of movement. A man *on the road* to success is a *comer*, a *go-getter*. *That's going some*, we say—and by and by we listen for the magic words that we also have *arrived*. So also with failure. *He missed the bus*. Or, *he missed the boat*. *He is not getting anywhere*. *She got left in the lurch*. *He got bogged down with administration*. A man who is growing old is *slowing up*, and then by and by he reaches *the end of the trail*. Death itself used to be spoken of as *crossing the divide*.

Reinforcing the testimony of our vernacular are our social habits. Unable to stay put, thrown among fellow transients, having newcomers

flood in about us, we have perforce become hospitable, and genial with strangers. Not knowing their ancestry, and caring less, first names have been all we needed. There is a fellowship in our country, known to some of you perhaps, where last names are absolutely prohibited. And, incidentally, this illustrates another American trait: our propensity for "joining." Lonely from disassociation, we will make ten lodges grow where but one *bierstube* stood before. Frightened and not quite able to bear our independence, we oscillate between assertiveness and timidity, between an almost violent aggression and an almost cowardly conformity. Imaginative and suggestible, we are notorious for our fads and our instability. Insecure in our values, we have become adept at inventing dogmas to comfort ourselves. Not quite sure that our abandonment of the old world and of the past was justified, we have long been haunted by ambivalent feelings: a mixture of scorn and guilt complex about the older civilizations of Europe.

"It is a complex fate, being an American," said Henry James, "and one of the responsibilities it entails is fighting against a superstitious valuation of Europe." Ralph Waldo Emerson felt the same way: "Can we never extract the tapeworm of Europe from the brain of our countrymen?"

Finally, because migration appealed for diverse reasons especially to extremists—to saints and real sinners, to fundamentalists and free thinkers, to dreamers and "tough bastards," to groupists and individualists side by side—our society has never received its fair share of balanced, equable, middle-of-the-road temperaments, but has been shot through with violent contradictions. Hence so many of our seeming inconsistencies, to this very day.

To me the migrant seems not a single or a simple character, but is he not recognizably different—and American?

Paradoxically, if we turn up the other side of the coin, there are the Europeans, fearful of becoming Americanized. Is this entirely out of weakness, or envy, or admiration? Hardly. Let us rather take note of a curious and unappreciated development. In the last generation mobility has swept the continent. With their *vacances payés*, their *campings*, their folkwagons, our cousins have found a new freedom. So, if today there is Americanization in Europe, and if our ways of life seem to be coming closer together, may it not be in part because the Old World societies are as never before in movement, and because Siegfried's "homo sapiens," too, is taking to the roads?

ARTICLES IN AMERICAN STUDIES, 1961

This is the eighth issue of the annual annotated interdisciplinary bibliography of current articles in American Studies. Compiled primarily for those persons interested in the broad implications of American Civilization, it does not pretend to be a comprehensive listing of all items in the field that appeared during the year. Rather, it is quite selective, the principal editorial criterion for listing an article being the extent to which it manifests a relationship between two or more aspects of American Civilization. Even so, limitations of space make it impossible to print many items that the editor would otherwise include.

History & Political Science has been separated in this year's bibliography into distinct categories. Other categories have been retained as they were.

Items for the 1962 bibliography should be sent to the Bibliographer, Professor Donald N. Koster, Department of English, Adelphi College, Garden City, L. I., New York. They should be of interdisciplinary character.

The Committee on Bibliography of the American Studies Association of Metropolitan New York is responsible for this work. The Bibliographer wishes to thank all of those who have given so generously of their time in the reviewing, and to thank Adelphi College for providing financial aid and secretarial assistance in the preparation of manuscript and otherwise.

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To indicate fields of interdisciplinary relevance, the following symbols have been employed:

A—Art & Architecture

E—Economics

ED—Education

F—Folklore

H—History

L—Language

Law—Law

Lit—Literature & Drama

MC—Mass Culture

MU—Music

P—Philosophy

POL—Political Science

PSY—Psychiatry & Psychology

PA—Public Address

R—Religion

SC—Science & Technology

S—Sociology & Anthropology

ART & ARCHITECTURE

Alexander, Robert L. "Architecture and Aristocracy: The Cosmopolitan Style of Latrobe and Godefroy," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LVI (Sept. 1961), 229-43.

The efforts of two American architects to house the new merchant-prince "in an architecture symbolic of his position." (A-H)

Ashton, Dore. "Quality in Art," *Arts & Architecture*, XXVIII (Oct. 1961), 14-15, 28-30.

A plea for the restoration of art training to the area of the humanities. (A-MC-ED)

Bell, Daniel. "The Three Faces of New York," *Dissent*, VIII (Summer 1961), 222-32.

Evaluation of a demographic survey of New York City recommending a Master plan to solve future problems of economics, traffic and housing. (A-POL-S-E)

Brookins, Jean A. "A Historical Mansion: The William G. Le Duc House," *Minn. Hist.*, XXXVII (Mar. 1961), 189-203.

Describes a fine example of so-called Rhineland Gothic Architecture dating from the 1860s at Hastings, Minn., and tells of family life in the late 19th century. (A-H)

Burchard, John Ely. "Debating the FDR Memorial," *Arch. Rec.*, CXXIX (Mar. 1961), 177-82.

An attempt to establish valid criteria for evaluating the competition projects for the FDR Memorial. (A-MC-S)

Carson, Gerald. "They Knew What They Liked," *Amer. Heritage*, XII (Aug. 1961), 55-63.

Four popular paintings of the last century and the reasons for their widespread fame. (A-MC)

Cater, Douglas. "The Kennedy Look in the Arts," *Horizon*, III (Sept. 1961), 4-17.

The stimulation of the arts provided by the interest and programs of the President. (A-Lit-MC-MU-POL)

Coolidge, John. "Hingham Builds a Meetinghouse," *New Eng. Quar.*, XXXIV (Dec. 1961), 435-61.

The history of early Hingham, Mass., and its meetinghouse, sole survivor of a once prevalent type. (A-H-S)

Cummings, Abbott Lowell. "Crowninshield-Bentley House: The House and Its People," *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, XCVII (Apr. 1961), 82-97.

A description of the house, the Crowninshield family and the family's descendants, based largely on the diary of William Bentley, a boarder. Profusely illustrated. (A-H)

Davidson, Marshall H. "Penn's City: American Athens," *Amer. Heritage*, XII (Feb. 1961), 10-29, 103-7.

The leading position of Philadelphia at the time of the American Revolution with contemporary views of its appearance. (A-H-S)

Fales, Dean A. Jr. "Crowninshield-Bentley House: The Furnishings of the House," *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, XCVII (Apr. 1961), 98-128.

Detailed description of rooms in the restored house, with an inventory of the Crowninshield estate in 1761. Profusely illustrated. (A-H-E)

Fisher, Marvin. "Functional Adaptation or Aesthetic Devaluation: Two European Views of Early American Industrial Design," *Jour. of Aesthetics & Art Criticism*, XIX (Summer 1961), 433-37.

Pre-Civil War commentaries by European observers on the functional character and the planned obsolescence of American industrial products in the early years of mass production. (A-E-H-SC)

Fitch, James M. "In Defense of the City," *Arts & Architecture*, LXXVIII (Jan. 1961), 16-17, 28-29.

The need to control traffic and redesign streets and spaces to preserve the essential cultural advantages of the central city. (A-H-S)

Forest, James T. "What a sight it was!" *Amer. Heritage*, XII (Feb. 1961), 46-55.

William de la Montagne Crary paints the frontier. (A-F-H)

Horn, Stanley F. "The Hermitage, Home of Andrew Jackson," *Tenn. Hist. Quar.*, XX (Mar. 1961), 3-19.

Historical and architectural account. Illustrated. (A-H)

Kuh, Katharine. "Testament to Artistic Vision," *Sat. Rev.*, XLIII (May 20, 1961), 29-30.

Commendation for recent exhibits at the Museum of Modern Art. (A-MC)

Labudde, Kenneth J. "Regionalist Painting and American Studies," *Jour. of Central Miss. Valley Amer. Studies Assoc.*, II (Fall 1961), 49-65.

Relates regionalist art to modern abstractionism as an expression of American cultural attitudes. (A-S)

Lawing, Hugh A. "Andrew Johnson National Monument," *Tenn. Hist. Quar.*, XX (June 1961), 103-19.

Historical and architectural account of Johnson's house, tailor shop and tomb at Greeneville. Illustrated. (A-H)

Lewis, J. Eugene. "Cravens House: Landmark of Lookout Mountain," *Tenn. Hist. Quar.*, XX (Sept. 1961), 203-21.

History and architecture of house dating from Civil War era. Illustrated. (A-H)

Lynch, Kevin. "The Pattern of the Metropolis," *Daedalus*, XC (Winter 1961), 79-98.

Various designs toward which the city planner might strive depending upon the problems and objectives of urban rehabilitation. (A-MC-SC-S)

Lynes, Russell. "Everything's Up-to-Date in Texas . . . but Me," *Harper's*, CCXXII (May 1961), 38-42.

Contrasts of 19th- and 20th-century architecture in the superstate. (A-MC)

McNamee, M. B., S.J. "American Catholic Apathy to Art," *Cath. World*, CXCI (Mar. 1961), 352-58.

Regrets and accounts for the lack of interest in and knowledge of genuine religious art. Suggests means for improvement. (A-R)

Michener, James A. "Should Artists Boycott New York?" *Sat. Rev.*, XLIV (Aug. 26, 1961), 12, 48.

Abuse of the contemporary artist in America as exemplified by the eviction of New York painters from their lofts. (A-POL-S)

Prezzolini, Giuseppe. "Nast and Garibaldi" [trans. from *Il Resto Del Carlino*, Bologna (Oct. 28, 1960), *Atlas* Apr. (1961), 37-39.

Thomas Nast, "probably the only American with Garibaldi," covered the expedition of the Thousand and left some fifty illustrations. (A-H-MC)

Rae, Edwin C. "The Education of the Artist," *Art Jour.*, XX (Winter 1960-61), 87-89.

Opinions on the topic by 60 exhibitors in University of Illinois exhibition, Spring 1959. (A-ED)

Richey, Elinor. "What Chicago Could Be Proud Of," *Harper's*, CCXXIII (Dec. 1961), 34-39.

Defeat of the forces of culture by politics and business in the effort to save Louis Sullivan's Garrick Theatre. (A-E-POL)

Sandoz, Mari. "The Look of the Last Frontier," *Amer. Heritage*, XII (June 1961), 41-53.

Accurate visual records of the midwest of pioneer days are to be found in the paintings of Harvey Dunn. (A-H-S)

Snyder, Martin P. "William L. Breton, Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia Artist," *Pa. Mag. Hist. & Biog.*, LXXXV (Apr. 1961), 178-209.

History of Breton's career and use of his drawings in restoration of Society Hill section of Philadelphia. (A-H)

Thornburgh, Luella. "Paul 'Flying Eagle' Goodbear," *N. Mex. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI (Oct. 1961), 257-62.

The Cheyenne Indian artist and writer. A brief article of his on the Cheyenne sun dance is appended. (A-S-F)

Tolles, Frederick B. "The Primitive Painter as Poet," *Bull. Friends Hist. Assoc.*, L (Spring 1961), 12-30.

Edward Hick's versions of the "Peaceable Kingdom" appear to have been inspired by some verse he wrote on the progress of religious liberty. (A-Lit-R-H)

Walker, Leslie C. Jr. "Art, Science and the University Today," *Art Jour.*, XX (Winter 1961), 89-91.

Difficulties of the art historian in finding financial support for research and publication as compared to his scientific confreres. (A-ED-SC)

Walne, Peter. "The Great Seal Deputed of New Jersey," *N. J. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, LXXIX (Oct. 1961), 223-31.

A study of the design and history of the seals of New Jersey between 1702 and 1768, principally drawn from English sources. (A-H)

Wheeler, Robert G. "The House of Jeremias Van Rensselaer, 1658-1666," *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, XLV (Jan. 1961), 75-88.

Construction and furnishing of early brick home in upper Hudson Valley. (A-H)

ECONOMICS

Anderson, Clifford B. "The Metamorphosis of American Agrarian Idealism in the 1920's and 1930's," *Agricultural Hist.* (Oct. 1961), 182-88.

Traces disintegration of faith in the agrarian myth among farmers themselves during two decades of economic disillusionment. (E-H-L-P)

Callahan, Raymond E. "Leonard Ayres and the Educational Balance Sheet," *Hist. of Ed. Quar.*, I (Mar. 1961), 5-13.

His role in extending "Taylorism" into educational administration. (E-ED-H-POL)

Chamberlain, John. "A History of American Business," in 8 parts, monthly, *Fortune*, LXV (May-Dec. 1961).

(1) "Free Enterprise Before the Revolution;" (2) "Businessmen Join in Unbusinesslike War;" (3) "The Quest for Capital and the Sprouting of Invention;" (4) "Early America Goes Places;" (5) "Frontier and Factory;" (6) "The Pre-Civil War Speedup;" (7) "The Civil War and Its Aftermath;" (8) "The Gilded Age." (E-H-POL-S)

Chase, Edward T. "Will Growth Increase Federal Control?" *Atlantic*, CCVII (Aug. 1961), 32-36.

A coming crisis in our economic growth as related to private vs. public spending. (E-POL)

Cochran, Thomas C. "Did the Civil War Retard Industrialization?" *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLVIII (Sept. 1961), 197-210.

Argues from a close examination of census statistics that the Civil War, contrary to generally accepted interpretation, retarded American industrial development. (E-H)

Corson, John L. "More Government in Business," *Harvard Bus. Rev.*, XXXIX (May-June 1961), 81-88.

Federal activity in the business sphere will broaden from regulation and control to promotion and paternalism. (E-POL)

Deutsch, Karl W. & Alexander Eckstein. "National Industrialization and the Declining Share of the International Economic Sector, 1890-1959," *World Politics*, XIII (Jan. 1961), 267-99.

In accord with Sombart's view that industrialization would reduce the importance of trade, the U.S. ratio of trade to national income has been in a long-term declining trend. (E-H-S)

Dunbar, Gary S. "Colonial Carolina Cowpens," *Agricultural Hist.* (July 1961), 125-30.

Fully documented summation of the Carolina origins of the American range cattle industry, and the extent of its relationship to the "cowboy culture" of the western plains frontier. (E-H-Lit)

Fitch, James Marston. "When Housekeeping Became a Science," *Amer. Heritage*, XII (Aug. 1961), 34-37.

A study of the pioneers in the development of the equipment and techniques of domestic science in the mid-19th century. (E-H-A)

Galbraith, John Kenneth. "A Positive Approach to Economic Aid," *Foreign Affairs*, XXXIX (Apr. 1961), 444-57.

Although our economic aid may serve the basic needs of capital, technicians and food, we should also strive to get at the roots of poverty—illiteracy and social injustice. (E-POL)

Gas, Oscar. "Political Economy and the New Administration," *Commentary*, XXXI (Apr. 1961) 277-87.

In its early days, the economics of the New Frontier is hardly distinguishable from that of the Old Order. (E-POL)

Gipson, Lawrence H. "Virginia Planter Debts Before the American Revolution," *Va. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, LXXIX (July 1961), 259-77.

The 18th-century debts of Virginia planters to British merchants proved an influential factor in the political line-up of Virginia during the Revolution. (E-H)

Hammond, Bray. "The North's Empty Purse, 1861-1862," *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, LXVII (Oct. 1961), 1-18.

Origin of the "greenbacks." Despite the desperate state of Union finances, hard-currency adherents fought to prevent the introduction of legal tender notes for Treasury financing. (E-H)

Hansen, W. Lee. "The 'Shortage' of Engineers," *Rev. of Economics & Statistics*, XLIII (Aug. 1961), 251-56.

Statistics indicate that the long-talked-of shortage of engineers is really a very recent phenomenon, dating only from the end of the 1950s. (E-ED)

Hazard, Leland. "Are Big Businessmen Crooks?" *Atlantic*, CCVIII (Nov. 1961), 57-61.

The men who violated anti-trust laws "were guilty, but guilty in a system which is itself not without blame." (E-POL)

Hodges, Donald C. "The Rise and Fall of Militant Trade Unionism," *Amer. Jour. of Economics & Sociology*, XX (Oct. 1961), 483-96.

Disillusioned syndicalists have compromised with business unionism. Militant unionism shifts position to meet changing types of opposition. (E-S-H)

Jellison, Richard M. "Paper Currency in Colonial South Carolina: A Reappraisal," *S. C. Hist. Mag.*, LXII (July 1961), 134-47.

A reappraisal of its importance to the economic growth of South Carolina prior to 1731. (E-H)

Jensen, Oliver. "Your Friendly Fiduciary," *Horizon*, III (Mar. 1961), 120-22.

Banks are hard at work in changing their image from that of austere conservatives to friendly, even folksy, neighbors. (E-MC)

Johns, Roe L. & William P. McGuire. "Economics and Finance of Education," *Rev. of Ed. Research*, XXXV (Oct. 1961), 417-27.

The tools of economic theory are now being used to measure the costs and returns of education from an individual and national viewpoint. (E-ED)

Phillips, W. M. Jr. "The Boycott: A Negro Community in Conflict," *Phylon*, XXII (Spring 1961), 24-30.

The intensity of Negro solidarity in a local area is demonstrated by the effectiveness of its economic boycott of segregating stores. (E-S)

Raskin, A. H. "The Squeeze on the Union," *Atlantic*, CCVII (Apr. 1961), 55-60.

At the same time public support of unions wanes, union membership declines because of the rapid development of labor-saving techniques. (E-S)

Selekman, Benjamin M. "Businessmen in Power," *Harvard Bus. Rev.*, XXXIX (Sept. 1961), 95-110.

Calls for management to meet the changes brought by the technological revolution. (E-SC)

Sloan, Pat. "Economic Competition Between U.S.S.R. and U.S.A.," *Quar. Rev.*, CCXCIX (Jan. 1961), 44-55.

The narrowing gap between the two economies and its effect upon the lives of the two populations. (E-S)

Utah Hist. Quar., XXIX (July 1961).

An issue marking the centennial of the unique experiment in Rocky Mountain cotton culture, sponsored by the Mormon Church, and known as "the Cotton Mission in Utah's Dixie." Includes the geographic setting, cotton culture and other economic experiments, early buildings, songs, intellectual and social life, and examples of folklore. Illustrated. (E-H-A-F-MU-R-S)

Vincent, Melvin J. "Labor and the Economy," *Sociology & Social Research*, XLVI (Oct. 1961), 55-60.

Review of a troubled year in labor history: recession, chronic unemployment, drop in union membership, intensified demand for race relations stand by union members. (E-S)

Wallich, Henry C. "Economic Issues Then and Now," *Yale Rev.*, LI (Autumn 1961), 23-24.

Compares economic issues today with those of fifty years ago. (E-H)

Weisberger, Bernard A. "The Working Ladies of Lowell," *Amer. Heritage*, XII (Feb. 1961), 42-45, 83-90.

The failure of Lowell's utopia. (E-H)

EDUCATION

Arnow, Harriette Simpson. "Education and the Professions in the Cumberland Region," *Tenn. Hist. Quar.*, XX (June 1961), 120-58.

Schools, books and professional men during the frontier era. (ED-Lit-H)

Barber, Bernard. "Social-Class Differences in Educational Life-Chances," *Teachers College Rec.*, LXIII (Nov. 1961), 102-13.

Recent research on class differences in educational opportunity and attainment. How education can promote "a more equal and rational society." (ED-MC-S)

Barnes, Sherman B. "Learning and Piety in Ohio Colleges, 1900-1930," *Ohio Hist. Quar.*, LXX (July 1961), 214-43.

The twentieth century's expanding subdivision of knowledge, together with the importance of new subject matter, made it difficult for Ohio colleges to maintain a balance between learning and religious faith. (ED-H-R)

Borrowman, Merle. "The False Dawn of the State University," *Hist. of Ed. Quar.*, I (June 1961), 6-22.

Locates elements of the modern state-university idea in the work of Thomas Cooper at South Carolina College, Horace Holley at Transylvania and Philip Lindsley at the University of Nashville. (ED-H-R-S)

Button, Henry Warren. "James Park Slade—Nineteenth Century Schoolman," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.* (Winter 1961), 374-91.

Career reveals much about the growth of public school administration—and how one might buy a college presidency by purchasing the college itself. (ED-H)

Chase, Richard. "The New Campus Magazines," *Harper's*, CCXXIII (Oct. 1961), 168-72.

The new college journals are hotly political. (ED-POL-MC-Lit)

Cunliffe, Marcus. "Harvard University," *Encounter*, XVII (July 1961), 3-16.

The second of an *Encounter* series on the world's leading universities. Based on the author's impressions during a year as visiting lecturer at Harvard. (ED-S)

Davies, Richard L. "Art vs. Science in Education," *Arch. Forum*, IV (Apr. 1961), 149-54.

Analysis of the deficiencies of present-day architectural education. (ED-A)

Devree, Charlotte. "The Young Negro Rebels," *Harper's*, CCXXIII (Oct. 1961), 133-38.

Negro college students, out of Southern religion and race, have drawn strength to assert individualism. (ED-S-R)

Dupre, Huntley. "Transylvania University and Rafinesque, 1819-1826," *Filson Club Hist. Quar.*, XXXV (Apr. 1961), 110-21.

The University during the presidency of Horace Holley and its eccentric professor of botany, considered by many of his contemporaries the "greatest naturalist in America." (ED-H-SC)

Dykhuizen, George. "John Dewey at Johns Hopkins (1882-1884)," *Jour. of Hist. of Ideas*, XXII (Jan.-Mar. 1961), 103-16.

The latest of Dykhuizen's well documented biographical essays on Dewey. (ED-H-P)

Fellman, David. "Academic Freedom in American Law," *Wis. Law Rev.* (Jan. 1961), 3-46.

A well documented review which concludes that "so far as academic freedom and tenure in colleges and universities are concerned, American decisional law may be described as formless and almost rudimentary." (ED-H-Law-POL-S)

Friedel, Frank. "The Education of Franklin D. Roosevelt," *Harvard Ed. Rev.*, XXXI (Spring 1961), 158-67.

Roosevelt's schooling at Groton and Harvard prepared him for his political career "much better and in more important ways than he ever quite realized." (ED-H-POL)

Gatewood, Willard B. Jr. "Eugene Clyde Brooks and Negro Education in North Carolina, 1919-1923," *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVIII (July 1961), 362-79.

He is credited with inauguration of the "golden period of Negro education in North Carolina" during his tenure as State Superintendent of Public Instruction. (ED-H)

Griffith, Lucille. "English Education for Virginia Youth," *Va. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, LXXIX (Jan. 1961), 7-27.

Correspondence (MSS owned by U. of Va.) of the Ambler family of Yorktown concerning the English education of the sons. Valuable light on the education of 18th-century Virginia youth. (ED-H)

Gummere, Richard M. Jr. "America's Wandering Scholars," *Harper's*, CCXXII (May 1961), 73-76.

Transfer students are growing in number, probably reflecting greater geographic mobility. (ED-S)

Hall, Edward T. "Schools of Independence," *Teachers College Rec.*, LXII (Mar. 1961), 431-42.

The strengths and weaknesses of independent schools and their role in the American tradition. (ED-S)

Handlin, Oscar. "Live Students and Dead Education: Why the High School Must be Revived," *Atlantic*, CCVIII (Sept. 1961), 29-34.

We must reconsider the function of secondary education in training in communication and quantitative techniques. (ED-S)

Hickerson, Frank R. "The Educational Contribution of Rutherford B. Hayes," *Northwest Ohio Quar.*, XXXIII (Winter 1960-61), 46-53.

As Governor of Ohio, President of the United States and trustee of educational institutions and foundations, Hayes encouraged public awareness of the need for a more utilitarian type of instruction. (ED-H)

Krug, Edward. "Charles E. Eliot and the Secondary School," *Hist. of Ed. Quar.*, I (Sept. 1961), 4-21.

Re-examines the work of the National Education Association's Committee of Ten on secondary-school studies, rejecting the common notion that the Committee's report was fundamentally a conservative document. (ED-H)

Marshall, Margaret Wiley. "Fulbrights in India: Cultural Interchange in Madras, Bombay, and Hyderabad," *Western Humanities Rev.*, XV (Spring 1961), 133-48.

Account, among other things, of presentation of such writers as Emerson, Melville and Whitman to students in India and their interest in American literature. (ED-Lit)

Mayer, Martin. "The Good Slum Schools," *Harper's*, CCXXII (Apr. 1961), 46-52.

Experimental slum schools in Kansas City, New York and Tucson prove the children brighter than anyone expected. (ED-S)

McCorquodale, Marjorie K. "What They'll Die for in Houston," *Harper's*, CCXXIII (Oct. 1961), 179-82.

Except for honors students, the majority reveal drifting apathy. (ED-S)

Melby, John F., ed. "The Rising Demand for International Education," *Annals of Amer. Acad. of Pol. & Soc. Sc.*, CCCXXXV (May 1961).

Issue of 20 articles divided into three major headings: "Who and Why" of international education, "The Foreign Student in the U.S." and "The Foreign Student Abroad." (ED-POL-PSY-S)

Metzger, Walter P. "The First Investigation," *AAUP Bull.*, XLVII (Autumn 1961), 206-10.

First case investigated by the AAUP, on the initiative of Arthur O. Lovejoy. (ED-H-POL)

Middlekauff, Robert. "A Persistent Tradition: The Classical Curriculum in Eighteenth-Century New England," *Wm. & Mary Quar.*, XVIII (Jan. 1961), 54-67.

The persistence of the classical grammar-school curriculum into the early years of the republic, despite sharpening criticism. (ED-H-Lit-S)

Novak, Michael. "God in the Colleges," *Harper's*, CCXXIII (Oct. 1961), 173-77.

"The life of personal conviction is separated from the life of academic intelligence." (ED-R)

O'Raifeartaigh, T. "Some Impressions of Education in the U. S. A.," *Studies*, L (Spring 1961), 57-74.

Surveys the various aspects of education in the U.S., showing how Americans are meeting "their enormous educational responsibility . . . with a vigour and resolve that is worthy of their best traditions," and how the American philosophy of equality shapes the educational system. (ED-P)

Parker, Franklin. "George Peabody's Influence on Southern Educational Philanthropy," *Tenn. Hist. Quar.*, XX (Mar. 1961), 65-74.

The Peabody Education Fund, founded in 1867 to elevate Southern society, was the model for subsequent philanthropic effort in the South. (ED-E-H)

Pearl, Chaim. "American Jewish Education: an English View," *Jewish Jour. of Sociology*, III (June 1961), 76-87.

Different aspects of Jewish education in the U.S. Concludes that "American Jewry has developed a very hopeful system which augurs well for the future of the community." (ED-R-S)

Penn, John S. "Earle Melvin Terry, Father of Educational Radio," *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, XLIV (Summer 1961) 252-57.

A physics professor's efforts to establish an educational station at the University of Wisconsin in 1916. (ED-PA)

Pratt, John W. "Governor Seward and the New York City School Controversy, 1840-1842," *N. Y. Hist.*, XLII (Oct. 1961), 351-64.

The outcome of this complex political and religious dispute, passage of an amended version of the Maclay bill, is seen as a victory for the principle of nonsectarian public education. (ED-H-Law-POL)

Richardson, Jack. "Kemper College of Missouri," *Hist. Mag. Protestant Episcopal Church*, XXX (June 1961), 111-26.

Case study of an Episcopal college (1837-45) which failed owing to lack of funds and mismanagement seeks to cast light on reasons for high mortality of 19th-century institutions of higher learning. (ED-R-H)

Rieff, Philip. "The Mirage of College Politics," *Harper's*, CCXXIII (Oct. 1961), 156-63.

Unlike European students, those in America postpone becoming political animals out of rejection of the system that betrays and disappoints their ideals. (ED-POL)

Rudolph, Frederick. "Who Paid the Bills: An Inquiry into the Nature of Nineteenth-Century College Finance," *Harvard Ed. Rev.*, XXXI (Spring 1961), 144-57.

As colleges expanded in number beyond the available clientele, they faced the choice of paying professors to teach or paying students to enroll. They chose the latter course "because it was the only way they could achieve the enrollment which justified their existence." (ED-E-H-S)

Sack, Saul. "Student Life in the Nineteenth Century," *Pa. Mag. Hist. & Biog.*, LXXXV (July 1961), 255-88.

Analysis from rules and regulations of colleges in Pennsylvania. (ED-H)

Shank, Theodore J. "Provincialism in College and University Play Selection, A Five Year Study," *Ed. Theatre Jour.*, XIII (May 1961), 112-17.

Through a survey of plays produced in American colleges in the past five years concludes that a strong partiality is shown to American plays—indicating a provincialism which should be overcome. (ED-Lit)

Silberman, Charles E. "The Remaking of American Education," *Fortune*, LXV (Apr. 1961), 125-31, 197-201.

A survey of the directions and progress of educational reform during the winter of 1960-61. (ED-MC-PSY)

Smith, Timothy L. "Progressivism in American Education, 1880-1900," *Harvard Ed. Rev.*, XXXI (Spring 1961), 168-93.

Discusses the educational work of industrial schools, kindergartens and settlement houses in support of a thesis that the movement to reform education may have been a "catalyst" for political progressivism. (ED-H-R-POL)

Strainchamps, Ethel. "The Man Behind the New Grammar," *Sat. Rev.*, XLIV (Mar. 18, 1961), 54-55, 64.

The controversial Professor Fries: underminer of our culture responsible for the "demise of grammar in the American school" or great linguist? (ED-L-Lit)

Sweat, Edward F. "Some Notes on the Role of Negroes in the Establishment of Public Schools in South Carolina," *Phylon*, XXII (Summer 1961), 160-66.

The case of South Carolina illustrates the positive and decisive role played by Negroes throughout the South in laying the foundations for the region's tax-supported system of universal education. (ED-H-Law-POL)

"The College Scene," *Harper's*, CCXXIII (Oct. 1961), 119-82.

Nine articles—of somewhat uneven quality—presented as an attempt "to probe beneath the surface of an ailing college system which seems afraid to face itself." (ED-MC-R-S)

Thornbrough, Emma Lou. "Segregation in Indiana During the Klan Era of the 1920's," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLVII (Mar. 1961), 594-618.

Describes impact of post-World War I Negro urban migration upon patterns of segregation and the effect of Klan infiltration upon the majority Republican Party. (ED-H-POL-S)

Urban, C. Stanley. "History in Liberal Arts: A Theory of Knowledge," *Jour. of Central Miss. Valley Amer. Studies Assoc.*, II (Spring 1961), 38-47.

Assesses history as a liberal discipline within the academy; a comparison is made with art. (ED-H-A)

Van den Haag, Ernest & Oscar Handlin. "Federal Aid to Parochial Schools," *Commentary*, XXXII (July 1961), 1-11.

Professor van den Haag argues the affirmative, Professor Handlin the negative. (ED-POL-S-E)

Viorst, Milton. "Howard University: Campus and Course," *Harper's*, CCXXIII (Nov. 1961), 51-60.

As an elite Negro college, Howard is a creator of change in the Negro community. (ED-S)

White, Forrest P. "Tuition Grants: Strange Fruit of Southern School Integration," *So. Atlantic Quar.*, LX (Spring 1961), 226-29.

Views state tuition grants to parents to avoid school integration as a short-sighted and potentially disastrous educational policy. (ED-POL)

Whittemore, Richard. "Nicholas Murray Butler and the Teaching Profession," *Hist. of Ed. Quar.*, I (Sept. 1961), 22-37.

His role in the founding of Teachers College, Columbia University, in the affairs of the National Education Association and in the political reform of the New York City schools. (ED-H-POL)

Wilkinson, Norman B. "The Education of Alfred Victor du Pont, Nineteenth Century Industrialist," *Pa. Hist.*, XXVIII (Apr. 1961), 105-20.

Emphasizes du Pont's scientific education. (ED-SC-H)

Woodring, Paul. "The Short, Happy Life of the Teachers College," *Sat. Rev.*, XLIV (June 17, 1961), 60-62.

The historical process by which teacher education has come increasingly into the mainstream of American higher education. (ED-H)

FOLKLORE

Coffin, Tristram P. "Folklore in the American Twentieth Century," *Amer. Quar.*, XIII (Winter 1961), 526-33.

True folklore is seldom recognized or appreciated by the public, which generally knows only a manufactured variety. (F-Lit-MC)

Dahl, Curtis. "Mound-Builders, Mormons and William Cullen Bryant," *New Eng. Quar.*, XXXIV (June 1961), 178-90.

The influence of the legend of the Mound-Builders on literature, notably on the poems of Bryant and on the Book of Mormon. (F-H-Lit-R)

Dunbar, Gary S. "Henry Chapman Mercer: Pennsylvania Folklife Pioneer," *Pa. Folklife*, XII (Summer 1961), 48-52.

19th-century archeologist and historian who studied American folklife. (F-H)

Dykstra, Robert. "Wild Bill Hickok in Abilene," *Jour. of Central Miss. Valley Amer. Studies Assoc.*, II (Fall 1961), 20-48.

The folk-image of the Great Lawman "diverges in certain fundamental ways from what was probably the real Wild Bill Hickok in Abilene." (F-H-MC)

Froman, Robert. "The Red Ghost," *Amer. Heritage*, XII (Apr. 1961), 35-37, 94-98.

Describes some of the legends that arose as a result of the use of camels in the American Southwest. (F-H)

Hempstead, Alfred G. "The Legends of Jonathan Buck," *Down East* (Nov. 1961), 24-31.

Folklore surrounding the founder of Bucksport, Maine. (F-H)

Holbrook, Stewart H. "Frank Merriwell at Yale Again and Again and Again," *Amer. Heritage*, XII (June 1961), 24-27, 78-81.

America's fictional folk hero and his days at Yale. (F-Lit)

Huntington, E. G. "The Singing Tiltons and Some of Their Songs," *Dukes County Intelligencer*, II (May 1961), 1-16.

Folksinging family from Martha's Vineyard and some of their songs. (F-Mu)

Ives, Edward D. "The Man Who Plucked the Gorbey: a Maine Woods Legend," *Jour. of Amer. Folklore*, LXXIV (Jan-Mar. 1961), 1-9.

Legends of the Canadian jay bird and how those who became too familiar with it lost all their hair. (F-MC)

Kurath, Gertrude P. "Dance and Mythology in North America," *Midwest Folklore*, X (Winter 1960-61), 207-12.

Explanation of the ceremony's origin and the mythological symbolism and events enacted in this Indian dance. (F-MU-S)

Mathewson, Grace H. "Tolling for the Dead," *Potash Kettle*, X (Fall 1961), 1.

Concerning a venerable custom in Vermont. (F-MC)

Music, Ruth Ann. "The Murdered Pedlar in West Virginia," *Midwest Folklore*, XI (Winter 1961), 247-55.

In West Virginia stories of murdered pedlars, some of them plausible, are exceedingly numerous. (F-H-MC)

Robacker, Earl & Ada. "Antique or Folk Art: Which?" *Pa. Folklife*, XII (Fall 1961), 8-11.

When is an object an antique or a bit of folk art? (F-H-A)

Rogers, E. G. "Civil War Etchings in Retrospect," *Tenn. Folklore Soc. Bull.*, XXVII (Dec. 1961), 71-76.

Examples showing how the seamy side of the Civil War was uppermost in most contemporary minds. (F-H-A)

Rudolph, Marilou A. "Michael Rudolph, 'Lion of the Legion,'" *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, XLV (Sept. 1961), 201-22; (Dec. 1961), 309-28.

Traces legend of a Revolutionary War soldier's becoming Marshal Ney of France. (F-Lit-H)

Walker, Roosevelt. "The Professor Discovers Ballads," *Ga. Rev.*, XV (Spring 1961), 34-40.

How the author, late professor at the University of Georgia, became a teacher and singer of folk ballads. (F-ED-Lit)

Winkelman, Donald M. "The Brown County Project," *Midwest Folklore*, XI (Spring 1961), 15-24.

An enterprise designed to collect in depth the songs, stories and traditions of this scenic area. (F-MU-Lit)

Yoder, Don. "Sauerkraut in Pennsylvania Folk Culture," *Pa. Folklife*, XII (Summer 1961), 56-69.

References to sauerkraut in Pennsylvania political satire, folk beliefs and folksongs. (F-MU-Lit-H)

_____. "Schnitz in Pennsylvania Folk-Culture," *Pa. Folklife*, XII (Fall 1961), 44-53.

References to "schnitz," i.e., dried apples, in folklore and folksongs of Pennsylvania. (F-MU)

HISTORY

Applegate, Howard Lewis. "American Privateersmen in the Mill Prison During 1777-1782," *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, XCVII (Oct. 1961), 303-20.

Court procedure and prison conditions, which were poor but mitigated by charities. Escapes from prison. (H-Law-S)

Angermann, Erich. "Republikanismus, amerikanisches Voebild und soziale Frage 1848," *Die Welt als Geschichte*, XXI, Heft 3 (1961), 185-93.

Reprint and analysis of a paper written for the 1848 revolution in Germany explaining the social and political forms of the United States and their possible effects if used as models for the new German government. (H-S-POL)

Arnada, Chas. W. "The Avero Story: An Early St. Augustine Family with Many Daughters and Many Houses," *Fla. Hist. Quar.*, XL (July 1961), 1-31.

A case study covering the First Spanish Period, the English Interlude (1763-83) and the Second Spanish Period. (H-POL)

Bader, Arno L. "Melodrama in Ohio: Avery Hopwood and Boss [George B.] Cox of Cincinnati," *Ohio Hist. Quar.*, LXX (Apr. 1961), 145-51.

The reaction in Cincinnati when, in 1907, *The Powers that Be*, a serious play attacking civic corruption and political bossism, was first performed. (H-Lit)

Barrow, Julia Paxton. "William Bentley: An Extraordinary Boarder," *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, XCVII (Apr. 1961), 129-50.

Bentley's life in Salem, with special reference to his work as pastor and promoter of education and culture. Covers the years 1784-1819. (H-R-ED-MC)

Beall, Otho T. Jr. "Cotton Mather's Early 'Curiosa Americana' and the Boston Philosophical Society of 1683," *Wm. & Mary Quar.*, XVIII (July 1961), 360-72.

His first thirteen letters to the Royal Society show that he obtained his information from sources in the Boston Philosophical Society. (H-R-SC)

Bedford, Henry F. "William Johnson and the Marshall Court," *Hist. Quar.*, LXII (July 1961), 165-71.

A review of the Marshall period enhances the reputation of the Charleston Republican who was Jefferson's first appointee to the court. (H-POL)

Bestor, Arthur. "State Sovereignty and Slavery: A Reinterpretation of Proslavery Constitutional Doctrine," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.* (Summer 1961), 117-80.

Analyzes difference between state sovereignty as legal postulate and political philosophy, in pre-Civil War South. Concludes that abolition of slavery was never an issue, though status of Negroes outside the South was important. (H-Law-POL-S)

Brown, Ira V. "Pennsylvania and the Rights of the Negro," *Pa. Hist.*, XXVIII (Jan. 1961), 45-57.

Efforts in Pennsylvania to establish racial equality by civil rights legislation contemporary with Southern Reconstruction. (H-Law-S)

Bullough, Vern L. "Polygamy: An Issue in the Election of 1860?" *Utah Hist. Quar.*, XXIX (Apr. 1961), 119-26.

The charge that Douglas was sympathetic to the Mormons and that his popular sovereignty doctrine encouraged polygamy in Utah territory probably cost him votes in Illinois. (H-R-S)

Burton, David H. "Theodore Roosevelt: Confident Imperialist," *Rev. of Politics*, XXIII (July 1961), 356-77.

Analysis of T.R.'s strongly-held conviction that the imperialistic ventures of the western world were beneficial in the promotion of human progress. (H-POL-S)

Carroll, Kenneth L. "Religious Influences on the Manumission of Slaves in Caroline, Dorchester, and Talbot Counties," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LVI (June 1961), 176-97.

The work of the Quakers, Nicholites and Methodists in promoting Negro emancipation before 1833. (H-R)

Coats, A. W. "American Scholarship Comes of Age: The Louisiana Purchase Exposition 1904," *Jour. Hist. of Ideas*, XXII (July-Sept. 1961), 404-17.

Deals with the Congress of Arts and Science. (H-ED-SC-P)

Covington, James W. "The Armed Occupation Act of 1842," *Fla. Hist. Quar.*, XL (July 1961), 41-52.

Those who settled under terms of this act formed a hard core of pioneer families extending from the Indian River to Tampa Bay. (H-POL)

Daley, Robert. "Alfred Ely Beach and His Wonderful Pneumatic Underground Railway," *Amer. Heritage*, XII (June 1961), 54-57, 85-89.

Beach's contribution to New York City's subway system. (H-SC)

Davidson, Marshall B. "What Samuel Wrought," *Amer. Heritage*, XII (Apr. 1961), 13-31, 106-11.

The struggle of Samuel Morse as an artist and inventor of the telegraph. (H-SC-A)

Diamond, Sigmund. "An Experiment in 'Feudalism': French Canada in the Seventeenth Century," *Wm. & Mary Quar.*, XVIII (Jan. 1961), 3-34.

French efforts to establish a feudal society in Canada failed because the concessions necessary to attract labor created social mobility. (H-E-Law-POL-R-S)

Dixon, Max. "Building the Central Railroad of Georgia," *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, XLV (Mar. 1961), 1-21.

Problems of the early years of the railroad. (H-SC-E)

Drinker, Sophie H. "Women Attorneys of Colonial Times," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LVI (Dec. 1961), 335-51.

17th- and 18th-century American women appeared in court as attorneys-in-fact before the development of the legal profession. (H-Law)

Dungan, James R. "'Sir' William Dunbar of Natchez: Planter, Explorer, and Scientist, 1792-1810," *Jour. of Miss. Hist.*, XXIII (Oct. 1961), 211-28.

Contributions in agriculture, science and exploration of an early member of the American Philosophical Society. (H-SC)

Everett, Edward G. "Pennsylvania Newspapers and Public Opinion, 1861-1862," *Western Pa. Hist. Mag.*, XLIV (Mar. 1961), 1-11.

Public opinion was shaped by the press, which romanticized war, was chauvinistically bombastic, treated the South as demoralized and inflamed passions. (H-S-MC)

Feer, Robert A. "Imprisonment for Debt in Massachusetts before 1800," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLVIII (Sept. 1961), 252-69.

Imprisonment for debt gradually became less customary and terms of imprisonment less harsh, long before this method of punishment was legally abandoned. (H-E)

Ferrell, Robert H. "Young Charley Dawes Goes to the Garfield Inauguration: A Diary," *Ohio Hist. Quar.*, LXX (Oct. 1961), 332-42.

Account by a youth of 15 who, in the company of his father, a newly-elected Congressman, attended inauguration. (H-POL)

Fischer, Le Roy H. "Cairo's Civil War Angel, Mary Jane Safford," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.* (Autumn 1961), 229-45.

Minor suffragette and one of America's first female physicians, who got her start in Civil War nursing activities. (H-SC-S)

Gardner, Hamilton. "The Nauvoo Legion, 1840-1845—A Unique Military Organization," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.* (Summer 1961), 191-97.

Mormons developed their military arm in Nauvoo, prior to the Utah hegira. (H-R)

Gettleman, Marvin E. "The Maryland Penitentiary in the Age of Tocqueville, 1828-1842," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LVI (Sept. 1961), 269-90.

"Congregate labor by day, solitary confinement at night, and the use of the whip for discipline" characterized the reform methods of the Baltimore prison. (H-S)

Gist, Genevieve B. "Progressive Reform in a Rural Community: the Adams County Vote-Fraud Case," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLVIII (June 1961), 60-78.

Ohio case which scandalized nation, badly damaged the rural purity argument and correspondingly encouraged urban Progressives. (H-POL-S)

Gitman, Richard. "Americans Abroad," *Amer. Heritage*, XII (Oct. 1961), 9-27, 89-93.

Studies the expatriatism of Whistler, J. S. Sargent and Henry James. (H-A-Lit-E)

Glaab, Charles N. "Visions of Metropolis: William Gilpin and Theories of City Growth In the American West," *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, XLV (Autumn 1961), 21-31.

His influence on urban promotional activities in mid-19th-century America, (H-S)

Gleason, Philip. "From Free-Love to Catholicism: Dr. and Mrs. Thomas L. Nichols at Yellow Springs," *Ohio Hist. Quar.*, LXX (Oct. 1961), 283-307.

They helped found a utopian colony, championing free love, in 1856. One year later the project collapsed abruptly when the founders and several members entered the Roman Catholic Church. (H-ED-R)

Gorman, Mel. "Charles F. Brush and the First Public Electric Street Lighting System in America," *Ohio Hist. Quar.*, LXX (Apr. 1961), 128-44. A founder of the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company, he designed the world's first public street lighting system. Cleveland's Public Square was illuminated April 29, 1879. (H-SC)

Greene, Jack P. "South Carolina's Colonial Constitution: Two Proposals for Reform," *S. C. Hist. Mag.*, LXII (Apr. 1961), 72-81.

Edmund Atkin, leading Charleston merchant, felt the lower house of the legislature had assumed too much power. He probably influenced the Board of Trade when it objected to five South Carolina statutes in 1755. (H-Law-POL)

Gressley, Gene M. "The American Cattle Trust: A Study in Protest," *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, XXX (Feb. 1961), 61-77.

Attempt of cattlemen to fight packing industry monopoly by creating their own monopoly. (H-E)

Griffin, Richard W. "The Cotton Mill Campaign in Florida, 1828-1863," *Fla. Hist. Quar.*, XL (Jan. 1962), 261-74.

Ante-bellum efforts in this direction were not very successful. (H-POL)

Grubbs, Donald H. "The Story of Florida's Migrant Farm Workers," *Fla. Hist. Quar.*, XL (Oct. 1961), 103-22.

Account, beginning in 1890, of the migrant farm workers living along U.S. Route 441 in Florida. (H-E-S)

Harrison, Lowell H. "The Anti-Slavery Career of Cassius M. Clay," *Register of Ky. Hist. Soc.*, LIX (Oct. 1961), 295-317.

On his efforts as speaker, editor and politician. (H-PA)

Harrison, Robert W. "Early State Flood-Control Legislation in the Mississippi Alluvial Valley," *Jour. of Miss. Hist.*, XXIII (Apr. 1961), 104-26.

Measures enacted by Louisiana, Mississippi and Arkansas before the Civil War. (H-SC)

Hart, Jim A. "The Missouri Democrat, 1852-1860," *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, LV (July 1961), 127-41.

The role of this St. Louis paper in openly agitating the slavery question and attacking proslavery groups. (H-MC)

Heslin, James J. "From the Wilderness to Petersburg: The Diary of Surgeon Frank Ridgway," *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, XLV (Apr. 1961), 113-40.

Comments on medical problems and practice in Civil War. (H-SC)

Hindle, Brooke. "A Colonial Governor's Family: The Coldens of Coldenham," *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, XLV (July 1961), 233-50.

Family life, emphasizing the aims and methods of educating his children. (H-ED)

Howell, J. Roscoe. "Ashbel Welsh, Civil Engineer," *N. J. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, LXXIX (Oct. 1961), 251-63.

The first installment of a serialized biography of a notable New Jersey canal builder of the mid-19th century. (H-SC)

Insko, W. Robert. "The Trial of a Kentucky Bishop," *Filson Club Hist. Quar.*, XXXV (Apr. 1961), 141-56.

The trial of Benjamin Bosworth Smith, first bishop of the Episcopal Church in Kentucky, in 1836. (H-Law-R)

Jones, Jerome W. "The Established Virginia Church and the Conversion of Negroes and Indians, 1620-1760," *Jour. of Negro Hist.*, XLVI (Jan. 1961), 12-23.

The results of this aspect of religious activity and its influence in the colony. (H-R-S)

Keene, Jesse L. "Sectionalism in the Peace Convention of 1861," *Fla. Hist. Quar.*, XL (July 1961), 53-81.

Commissioners from 21 states met in Washington, in February 1861, pursuant to resolutions adopted by the Virginia General Assembly. The majority report, with modifications, was sent to Congress as proposed constitutional amendments. No action was taken. (H-POL)

Kirker, Harold & Burleigh Wilkins Taylor. "Beard, Becker and the Trotsky Inquiry," *Amer. Quar.*, XIII (Winter 1961), 516-25. (H-POL)

Kirkpatrick, Arthur Roy. "The Admission of Missouri to the Confederacy," *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, LV (July 1961), 366-86.

The procedure by which Missouri was admitted. (H-POL)

Koch, Adrienne. "Pragmatic Wisdom and the American Enlightenment," *Wm. & Mary Quar.*, XVIII (July 1961), 313-29.

The American Enlightenment cannot be adequately understood in terms of any view which sets wisdom and practice in opposition. (H-P-R-SC)

Korn, Bertram W. "Jews and Negro Slavery in the Old South, 1789-1865," *Pub. Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, L (Mar. 1961), 151-201.

Finds a high percentage of Jewish slave-owners, a number of Jewish slave-traders, some evidence of miscegenation and much evidence of conformity to prevalent Southern attitudes toward slavery and the Negro. (H-R-S)

Kramer, Eugene F. "Senator Pierce Butler's Notes of the Debates on Jay's Treaty," *S. C. Hist. Mag.*, LXII (Jan. 1961), 1-9.

In two letters to James Madison, Butler's strong opposition to the Treaty is clearly shown. (H-POL)

Larsen, Laurence H. "William Langer: A Maverick in the Senate," *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, XLIV (Spring 1961), 189-98.

The "curiously tangled and complicated roots" of the isolationism of Senator Langer of North Dakota in the 1940s. (H-POL)

Layton, Edwin. "The Better America Federation: A Case Study of Super-patriotism," *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, XXX (May 1961), 137-47.

Emphasizes "... the importance of domestic forces of long standing in producing the ... super-patriotism ... following the first World War." (H-S)

Lee, Everett S. "The Turner Thesis Re-examined," *Amer. Quar.*, XIII (Spring 1961), 77-83.

"A case can be made that the frontier theory is a special case of an as yet undeveloped migration theory." (H-S)

Lee, R. Alton. "The Corwin Amendment in the Secession Crisis," *Ohio Hist. Quar.*, LXX (Jan. 1961), 1-26.

Controversy over a proposed amendment, named after Representative Thomas Corwin of Ohio, which would have guaranteed the right of slave property in the states where slavery then existed. (H-POL)

Leonard, P. H. "The Beginnings of Nativism in California," *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, XXX (Feb. 1961), 23-38.

Contrary to Josiah Royce's analysis, nativism in California originated in the "respectable," order-desiring middle class. (H-S)

Lewis, Walker. "The Battle of Franklin Farms: John Philip's Jest with Booze," *Atlantic*, CCVII (June 1961), 53-57.

An attempt by a Baltimore congressman during prohibition to test when a beverage ceases to be nonintoxicating. (H-S)

Lottick, Kenneth V. "The Western Reserve and the Frontier Thesis," *Ohio Hist. Quar.*, LXX (Jan. 1961), 45-57.

Seeks to refute the frontier thesis that, somehow, when the pioneers crossed the Appalachian "barrier" old habits, customs and institutions were drastically altered. (H-POL)

Lovett, Robert W. "American Merchant, Roundy," *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, XCVII (Jan. 1961), 61-78.

The activities of Hervey Roundy, Beverly businessman and agent, in China, 1840-54, 1863-68. (H-E)

Lynd, Staughton. "Who Should Rule at Home? Dutchess County, New York, in the American Revolution," *Wm. & Mary Quar.*, XVIII (July 1961), 330-59.

Beginning in 1777 there was rising discontent in southern and central Dutchess County as the continuation of the war brought old antagonisms to the surface. Whigs desirous of confiscating loyalist lands allied themselves with southern tenant-farmers. (H-E-POL)

Mathison, Ray H. "The Upper Missouri Fur Trade, Its Methods of Operation," *Neb. Hist.*, XLII (Mar. 1961), 1-28.

Appraises positive and negative contributions of the trade to the development of the Upper Missouri region until 1884 when the bison had been almost destroyed. (H-E)

Maynard, Douglas. "Civil War 'Care,'" *New Eng. Quar.*, XXXIV (Sept. 1961), 291-310.

Aid sent to the poverty-stricken Lancashire mill workers in 1862 enhanced English opinion of the North at a critical time. (H-E)

McCowan, Geo. Jr. "Chief Justice John Rutledge and the Jay Treaty," *S.C. Hist. Mag.*, LXII (Jan. 1961), 10-23.

How his appointment as Chief Justice became tied to the question of the ratification of the Jay Treaty. The treaty passed, but the appointment of Rutledge was rejected. (H-POL)

McManus, Edgar J. "Antislavery Legislation in New York," *Jour. of Negro History*, XLI (Oct. 1961), 208-16.

The various steps in the gradual emancipation of the Negro from 1771 to 1841. (H-E-S)

Meade, Robert Douhat. "Judge Edmund Winston's Memoir of Patrick Henry," *Va. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, LXIX (Jan. 1961), 28-41.

Identifies Winston, first cousin of Patrick Henry, establishes his relationship with Henry and gives the memoir. (H-PA)

Minger, Ralph E. "Taft, MacArthur, and the Establishment of Civil Government in the Philippines," *Ohio Hist. Quar.*, LXX (Oct. 1961), 308-31.

Taft's concern was with the political relationship between the Philippines and the United States; MacArthur's thinking was mainly tactical and strategic. (H-POL)

Molnar, Thomas. "Die Utopie der amerikanischen Intellektuellen," *Dokumente*, XVII (Dec. 1961), 433-44.

Historical, political and social factors which have made the American intellectual what he is and which cause him to function as he does in American society. (H-S-POL)

Montgomery, Horace. "Howell Cobb, Daniel Webster, and Jenny Lind," *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, XLV (Mar. 1961), 37-41.

Reactions to the singing of Miss Lind. (H-MU)

Morgan, Edmund S. "New England Puritanism: Another Approach," *Wm. & Mary Quar.*, XVIII (Apr. 1961), 236-42.

Rejects the view of Puritanism as a monolithic system and recommends the study of Puritan diversity on the basis of detailed analyses of towns, churches and individuals. (H-R-S)

Morrow, Ralph E. "The Proslavery Argument Revisited," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLVII (June 1961).

The proslavery propaganda was aimed at Southern waverers rather than Northern audiences. It consciously intended to produce a state of psychological preparedness among slaveholders themselves. (H-Psy-S)

Moyne, Ernest J. "The Reverend William Hazlitt and Dickinson College," *Pa. Mag. Hist. & Biog.*, LXXXV (July 1961), 289-302.

Relationship of religious liberty to recommendation of Hazlitt for presidency of Dickinson and his failure to attain post. (H-R-ED)

Neill, William M. "The Americans as Elite: An Essay in the Cultural Approach to History," *Ind. Mag. of Hist.*, LVII (Mar. 1961), 29-40.

Suggests that the principal forms in which American nationalism expresses itself are freedom and enterprise. (H-S-E)

Olson, Frederick I. "The Socialist Party and the Union In Milwaukee, 1900-1912," *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, XLIV (Winter 1960-61), 110-16.

The relationship of the Socialist party to the labor unions in Milwaukee was essential to the party's success in these years. (H-E-POL)

Peek, Ralph L. "Lawlessness in Florida, 1868-1871," *Fla. Hist. Quar.*, XL (Oct. 1961), 164-85.

Locally organized bands, operating as "Young Men's Democratic Clubs," successfully conducted a campaign of terror to thwart Radical power. (H-POL)

Perry, Thomas W. "New Plymouth and Old England: A Suggestion," *Wm. & Mary Quar.*, XVIII (Apr. 1961), 251-65.

Scholars traditionally have underestimated the Pilgrims' ties to the Crown (or to the Lord Protector). (H-POL-R)

Peters, Thelma. "The American Loyalists in the Bahama Islands: Who They Were," *Fla. Hist. Quar.*, XL (Jan. 1962), 226-40.

The majority came from Southern states, and many had first moved to East Florida, and moved again when Florida was returned to Spain in 1783. (H-POL)

———. "The Loyalist Migration from East Florida to the Bahama Islands," *Fla. Hist. Quar.*, XL (Oct. 1961), 123-41.

Of the 10,000 persons who left East Florida in 1783, most went to the Bahamas or the West Indies; some went to England or Nova Scotia. (H-POL)

Pratt, John W. "Boss Tweed's Public Welfare Program," *N.Y. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, XLV (Oct. 1961), 396-411.

Interrelationship of Tweed Ring's private charities, public philanthropy through government funds and maintenance of political power. (H-S-POL)

Preyer, Norris W. "The Historian, The Slave, and the Ante-Bellum Textile Industry," *Jour. of Negro Hist.*, XLVI (Apr. 1961), 27-82.

Contradicts the long-accepted viewpoint that the Negro slave was a failure in the Southern textile industry from 1820 to 1860. (H-E-S)

Ratner, Lorman. "Conversion of the Jews and Pre-Civil War Reform," *Amer. Quar.*, XIII (Spring 1961), 45-54.

History of American Jew Society sheds light on ante-bellum reform impulse. (H-R-S)

Reardon, John J. "Religious and Other Factors in the Defeat of the 'Standing Order' in Connecticut, 1800-1818," *Hist. Mag. Protestant Episcopal Church*, XXX (June 1961), 93-110.

Role of church-state alliance, undemocratic political practices and unpopular foreign policy in the decline and fall of Federalism in Connecticut. (H-R-POL)

Rischin, Moses *et al.* "The Jews and the Liberal Tradition in America," *Pub. Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, LI (Sept. 1961), 4-29.

A symposium on the contributions of American Jews to cultural philanthropy, political liberalism and social reform, with emphasis on the 20th century. (H-R-S)

Robertson, James Jr. "Der amerikanische Sezessionkrieg 1861-1865," *Wehr-Wissenschaftliche Rundschau*, XI (Apr. 1961), 208-18.

The political and social causes of the Civil War in America and the meaning of that war for Americans today. (H-S-POL)

Rodgers, Glen M. "Benjamin Franklin and the Universality of Science," *Pa. Mag. Hist. & Biog.*, LXXXV (Jan. 1961), 50-69.

Franklin and Capt. Cook's third voyage as symptomatic of the organization of science in the late 18th century. (H-SC)

Schlesinger, Elizabeth Bancroft. "The Nineteenth Century Woman's Dilemma and Jennie June," *N.Y. Hist.*, XLII (Oct. 1961), 365-79.

Jane Cunningham, first syndicated woman columnist, and her influence on the revolutionary changes in women's role in society. (H-MC-S)

Shannon, David A. "Was McCarthy a Political Heir of LaFollette?" *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, XLV (Autumn 1961), 3-9.

Asserts that historical evidence does not support the hypothesis advanced by some recent historians of a connection between LaFollette and McCarthy; suggests rather a Theodore Roosevelt-McCarthy connection. (H-POL-S)

Solis-Cohen, J. Jr. "The World of Hyman Gratz," *Pub. Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, L (Mar. 1961), 241-47.

Biographical sketch of the benefactor of a college for the education of Philadelphia Jews. (H-R-ED)

Sonn, Ione M. "Benjamin Thompson Pierson and His Newark Directories," *N.J. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, LXXIX (Jan. 1961), 21-37.

Pierson (1793-1862) published the first annual city directory of Newark, which began in 1835 and ran to twenty-eight editions during his lifetime. (H-E)

Spence, Clark C. "British Investment and the American Mining Frontier, 1860-1914," *N. Mex. Hist. Rev.*, XXVI (Apr. 1961), 121-37.

Mining investment plagued by chicanery, overcapitalization, lack of working capital, exorbitant prices for property, long-distance management and perplexities of American mining laws. With list of British companies registered in Arizona and New Mexico. (H-E-Law)

Stearns, Raymond. "John Wise of Ipswich Was No Democrat in Politics," *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, XCVII (Jan. 1961), 2-18.

George Bancroft's statement that Wise asserted that "Democracy is Christ's government in church and state" misrepresents the minister's position. (H-POL-R)

Stevens, Harry R. "Samuel Watts Davis and the Industrial Revolution in Cincinnati," *Ohio Hist. Quar.*, LXX (Apr. 1961), 95-127.

In the panic years 1819-20, Davis, an immigrant from England, lost his bank, his manufacturing company and even a canal company he had promoted. He retained his energy and determination, and became mayor of Cincinnati, 1833-43. (H-E)

Steward, Luther N. Jr. "John Forsyth," *Ala. Rev.*, XIV (Apr. 1961), 98-123.

Biographical account of Alabama editor, diplomat and speaker of Civil War period. (H-PA)

Stewart, Charles J. "Lincoln's Assassination and the Protestant Clergy of the North," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.* (Autumn 1961), 268-93.

Sermons reveal that clergy attributed Lincoln's death chiefly to his excessive leniency toward South and thought Providence had removed him to permit stern justice to prevail in Reconstruction policy. (H-PA-R-F)

Stolz, Paul K. "Dr. Bodo Otto, Senior Surgeon of the Valley Forge Encampment," *Hist. Rev. Berks County*, XXVII (Winter 1961-62), 6-12.

This German-American physician at the age of 65 enlisted and served effectively with the Continental Army throughout the Revolution. (H-SC)

Stromberg, Roland N. "Boston in the 1820's and 1830's," *History Today*, XI (Sept. 1961), 591-98.

A study of the many facets of Boston which made it a leading cultural center in the early 19th century. (H-Lit-S-A)

Taylor, A. Elizabeth. "The Woman Suffrage Movement in North Carolina," *N.C. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVIII (Jan.-Apr. 1961), 45-62, 173-89.

Important chiefly in the 20th century but began as early as 1863. (H-POL)

Tonsor, Stephen J. "I Am My Own Boss," — A German Immigrant Writes from Illinois," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.* (Winter 1961), 392-404. Good example of psychology of assimilation during the golden age of the "melting pot." (H-S)

Tyack, David B. "Education and Social Unrest, 1873-1878," *Harvard Ed. Rev.*, XXXI (Spring 1961), 194-212.

"In the 1870's, as in the 1840's and 1850's, Americans seemed to see the schools as a means of promoting a social consensus broad enough or ambiguous enough to unite the employer concerned with signs of social revolution and the laborer worried about his decline in status, the reformer eager to test new ideas and the conservative anxious to preserve the old." (H-ED-E-S)

Van de Wetering, John. "Thomas Prince's *Chronological History*," *Wm. & Mary Quar.*, XVIII (Oct. 1961), 546-57.

In spite of incidental traces of modern historical method and careful use of sources, it was a disappointment to those who expected a fresh defense of Puritanism. (H-Lit-R)

Wight, Willard E. "Bishop Verot and the Civil War," *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, XLVII (July 1961), 153-63.

"Convinced of the moral and legal basis of slavery" the vicar-apostolic of Florida "sanctioned the formation of the Confederate States," but worked first to hasten peace and then the calm acceptance of defeat. (H-R)

Woodward, C. Vann. "The American Civil War," *Yale Rev.*, LI (June 1961), 481-90.

The inwardness of the struggle deepened the drama of the war and gave it dignity and a lasting appeal to the imagination. (H-Lit)

Wooster, Ralph A. "The Membership of the Maryland Legislature of 1861," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LVI (Mar. 1961), 94-102.

Analysis of the occupations, property and slave holdings of the body that made the decision to remain in the Union. (H-E)

Wright, Stephen J. "The New Negro in the South," *Cross Currents*, XI (Fall 1961), 319-30.

Historical account of the emergence of the Negro's demands for political and social rights in the 20th century and reasons for the change from passivity to action. (H-S-POL)

Young, James Harvey. "American Medical Quackery in the Age of the Common Man," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLVII (Mar. 1961), 579-93.

Asserts Jacksonian Democracy provided a milieu unusually favorable to the growth of patent medicines and irregular schools of medicine. (H-MC-SC)

LANGUAGE

Arora, Shirley L. "Some Spanish Proverbial Comparisons from California," *Western Folklore*, XX (Oct. 1961), 229-38.

Exemplified comparisons of Spanish expressions and English counterparts in California history. (L-F-H)

Avis, Walter S. "The 'New England short o': A Recessive Phoneme," *Language*, XXXVII (1961), 544-58.

Detailed study of the gradual desuetude of a distinctive speech sound in an American region, with notes on its remainders and correlations with social history. (L-H-S)

Babcock, C. Merton. "Mark Twain: Heretic in Heaven," *ETC*, XVIII (1961), 189-96.

His attacks on convention and his broad skepticism are analyzed as basically equivalent to a semanticist's distrust for mixing levels of abstraction and for purely linguistic labels. (L-Lit-Psy)

Bradley, F. W. "The Bo' Dollar," *So. Folklore Quar.*, XXV (Sept. 1961), 198-99.

Traces use of (Southern?) folk expression "Bo', Boer, boar, ball, bald dollar" to luck coin carried in the Boer War. (L-F)

Carr, Elizabeth R. "The Fiftieth State: New Dimensions for Studies in Speech," *Speech Teacher*, X (1961), 283-90.

The historical background of Hawaii's complicated language problems and the usefulness of a linguistic-sociological approach to the teaching of speech. (L-S-ED-Psy-PA)

Carson, Clarence B. "New Words for Our Time," *Colo. Quar.*, X (Summer 1961), 57-69.

The old terms "liberal and conservative" do not accurately describe the three main attitudes toward western civilization which are emerging today. Suggests the terms *re-informer* (to restore the form to society); *progressive* (to progress with the society); and *denigrator* (to deny and repudiate the society) as more accurate classifications and gives as examples of each: Senator Barry Goldwater (*re-informer*); publishers of *Time-Life* (*progressives*); beatniks (*denigrators*). (L-POL-S)

Chase, Stuart. "What Are We Talking About?" *Lamp*, XLIII (Spring 1961), 6-9.

Since most Americans "have only the foggiest notion" as to the exact meaning of the words they use with frequency, "We need language that corresponds to objective realities, and I know no better way to find it than by a study of semantics." (L-E-S)

Cioffari, V. "What Can We Expect from the Language Laboratory?" *Modern Languages*, XLII (1961), 148-55.

A broad estimate of the expectations, limitations and real advantages of recording devices and electronic gear in the improvement of language teaching and learning in American schools. (L-ED-Psy)

Drake, James A. "The Effect of Urbanization on Regional Vocabulary," *Amer. Speech*, XXXVI (Feb. 1961), 17-33.

The ways in which regional vocabulary terms are changed in an urban center like Cleveland by the attrition of technological change, public education, competition from other vocabularies and the like. (L-MC-S)

Dykema, Karl W. "Where Our Grammar Came From," *College Eng.*, XXII (Apr. 1961), 455-65.

Outlines the historical background of American attitudes toward and interpretations of grammar, and concludes that much of the older tradition is "essentially irrelevant" to modern linguistic problems. (L-ED-MC)

Fries, Charles C. "Advances in Linguistics," *College Eng.*, XXIII (Oct. 1961), 30-37.

The growth of linguistic science and the ways it can be applied to an understanding of both language and the teaching of English in American schools. (L-ED)

Gibbens, V. E. "Progress Report on a Word Geography of Indiana," *Midwest Folklore*, XI (Fall 1961), 151-54.

Informants: Purdue students. Items have been tabulated; evaluation, interpretation, comparison and cartography remain to be done. (L-F-ED)

Hanley, Roberta. "Truck Driver's Language in the Northwest," *Amer. Speech*, XXXVI (Dec. 1961), 271-74.

The special regional vocabulary of truck drivers in this area and how it differs from that of truck drivers in Eastern regions. (L-S)

Hinton, Elmer. "Examples of Southern Folk Idiom," *Tenn. Folklore Soc. Bull.*, XXVII (June 1961), 35-37.

Anecdotes illustrating folk speech in the South. (L-F)

Kazin, Alfred. "The Language of Pundits," *Atlantic*, CCVIII (July 1961), 73-78.

Traces "deterioration of language in contemporary fiction" to influence of psycho-analytic jargon. (L-Lit-Psy)

Loomis, C. Grant. "The Hell You Did Not Say," *Names*, XI (Sept. 1961), 163-64.

Linguistic taboo and the varieties of euphemisms in the use of "hell" and substitutes for it in the Western stories of William MacLeod Raine. (L-Lit)

Minton, Arthur. "Names of Real-Estate Developments: III," *Names*, IX (Mar. 1961), 8-36.

The psycholinguistics and semantics of the use of names with various commercial and emotional appeals in new real-estate areas; attitudes and mores. (L-Psy)

Oliphant, Robert. "The Auto-Beatnik, the Auto-Critic, and the Justification of Nonsense," *Antioch Rev.*, XXI (Winter 1961-62), 405-19.

Examination of generative grammar (à la Chomsky) and its implications in the forming of sentences, whether nonsensical, literary or mysterious. (L-Lit-PA)

Pearce, T. M. "Religious Place Names in New Mexico," *Names*, IX (Mar. 1961), 1-7.

Varied religious backgrounds of the peoples in New Mexico account for the variety of place names; one of especial literary interest is *Lamy*, honoring John B. Lamy, of *Cather's Death Comes for the Archbishop*. (L-R-Lit)

Read, Allen Walker. "The Rebel Yell as a Linguistic Problem," *Amer. Speech*, XXXVI (May 1961), 83-92.

The rebel yell as a separate linguistic phenomenon plus a survey of important Civil War descriptions of the yell and its psychological effects. (L-H-F)

Reed, Carroll E. "The Pronunciation of English in the Pacific Northwest," *Language*, XXXVII (1961), 559-64.

Habits of pronunciation as results of the "successive irregular mixtures of settlers coming to the Northwest." (L-H-S)

Smith, Elmer L. "The Amish System of Nomenclature," *Hist. Rev. Berks County*, XXVII (Winter 1961-62), 21-25.

Almost 77% of Amish families share the seven commonest Amish surnames. Given names, both male and female, are also drawn preponderantly from a limited list. (L-H-S)

Taylor, Douglas. Review of *La Influencia Taina en el Vocabulario Inglés* (Ediciones Rumbos, Barcelona, 1960), *International Jour. of Amer. Linguistics*, XXVII (July 1961), 270-73.

The borrowing into American English, often through Spanish, of Taino words, some of which have become standard in the vocabulary: cannibal, canoe, cay, maize, man-grove, pawpaw. (L-H-S)

Thomas, C. K. "The Phonology of New England English," *Speech Monographs* (Nov. 1961), 223-32.

Based on a study of the speech of 1226 educated young adults in New England, roughly comparable to New England *Atlas* type 3 informants. (L-S)

LAW

Black, Charles L. Jr. "Mr. Justice Black, The Supreme Court, and the Bill of Rights," *Harper's*, CCXXII (Feb. 1961), 63-68.

His dissenting opinions provide stimulating debate on the "absolutes" embodied in the Bill of Rights. (Law-POL)

Bowen, Catherine Drinker. "The Lawyers Talk History," *Atlantic*, CCXXVII (May 1961), 31-34.

The great lawyers (Holmes, J. Adams, Coke) have also been great teachers with the sense that law is inseparable from history. (Law-H-ED)

Dressler, David. "Trial by Combat in American Courts," *Harper's*, CCXXII (Apr. 1961), 31-36.

The antique ritual of the courts is outmoded and new rules must be found for the legal search for truth. (Law-S)

Eggert, Gerald G. "Richard Olney and the Income Tax Cases," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLVIII (June 1961), 24-41.

An attorney fights hard in a losing cause in defending the constitutionality of the income tax. (Law-E-H)

"Ex Parte Merryman," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LVI (Dec. 1961), 384-98.

Transcript of ceremonies honoring the centennial of issuance of the writ of habeas corpus by Chief Justice Taney in a famous Civil War case. (Law-H)

Gormley, W. Paul. "Lawyers Must be Effective Communicators," *Amer. Bar. Assoc. Jour.*, XLVII (June 1961), 572-75.

Urges lawyers to communicate ideas more effectively. (Law-PA-POL)

Klee, Bruce B. "Woolcott vs. Shubert: Dramatic Criticism on Trial," *Ed. Theatre Jour.*, XIII (Dec. 1961), 264-68.

A resume of the Woolcott-Shubert legal skirmish (1915) over the right of a theater owner to refuse entry to a drama critic because of the latter's unfavorable reviews. (Law-MC-Lit)

O'Brien, Kenneth B. Jr. "Education, Americanism and the Supreme Court: The 1920s," *Amer. Quar.*, XIII (Summer 1961), 161-71.

Three decisions limiting state control of education. (Law-ED)

Scott, Kenneth. "The Slave Insurrection in New York in 1712," *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, XLV (Jan. 1961), 43-74.

Legal problems posed to Anglo-Saxon law by the revolt. (Law-H)

LITERATURE

Albrecht, Robert C. "Thoreau and His Audience: 'A Plea for Captain John Brown,'" *Amer. Lit.*, XXXII (Jan. 1961), 393-402.

Comparison of the extracts from his *Journal* and his "Plea" shows that Thoreau made omissions and additions with his audience in mind. "The plea for the man and the principle remained." (Lit-H-PA)

Algren, Nelson *et al.*, Fall Books, *Nation*, CXCIII (Nov. 18, 1961), 387-411.

Six articles on aspects of the American novel: Hemingway, the disaffiliates, the avant-garde, Henry Miller, the Western, war novels. (Lit-P-Psy-R-S-F)

Anderson, David D. "Melville Criticism: Past and Present," *Midwest Quar.*, II (Jan. 1961), 169-84.

Current appraisals show a shift in critical attitude, resulting from use of the methodology of psychology, sociology, philosophy and the natural sciences. (Lit-Psy-S-SC-P)

Backman, Melvin. "Faulkner's 'An Odor of Verbena': Dissent from the South," *College Eng.*, XXII (Jan. 1961), 253-56.

This one story in a collection of seven significantly considers "a central issue of the Reconstruction South." (Lit-H-R-S)

———. "The Wilderness and the Negro in Faulkner's 'The Bear,'" *PMLA*, LXXVI (Dec. 1961), 595-600.

"By shifting the story's focus from the Negro to the wilderness, Faulkner is shifting the burden of guilt from the South to mankind. It is mankind that . . . has destroyed God's wilderness and enslaved His black creatures." (Lit-R-S)

Baetzhoid, Howard G. "The Course of Composition of *A Connecticut Yankee*: A Reinterpretation," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXIII (May 1961), 195-214.

Evidence of Twain's interest in non-Medieval historical matters and social problems during the time when he was writing the book. (Lit-H-S)

Baldwin, James. "The New Lost Generation," *Esquire*, LVI (July 1961), 113-15.

Accounts for the American expatriate—chiefly the "sanction . . . to become oneself." (Lit-S-Psy)

Banzer, Judith. "'Compound Manner': Emily Dickinson and the Metaphysical Poets," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXII (Jan. 1961), 417-33.

"Her genius and her poetry are unique, but her inner vision and unifying style link her with Donne . . . and Herbert, poets who argued the community of all 'that which God doth touch and own.'" (Lit-R)

Bentley, Eric. "The Classic Theatre in Modern Life," *Forum*, IV (Spring 1961), 13-16.

Sees acted drama as "the most attractive of all high arts" and much interest in the theater in America. (Lit-MC)

Bloom, Robert. "Past Indefinite: The Sherman-Mencken Debate on an American Tradition," *Western Humanities Rev.*, XV (Winter 1961), 73-81.

The controversy over Dreiser's novels, involving many aspects of the American scene. (Lit-H-P-Psy-S)

Bohner, Charles H. "J. P. Kennedy's *Quodlibet*: Whig Counterattack," *Amer. Quar.*, XIII (Spring 1961), 84-92.

The novel as historical and political satire. (Lit-H-POL)

Bonosky, Phillip. "The Background to American Progressive Literature," *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik*, IX (1961), 253-60.

The social and political factors which have created a philosophical pessimism in American literature since the Second World War. (Lit-POL-P-S)

Branch, Edgar M. "Studs Lonigan: Symbolism and Theme," *College Eng.*, XXIII (Dec. 1961), 191-96.

Images and symbolism are used to convey the idea of the culture of which Studs was a part. (Lit-S)

Broderick, John C. "The Movement of Thoreau's Prose," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXIII (May 1961), 133-42.

"In style as well as structure, in language as well as idea, . . . Thoreau recapitulates the archetypal Romantic theme of rebirth." (Lit-P-L)

Brown, Clarence A. "Walt Whitman and the 'New Poetry,'" *Amer. Lit.*, XXXIII (Mar. 1961), 33-45.

Sees increasing critical awareness of Whitman's significance because of his poetic techniques and his forward-looking ideas. (Lit-P-S-SC)

Browne, Ray B. "Mark Twain and Captain Wakeman," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXIII (Nov. 1961), 320-29.

Twain met the historical Wakeman, an incarnation of Bixby and the Bowen boys, in 1866. (Lit-H)

———. "Popular and Folk Songs: Unifying Force in Garland's Autobiographical Works," *So. Folklore Quar.*, XXV (Sept. 1961), 153-67.

Significance of his writings on the Middle Border as shown in the songs expressing loneliness, frustration and failure. (Lit-F-MU-H)

Brüning, Eberhard. "The Holy Barbarians," *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik*, IX (1961), 261-71.

A criticism of the literature, philosophy and social attitude of the "Beats." (Lit-P-S)

Bryer, Jackson R. "Forty Years of O'Neill Criticism," *Modern Drama*, IV (Sept. 1961), 196-216.

Extensive checklist of reviews and interdisciplinary studies. (Lit-MC)

Buckley, G. T. "Is Oxford the Original of Jefferson in William Faulkner's Novels?" *PMLA*, LXXVI (Sept. 1961), 447-54.

Jefferson is "a composite or abstraction of a half dozen small county seat towns of extreme North Mississippi" such as Ripley and Holly Springs. (Lit-H-S)

Burnshaw, Stanley. "Wallace Stevens and the Statue," *Sewanee Rev.*, LXIX (Summer 1961), 355-66.

Reprints an article from *The New Masses* (Oct. 1, 1935) which had occasioned Stevens' poem "Mr. Burnshaw and the Statue" and places both review and poem in their proper context as "actions of their times." (Lit-H)

Cady, Lyman V. "Thoreau's Quotations from the Confucian Books in *Walden*," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXIII (Mar. 1961), 20-32.

Thoreau "for the most part uses Confucian materials in a non-Confucian way" because of a difference in point of view. "Man for Confucius . . . is society-centered: for Thoreau man is nature-centered." (Lit-P-R)

Caldwell, Gaylon L. "The Legacy of a Fugitive," *Western Humanities Rev.*, XV (Winter 1961), 59-72.

Through his book, *I Am a Fugitive from a Georgia Chain Gang*, the film made from it, and his various "gadfly" activities over a period of more than two decades, Robert Elliott Burns left as his legacy to society prison reforms in Georgia. (Lit-MC-S)

Campbell, Harry M. *et al. Miss. Quar.*, XIV (Summer 1961), 115-61.

Issue on aspects of Faulkner's work and thought. (Lit-R-S-P)

Christensen, Parley A. "J. B., the Critics, and Me," *Western Humanities Rev.*, XV (Winter 1961), 59-72.

Finds religious objections to *J.B.* invalid and irrelevant in the light of the author's intentions. (Lit-R)

Clements, Robert J. "The Triumph of Sacco and Vanzetti," *Forum*, IV (Fall 1961), 32-37.

The part played by American writers, among others, in the "rehabilitation" of Sacco and Vanzetti. (Lit-H-S)

Conner, Frederick W. "*Lucifer* and *The Last Puritan*," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXIII (Mar. 1961), 1-19.

Two of Santayana's works, which, though widely separated in form and chronology, show "certain persistent philosophic interests" of the author. (Lit-R-P)

Corrigan, Robert W. "Thornton Wilder and the Tragic Sense of Life," *Educ. Theatre Jour.*, XIII (Oct. 1961), 167-73.

Wilder's point of view is basically humanistic and Platonic; nevertheless he is not a writer of tragedy. (Lit-P)

Coursen, Herbert R. Jr. "Clyde Griffiths and the American Dream," *New Republic*, CXLV (Sept. 4, 1961), 21-22.

Social problems raised, but not answered, by *An American Tragedy*. (Lit-S)

Cox, James M. "Walt Whitman, Mark Twain, and the Civil War," *Sewanee Rev.*, LXIX (Spring 1961), 185-204.

Relates the experience of the Civil War to the creative activity of Whitman and Twain, analyzing the elegaic spirit of the one and the inner chaos of the other. (Lit-H)

Cunliffe, Marcus. "Love, Death, and Mr. Fiedler," *Encounter*, XVII (Sept. 1961), 75-79.

Indicates possible errors in Fiedler's Freudian interpretation of American novels but agrees that the critic "is justified in searching for hidden clues." (Lit-Psy)

Dahl, Curtis. "Mark Twain and the Moving Panorama," *Amer. Quar.*, XIII (Spring 1961), 20-32.

Twain unconsciously absorbed much of the technique of the panorama into his art. (Lit-A-MC)

Darber, Hans. "Der Tragiker der Neuen Welt: Anspruch und Leistung Eugene O'Neill's," *Neue Deutsche Hefte*, Heft 81 (May-June 1961), 16-35.

The intellectual atmosphere in America which influenced O'Neill; the cultural and moral content of his dramas; their reception by American society. (Lit-S)

Davis, Curtis Carroll. "*Speak to Me Softly*: The Permanent Fascination of the Spy Story," *Forum*, IV (Spring 1961), 26-30.

Interest in American "espionage literature" from the time of Captain John Smith to the present. (Lit-H-MC)

De la Torre, Lillian. "The Haydee Star Company," *Colo. Mag.*, XXXVIII (July 1961), 201-13.

The first Denver theater (1859) and the first original play written and performed on the gold frontier. (Lit-H)

De Mott, Benjamin. "An Unprofessional Eye. Docket No. 15883," *Amer. Scholar*, XXX (Spring 1961), 232-37

Mailer's alleged attack on his wife, with comments on the novelist's work and philosophical position, and the significance of Docket No. 15883 "as a sign of . . . a world convinced of its incapacity to envisage the wholeness of any moment of time." (Lit-Law-P-Psy-S)

Dubler, Walter "Theme and Structure in Melville's *The Confidence Man*," *Amer Lit.*, XXXIII (Nov. 1961), 307-19.

The work "is a penetrating artistic critique of American attitudes and mores." (Lit-S)

Emanuel, James A. "Emersonian Virtue: A Definition," *Amer. Speech*, XXXVI (May 1961), 117-22.

Although virtue is an "omnibus" word, an examination of the 146 times it is used by Emerson shows that his ideas are "germinal in American culture" and that it can be defined. (Lit-L-P)

Evans, Oliver. "The Snows of Kilimanjaro: A Revaluation," *PMLA*, LXXVI (Dec. 1961), 601-7.

This is "Hemingway's most religious story. . . . Hemingway's religion, like that of the American Transcendentalists, . . . is to a large extent a religion of nature, containing elements of pantheism and Platonism." (Lit-P-R)

Floan, Howard R. "El Lugar de Europa en la Vida Americana: Tradición e invención en las Novelas de Willa Cather," *Arbor*, XLVIII (Mar. 1961), 71-84.

European cultural backgrounds and the American environment discussed in their relationship to Cather's fictional techniques. (Lit-H-S)

Folsom, James K. "Archimago's Well: An Interpretation of *The Sacred Fount*," *Modern Fiction Studies*, VII (Summer 1961), 136-44.

(Lit-Psy-R)

Fox, Daniel M. "The Achievement of the Federal Writers' Project," *Amer. Quar.*, XIII (Spring 1961) 3-19.

Evaluation of the guides, the historical, ethnic and folklore studies produced under the Project. (Lit-ED-F-H-S)

Gale, Robert L. "Roderick Hudson and Thomas Crawford," *Amer. Quar.*, XIII (Winter 1961), 495-504.

Analogy between James' hero and Crawford, "the first American sculptor to go to Rome to study and remain there." (Lit-A)

Gargano, James W. "The Turn of the Screw," *Western Humanities Rev.*, XV (Spring 1961), 173-79.

Disagreeing with a Freudian analysis of James' controversial story, the author presents a case for belief in the "authority" of the governess. (Lit-Psy)

———. "What *Maisie Knew*: the Evolution of a 'Moral Sense,'" *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, XVI (June 1961), 33-46.

Consideration of the moral aspects of James' novel. (Lit-P)

Gelfant, Blanche H. "The Search for Identity in the Novels of Dos Passos," *PMLA*, LXXVI (Mar. 1961), 133-49.

Analysis of the "generic hero," who rebels against his heredity and/or environment, who seeks to belong to and to receive the approval of some group, and who responds variously to the socio-political scene. (Lit-Psy-S)

Glicksberg, Charles I. "Sex in Contemporary Literature," *Colo. Quar.*, IX (Winter 1961) 277-87.

A sexual revolution has broken out in literature as evidenced by beat generation writers whose spokesman is Norman Mailer with his aesthetic philosophy of the orgasm. It is yet to be shown that they can attain the austere discipline in both content and form by which their writing will finally be judged. (Lit-S)

Gold, Joseph. "Delusion and Redemption in Faulkner's *A Fable*," *Modern Fiction Studies*, VII (Summer 1961), 145-56.

". . . the story has no validity except as a symbolic morality." (Lit-R)

Goodman, Paul. "Notes on the Underworld," *Nation*, CXCII (Mar. 11, 1961).

Discusses motives behind literary fascination with underworld. (Lit-S-MC)

Gross, Theodore L. "The South in the Literature of Reconstruction," *Miss. Quar.*, XIV (Spring 1961), 68-78.

The gentleman and the Negro in works of Tourgee and others. (Lit-S-H)

Gullason, Thomas A. "Thematic Patterns in Stephen Crane's Early Novels," *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, XVI (June 1961), 59-74.

Influences of various kinds on Crane's work. (Lit-R-Psy)

Hartley, Lois. "Edgar Lee Masters—Biographer and Historian," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.* (Spring 1961), 56-83.

The circumstances surrounding each of his five biographies and his two historical efforts. (Lit-H-Law)

Hartmann, Murray. "*Desire Under the Elms* in the Light of Strindberg's Influence," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXIII (Nov. 1961), 360-69.

Psychoanalytic interpretation of O'Neill's play, with comparisons between the American and the Swedish dramatist. (Lit-Psy)

Heilman, Robert B. "The Western Theme: Exploiters and Explorers," *Partisan Rev.*, XXVIII (Mar.-Apr. 1961), 286-97.

Two stereotypes have developed in the handling of Western materials: one originates in literary innovation, and the second in historical "innovation." (Lit-H)

Heller, Louis G. "Two Pequot Names in American Literature," *Amer. Speech*, XXXVI (Feb. 1961), 54-57.

Use by Melville (noted for his interest in etymology) and Cooper of names derived from the Pequot (later, the Mohican) Indians in *Moby-Dick* and *The Last of the Mohicans*. (Lit-L)

Hill, Hamlin. "Mark Twain's Quarrels with Elisha Bliss," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXIII (Jan. 1962), 442-56.

Twain's break with his publisher is presented in *Mark Twain in Eruption* with accuracy. (Lit-H)

Hoffman, Daniel G. "Moby-Dick: Jonah's Whale or Job's?" *Sewanee Rev.*, LXIX (Spring 1961), 205-24.

Traces themes from myth, folklore and ritual to demonstrate the metaphorical link which Melville employs to unify and dramatize his vision of truth. (Lit-F-R)

———. "Yankee Bumpkin and Scapegoat King," *Sewanee Rev.*, LXIX (Winter 1961), 48-60.

Analysis of Hawthorne's "My Kinsman, Major Molineux" as a statement of "the psychological and cultural burdens of personal freedom and of national independence." (Lit-H)

Hoffman, Frederick J. "Freedom and Conscious Form: Henry James and the American Self," *Va. Quar. Rev.*, XXXVII (Spring 1961), 269-85.

America's failure to use space to create its own art forms. James exemplifies American consciousness of "space and the imagination." (Lit-H-P)

Hopkins, Viola. "Visual Art Devices and Parallels in the Fiction of Henry James," *PMLA*, LXXVI (Dec. 1961), 561-74.

Both the Mannerists and Impressionists in painting influence James' literary style. (Lit-A)

Howarth, Herbert. "T. S. Eliot and the 'Little Preacher,'" *Amer. Quar.*, XIII (Summer 1961), 179-87.

Despite Eliot's repudiation of much of his family heritage, the influence of his grandfather—minister, educator, humanitarian—is evident. (Lit-ED-R)

Howell, Elmo. "Faulkner's Sartoris and the Mississippi Country People," *So. Folklore Quar.*, XXV (June 1961), 136-47.

William Faulkner by staying at home and writing about the South has made the world conscious of Southern folk mannerisms, etc. (Lit-F-MC)

Jacks, L. V. "The Classics and Willa Cather," *Prairie Schooner*, XXXV (Winter 1961), 289-96.

Her knowledge of classical Greek and Latin literature is related to the interest in the classics among early settlers of the Middle West. (Lit-H)

Justus, James H. "Warren's *World Enough and Time* and Beauchamp's Confession," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXIII (Jan. 1962), 500-11.

Explores the fictional handling of R. P. Warren's historical source on the Kentucky Tragedy. (Lit-H)

Kazin, Alfred. "J. D. Salinger: 'Everybody's Favorite,'" *Atlantic*, CCVIII (Aug. 1961), 27-31.

The appeal of Salinger because of his language, plots and presentation of certain types of society—and his limitations. (Lit-L-S)

Kermode, Frank. "Edmund Wilson and Mario Praz," *Encounter*, XVI (May 1961), 69-73.

Comments on, among other things, Wilson's use of Freud, Marx and the anthropologists in *Axel's Castle*. (Lit-Psy-S)

Kilbourne, W. G. Jr. "Montaigne and Captain Vere," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXIII (Jan. 1962), 514-17.

How Melville establishes the source of Vere's thinking on law as the reading of Montaigne. (Lit-Law)

Knoll, Robert E. "Weldon Kees: Solipsist as Poet," *Prairie Schooner*, XXXV (Spring 1961), 33-41.

Describes the "frightening, interior, nightmare world of solitude" presented in the poetry, fiction, criticism and photography of Kees. (Lit-A-Psy)

Kopit, Arthur L. "The Vital Matter of Environment," *Theatre Arts Monthly*, XLV (Apr. 1961), 12-13.

Dramatic innovation in American theater has come mainly from Europe because the American drama has had only a "superficial relevance to the society and culture surrounding it." (Lit-MC-S)

Kristol, Irving. "Of G. E., T.V., J.F.K. and U.S.A.," *Encounter*, XVII (Sept. 1961), 61-63.

Sees the banning of Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* as symbolic of practices in industry, government and TV. (Lit-MC-S-POL)

Lakin, R. D. "Mark Twain and the Cold War," *Midwest Quar.*, II (Jan. 1961), 159-67.

Identifies the critical and political problems arising from Charles Neider's *Mark Twain and the Russians*. (Lit-H)

Lasser, Michael L. "The Agony of E. E. Cummings," *Lit. Rev.*, V (Autumn 1961), 133-41.

Cummings' criteria for painting may be applied to literature. They were influenced by the poet's New England heritage, particularly a Thoreauvian insistence upon individual rights and a scorn for conformity—linguistic, social or otherwise. (Lit-A-S)

Lauter, Paul. "Emerson's Revisions of *Essays* (First Series)," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXIII (May 1961), 143-58.

Verbal revisions resulted in improved style; "revisions of sense concentrate primarily on man's relationship to the world around him, the quality of virtue, the nature of spirit"—including "man's relation to deity." (Lit-R-S)

Lee, Rebecca Smith. "A Contemporary View of Lord Timothy Dexter Comes to Light in Kentucky," *Filson Club Hist. Quar.*, XXXV (Oct. 1961), 357-66.

Letter by Horace Holley, dated 1820, concerning the Newburyport trader (1747-1806) of the Marquand biographies. (Lit-H-E)

Levine, Paul. "Love and Money in the Snopes Trilogy," *College Eng.*, XXIII (Dec. 1961), 196-203.

" . . . the Snopes Trilogy is concerned with the relationship between love and money," no matter in what way the conflict is represented. (Lit-E-R-S)

Light, James F. "The Religion of Death in *A Farewell to Arms*," *Modern Fiction Studies*, VII (Summer 1961), 169-73.

The only kind of immortality man can know is that achieved through "bravery and stoicism, not selfless service to God, country, beloved, or mankind." Though it "is a poor substitute for victory over death through everlasting life," it is "the only . . . kind of religion the Hemingway of *Farewell* can believe in." (Lit-R)

Link, Franz. "Schlüsselbegriffe der Autobiographie Benjamin Franklin," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, XXXV (July 1961), 399-415.

Key ideas from Franklin's literary works are explained as representative of the "Enlightenment" and as operative in both the philosophy and the daily life of America from Franklin's time to the present. (Lit-H-P-S)

Lipset, Seymour Martin. "Equal or Better in America," *Forum*, IV (Spring 1961), 17-21.

Comment on recent books analyzing American society. (Lit-S)

Machts, Walter. "Das Menschenbild in den Dramen Tennessee Williams," *Die Neuren Sprachen*, Heft 10 (Oct. 1961), 445-55.

Examines the characters in Williams' plays with regard to their personal psychology and their psychological reactions to the pressures of the world in which they live. (Lit-Psy-S)

Manierre, William R. II. "Cotton Mather and the Biographical Parallel," *Amer. Quar.*, XIII (Summer 1961), 153-60.

His erudition was not exhibitionistic but essential to his purposes. (Lit-H-R)

Markels, Julian. "Dreiser and the Plotting of Inarticulate Experience," *Mass. Rev.* II (Spring 1961), 431-48.

Dreiser has been underrated by critics, but "despite his personal philosophy, as an artist he was often able to cut beneath the parochial oversimplifications of his time . . . to a core of substance that remains a central preoccupation of our best contemporary novelists." (Lit-P-Psy-S)

Matson, Lowell. "Ade—Who Needed None," *Lit. Rev.*, V (Autumn 1961), 99-114.

Ade's contribution to the theater, to "the new slang of the city which was giving staid English a shot in the arm and was baffling conservatives," to American folklore, to comic opera and (along with Thurber) to social commentary. (Lit-F-L-MC-S)

Mazlish, Bruce *et al.* "On the Breaking of Forms," *Nation*, CXCII (Apr. 22, 1961), 336-58.

Six articles on literary iconoclasm today. (Lit-P-Psy-R-S-SC)

McAleer, John J. "Whittier's Quest for Humility," *Bull. Friends Hist. Assoc.*, L (Spring 1961), 31-45.

Far from lacking artistic pride or critical standards, Whittier was reluctant to give offense and obscured his integrity in his struggle for humility. (Lit-R-H)

McCarthy, Mary. "Characters in Fiction," *Partisan Rev.*, XXVIII (Mar.-Apr. 1961), 171-91.

Attributes the unfortunate decline in fictional characters representing the American scene to a loss of interest in "the social," and suggests some possible types. (Lit-S)

_____. " 'Realism' in the American Theatre," *Harper's*, CCXXIII (July 1961), 45-52.

The strain of cruelty in recent realistic drama begs the question of reality itself. (Lit-P-S)

McDonnell, Robert F. "Eggs and Eyes in *The Great Gatsby*," *Modern Fiction Studies*, VII (Spring 1961), 32-36.

The symbolism of West Egg and East Egg and of the eyes has linguistic as well as sociological significance. (Lit-L-S)

McFadden, Frances. "The Books We Loved as Children," *Atlantic*, CCVII (Apr. 1961), 85-88.

Among the books listed are several still regarded as American "classics" for one reason or another. (Lit-MC-S)

McNamara, Eugene. "William Styron's *Long March*: Absurdity and Authority," *Western Humanities Rev.*, XV (Summer 1961), 267-72.

Plot, narrative structure and pattern of metaphor demonstrate the way in which the novel reflects and echoes the terror of its time and provide an "intentional substructure" in addition to the surface story. (Lit-S)

Miles, Josephine. "The Poetry of Praise," *Kenyon Rev.*, XXIII (Winter 1961), 104-25.

"The sublime" in American poetry from Bradstreet through Whitman to some of the moderns. Forces in American life and thought which have fostered its development. (Lit-L-H)

Miller, Arthur. "The Playwright and the Modern World," *Tulane Drama Rev.* (Summer 1961), 3-20.

American thought has lost all contact with the rapid process of change in the modern world. We must stop being negative toward this change merely out of dogma or fear. (Lit-POL-P)

Mizener, Arthur. "Scott Fitzgerald and the Top Girl," *Atlantic*, CCVII (Mar. 1961), 55-60.

Analysis of the social and psychological components of Fitzgerald's loves. (Lit-Psy-S)

Munson, Gorham. "The Birthday of the Twenties," *Lit. Rev.*, V (Autumn 1961), 93-98.

Summarizes the "moods"—or preoccupations—of eight young writers in 1918 who were to dominate the American literary scene in the Twenties. (Lit-Psy-S)

Nethercot, Arthur H. "The Psychoanalyzing of Eugene O'Neill (Part 2)," *Modern Drama*, III (Feb. 1961), 357-72.

Final part of a survey of psychoanalytically-oriented criticism of O'Neill and his use of psychological motifs. Concludes that O'Neill would have made an excellent analyst. (Lit-Psy)

O'Connor, Edwin. "James Michael Curley and *The Last Hurrah*," *Atlantic*, CCVIII (Sept. 1961), 48-50.

Recollections of the author's meeting with Curley in the days of threatened lawsuit over his book. (Lit-POL)

O'Donnell, Charles. "Progress and Property: The Later Cooper," *Amer. Quar.*, XIII (Fall 1961), 402-9.

Discussion of the anti-rent trilogy and *The Crater* in the light of Cooper's attitude toward democracy, civilization, property and progress. (Lit-E-H)

Oldsey, Bernard S. "The Movies in the Rye," *College Eng.*, XXIII (Dec. 1961), 209-15.

Salinger's attitude toward the movies is important in *The Catcher in the Rye*. (Lit-MC)

Pearce, Roy Harvey. "Whitman Justified: The Poet in 1860," *Minn. Rev.*, I (Apr. 1961), 261-94.

Emphasizes the importance of the 1860 edition of *Leaves of Grass*, notes Whitman's concern with language per se and comments on religious content. (Lit-L-R)

Pizer, Donald. "Evolutionary Ethical Dualism in Frank Norris' *Vandover and the Brute* and *McTeague*," *PMLA*, LXXVI (Dec. 1961), 552-60.

The works are "amalgams, in which a documented sensationalism similar to Zola's portraits of insanity, criminality, and psychological aberration is combined with a Le Conteian evolutionary interpretation of . . . man's ethical duality." (Lit-P-Psy-R-SC)

———. "Evolutionary Foundation of W. D. Howells' *Criticism and Fiction*," *Philological Quar.*, XL (Jan. 1961), 91-103.

Though *Criticism and Fiction* has both an undisciplined structure and relies too heavily on evolutionary theories in the interpretation of literature, it nonetheless adequately represents Howells' critical position. (Lit-P)

Ravitz, Abe C. "The Return of William Ellery Channing," *Amer Quar.*, XIII (Spring 1961), 67-76.

Emerson's attitude toward Spiritualism; account of a leader in the movement, John Pierpont, a practicing poet and minister, who thought that Channing had "returned" and served him as "non-corporeal" adviser. (Lit-R-Psy)

Ray, David. "The Lightning of Randall Jarrell," *Prairie Schooner*, XXXV (Spring 1961), 45-52.

Interpretation of the symbolism in "The Death of the Ball Turret Gunner" and identification of the philosophic and Freudian concepts in Jarrell's poetry in general. (Lit-P-Psy)

Ringe, Donald A. "Man and Nature in Cooper's *The Prairie*," *Nineteenth Century Fiction*, XV (Mar. 1961), 313-23.

Man's insignificance in comparison to the grandeur of God's creation serves a philosophic function in the novel. The descriptive scenes remind us of those painted by Cooper's friends of the Hudson River school. (Lit-A-P-R)

Ross, Robert H. "The Marshes of Glynn': A Study of Symbolic Obscurity," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXII (Jan. 1961), 403-16.

Lanier's poem in terms of Agrarian indictment and Emersonian philosophy of nature, with emphasis on its shortcomings despite its excellences. (Lit-P-S)

Rovit, Earl H. "American Literature and 'The American Experience,'" *Amer. Quar.*, XIII (Summer 1961), 115-25.

There are many "American experiences," but American literature may be stabilizing into a "tradition which would reflect the coalescence of generally accepted social values" (Lit-R-S)

Rubin, Louis D. Jr. "The Southern Muse: Two Poetry Societies," *Amer. Quar.*, XIII (Fall 1961), 365-75.

A marked distinction between the Nashville Fugitives and the Poetry Society of South Carolina is seen in their attitude toward language. (Lit-L)

Ruland, Richard. "A View from Back Home: Kafka's *Amerika*," *Amer. Quar.*, XIII (Spring 1961), 33-42.

Amerika can be read as a testament of one who stayed home and who also understood the problem of the traveler while ignorant of its details. (Lit-S)

Schevill, James. "Bertolt Brecht in New York," *Tulane Drama Rev.* (Autumn 1961), 98-107.

A personal reminiscence of Brecht's days in New York; together with Brecht's comments on American drama and culture and with an analysis of the image of America in his works. (Lit-MC-POL)

Schneider, Robert W. "Stephen Crane and the Drama of Transition," *Jour. of Central Miss. Valley Amer. Studies Assoc.*, II (Spring 1961), 1-16.

His religio-ethical code examined against the background of cultural and historical change and theory. (Lit-R-H-S)

Schorer, Mark. "Sinclair Lewis and the Nobel Prize," *Atlantic*, CCVIII (Oct. 1961), 83-88.

The Nobel Prize marked a stage in Lewis' career and ended his relationship with Harcourt, Brace & Co. (Lit-MC)

Schroeter, James. "A Misreading of Poe's 'Ligeia,'" *PMLA*, LXXVI (Sept. 1961), 397-406.

Attacks Basler's reading of the tale and his "nonrational" interpretation. (Lit-Psy)

Sowder, William J. "Colonel Thomas Sutpen as Existentialist Hero," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXIII (Jan. 1962), 485-99.

Relates Faulkner's character to the existential hero in his sense of failure, vain attempt at self-definition and existential choice. (Lit-P)

Spencer, Benjamin T. "Nationality During the Interregnum (1892-1912)," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXII (Jan. 1961), 434-45.

The period of "general literary malaise" produced writers of stature who sought modes of expression "that would best comprehend their distinctive culture and scene" and who, therefore, "helped to provide direction and motive and substance for much of the memorable writing of the next two decades." (Lit-H-S)

Steele, Oliver L. "Ellen Glasgow, Social History, and the 'Virginia Edition,'" *Modern Fiction Studies*, VII (Summer 1961), 173-76.

In presenting the people, the life and the social structure of a Virginia town, Miss Glasgow "thought of social history as the chief means to her artistic end, not as the end itself." (Lit-H-S)

Stelzmann, Rainulf. "Religiöse Sehnsucht in Americanischen Roman," *Stimmen der Zeit*, LXXXVII (1961-62), 201-12.

Various novels (1850-1959) examined for their presentation of typical American religious experience and thought. (Lit-R)

Stewart, George R. "Interview: On Names of His Characters," *Names*, IX (Mar. 1961), 53-57.

The novelist provides reasons for the choice of names for his characters. *Storm* seems to have set the precedent for assigning feminine names to hurricanes. (Lit-L)

Sutton, Walter. "A Visit with William Carlos Williams," *Minn. Rev.*, I (Apr. 1961), 309-24.

The poet reveals his concern for the use of the American idiom and language in modern verse, his admiration for such poets as Whitman and Pound and his interest in divers matters. (Lit-A-L-R-SC)

Swados, Harvey. "The World of Upton Sinclair," *Atlantic*, CCVIII (Dec. 1961), 96-102.

Evaluation of *The Jungle* (1905) in the light of improved working conditions in the packing houses and parallels in present-day situations. (Lit-S)

Tate, Allen. "A Great Stylist: The Prophet as Critic," *Sewanee Rev.*, LXIX (Apr.-June 1961), 314-17.

Edward Dahlberg's *Can These Bones Live*, "a brilliant and profound survey of American literature," can provide more knowledge "about the human condition in our times" than could "a dozen labored sociological tracts." (Lit-P-S)

Taylor, J. Golden. "Hemingway on the Flesh and the Spirit," *Western Humanities Rev.*, XV (Summer 1961), 273-75.

The spiritual and religious overtones of the story lead to the conclusion, "The Snows of Kilimanjaro' is the death-bed repentance of a prodigal artist who has wasted his soul." (Lit-R)

Taylor, Lloyd C. Jr. "Lydia Maria Child: Biographer," *New Eng. Quar.*, XXXIV (June 1961), 211-27.

Her belief in home education for women led her to found the Ladies Family Library, a series of biographies promoting the crusades of 19th-century American humanitarians. (Lit-MC)

Towne, Jackson E. "Lew Wallace's *Ben Hur*," *N. Mex. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI (Jan. 1961), 62-63.

The remarkable success of *Ben Hur* (written in part while Wallace was Territorial Governor of New Mexico) both as a novel and as adapted for stage and screen. (Lit-H-MC)

Walker, Robert H. "The Poet and the Robber Baron," *Amer. Quar.*, XIII (Winter 1961), 447-65.

Survey of six thousand volumes of American poetry published between 1876 and 1905 makes clear that dominant tone of comment on American life was one of protest against social and economic injustice. (Lit-E-H-S)

_____. "The Poets Interpret the Western Frontier," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLVII (Mar. 1961), 619-38.

Analysis of poetic themes in 1880-1900 period, set against Turner thesis, shows a loss of faith in "noble savage" and "garden" image replaced by urban-industrial progress and the pioneer's civilizing spirit as central themes. (Lit-H-SC)

Weissbuch, Ted N. "Albion W. Tourgee: Propagandist and Critic of Reconstruction," *Ohio Hist. Quar.*, LXX (Jan. 1961), 27-44.

A Fool's Errand and *Bricks Without Straw* show Tourgee as a shrewd social critic, a propagandist for Radical Republicanism and a critic of Southern aristocracy. (Lit-H-POL)

_____. "Edgar Allan Poe: Hoaxer in the American Tradition," *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, XLV (July 1961), 291-309.

Influences on Poe's style, a brief analysis of his techniques and a discussion of some of his more successful hoaxes. (Lit-MC-H)

Wharton, John F. "The Plight of the Promising Play," *Sat. Rev.* (Apr. 29, 1961), 9-11, 36.

Accounts for what he foresees as the likely end of a great theatrical era in America. (Lit-A)

White, Robert L. "Washington Allston: Banditti in Arcadia," *Amer. Quar.*, XIII (Fall 1961), 387-401.

Ambivalence in the painting and writing of Allston. Whereas his Italian landscapes are idyllic, *Monaldi* shows his interest in banditti and owes much to the violence and horror of the "Gothic" romance. (Lit-A)

White, William. "Edgar Allan Poe: Magazine Journalist," *Jour. Quar.*, XXXVIII (Spring 1961), 196-203.

Examines Poe's editorial connections with eight magazines. (Lit-MC)

Zoellner, Robert H. "Fenimore Cooper: Alienated American," *Amer. Quar.*, XIII (Spring 1961), 55-66.

Accounts for Cooper's alienation and traces the effects on the Littlepage trilogy: characterization, social criticism and political theory. (Lit-H-POL-S)

MASS CULTURE

Allsop, Kenneth. "Those American Sickniks," *Twentieth Century*, CLXX (July 1961), 97-106.

The origins of "sick" humor and modern American political satire in the McCarthy and sputnik eras, and its roots in, and effects upon, the thinking of Americans. (MC-Psy)

Alpert, Hollis. "Exciting New Magazines for Show Business," *Sat. Rev.* (Sept. 9, 1961), 48-49.

An appraisal of the new magazines devoted to the theater and the other arts. (MC-Lit-MU)

Barcus, Francis E. "A Content Analysis of Trends in Sunday Comics," *Jour. Quar.*, XXXVIII (Spring 1961), 171-79.

Although domestic situations are still the staple situation, increased attention has been given to themes of action and adventure, to continuity of plot and to cycles (e. g., war themes) related to current events. (MC-S)

Bendiner, Robert. "How to Save Broadway," *Show*, I (Oct. 1961), 39-44.

The ills of Broadway and suggestions for improvement. (MC-Lit-E-S)

Bosworth, Allan R. "The Golden Age of Pulps," *Atlantic*, CCVIII (July 1961), 57-60.

An ex-writer for the pulps describes the techniques he used for popular appeal. (MC-Lit)

Brustein, Robert. "The Madison Avenue Villain," *Partisan Rev.*, XXVIII (Sept.-Oct. 1961), 574-93.

Grey-flanneled publicist has replaced silk-hatted financier as scapegoat. The monopoly of mass-communications by business debases culture. (MC-E)

Cort, David. "Face-Lifting the Giants," *Nation*, CXCI (Nov. 25, 1961), 424-26.

On format revision of *Life*, *Look*, *Saturday Evening Post*. (MC-Lit)

Gardiner, Harold C., S.J. "The Recognition of Shock," *America*, CV (May 20, 1961), 316-19.

Underscores the need for not becoming immunized to the shocks provided by current fiction and TV programs. (MC-Lit-R)

Garver, Richard A. "Polite Propaganda; 'USSR' and 'America Illustrated'" *Jour. Quar.*, XXXVIII (Autumn 1961), 480-84.

The picture produced for U.S. readers by *USSR* emphasizes such "American" values as industrial growth and a high standard of living. In contrast, the U. S. periodical distributed to Russian readers portrays Americans as cultured and imbued with aesthetic interests. (MC-POL-S-Psy)

Gossage, Howard Luck. "The Golden Twig: Black, White, and Pango Peach Magic in Advertising," *Harper's*, CCXXII (Mar. 1961), 64-68.

Why Madison Avenue deals in magic and spells to soften the hard edges of life. (MC-S)

Hachten, William A. "The Changing U.S. Sunday Newspaper," *Jour. Quar.*, XXXVIII (Summer 1961), 281-89.

Content analysis of 13 metropolitan Sunday papers shows changes 1939-59: issues larger, more coverage of leisure and TV, large magazine section and less coverage of serious arts and news. (MC-S)

Hazard, Patrick D. "Problems of the Arts in a Mass Society," *Art Jour.*, XX (Summer 1961), 222-25.

The means available today via mass production, television and publications to raise public taste in art. (MC-A)

Hieronymus, Clara. "The Big News in Nashville is the Children's Theatre," *Theatre Arts Monthly*, XLV (Aug. 1961), 68-69.

A brief sketch of the development of the Nashville Children's Theatre as a municipal community project. (MC-Lit-ED)

Jarvie, Ian. "Hysteria and Authoritarianism in the Films of Robert Aldrich," *Film Culture*, XXII-XXIII (Summer 1961), 95-111.

"Aldrich has made some remarkable studies of the stresses on the individual in modern society. . . ." Analyses of his recent Hollywood films. (MC-S-Psy-Lit)

Kelly, Virginia. "'Sing Along' Success Story: Mitch Miller," *Look*, XXVII (Dec. 5, 1961), 26-36.

Whitman and Mitch Miller have in common, among other things, their ability to say, "I hear America singing." (MC-MU-Lit)

Kuh, Katharine. "The Unhappy Marriage of Art and TV," *Sat. Rev.*, XLIV (Jan. 21, 1961), 61.

Concrete suggestions for improving TV programs dedicated to the fine arts. (MC-A)

Kupferberg, Herbert. "The Culture Monopoly at Lincoln Center," *Harper's*, CCXXIII (Oct. 1961), 82-96.

"As a real-estate project, Lincoln Center is already a magnificent success," but it has not solved the problems of the arts in NYC. (MC-A-MU)

Larrabee, Eric. "Riesman and His Readers," *Harper's*, CCXXII (June 1961), 59-65.

Examination of the popular success of Riesman's writing and his unpopularity among many intellectuals. (MC-S-Psy)

Levy, Alan. "Who Really Sells Tickets," *Show*, I (Nov. 1961), 79-81.

The "stars," the producers and the drama critics are chiefly responsible for box-office appeal. (MC-E-S)

Lokke, V. L. "A Side Glance at Medusa: Hollywood, the Literature Boys, and Nathanael West," *Southwest Rev.*, XLVI (Winter 1961), 35-45.

"What West discovered in Hollywood was only the advanced stage of a sickness which was spreading through the whole of contemporary society. And there was no cure in sight." (MC-Lit)

Lomax, Louis E. "The American Negro's New Comedy Act," *Harper's*, CCXXII (June 1961), 41-46.

Negro humor has a new and healthy tone of self-confidence. (MC-S)

McNeely, Jerry. "Atkinson, in Immediate Retrospect," *Educ. Theatre Jour.*, XIII (Dec. 1961), 250-58.

The principles, prejudices and critical theories of Brooks Atkinson as a drama reviewer, based on 35 years of his reviews in *The New York Times*. (MC-Lit)

Morton, Charles W. "The Boston Evening Transcript" [a series of articles, the first in Dec. 1960]: "Virtuosos Without an Audience," *Atlantic*, CCVII (Jan. 1961), 40-44; "Our Kind of People," *Atlantic*, CCVII (Feb. 1961), 57-60.

History of the now-defunct Boston institution by a former staffer. (MC-Lit-H)

Novick, Julius. "Jules Feiffer and the Almost-in Group," *Harper's*, CCXXIII (Sept. 1961), 58-62.

The cartoonist who attacks apathy. (MC-R-P)

Pryce-Jones, Alan. "Theatre Across the Country," *Theatre Arts Monthly*, XLV (May 1961), 25-26.

Surveys regional theater in the United States including community groups and academic theaters. (MC-Lit-ED)

Schmidt, Barbara. "'Public Relations' in einer amerikanischen Bücherei," *Bücherei und Bildung*, VIII-IX (Aug.-Sept. 1961), 335-39.

Rochester Public Library as an exemplar of the function of the American library serving people in all walks of life. (MC-S)

Sidney, George. "William Faulkner and Hollywood," *Colo. Quar.*, IX (Spring 1961), 367-77.

The film was an alien medium for him and one which he treated with indifference but with craftsmanship. (MC-Lit)

Steigman, B. M. "Precursor to Lincoln Center," *Amer. Quar.*, XIII (Fall 1961), 376-86.

Mayor Hylan's difficulties with the Metropolitan Opera, a statue for City Hall Park and a proposed Center for the Performing Arts. (MC-A-MU-H-POL)

Sutton-Smith, B. & B. G. Rosenberg. "Sixty Years of Historical Change in the Game Preferences of American Children," *Jour. of Amer. Folklore*, LXXIV (Jan.-Mar. 1961), 17-47.

Changes in children's games during the past 50 years have not been studied extensively. This study shows that children increasingly prefer more informal group activities. (MC-F-H-ED)

Tebbel, John. "Books Go Co-operative," *Sat. Rev.* (Apr. 15, 1961), 24-25, 75.

Experiments with the co-operative library system have demonstrated its values. (MC-Lit-E)

Tynan, Kenneth. "Orson Welles: Genius without Portfolio," *Show*, I (Nov. 1961), 60-65.

The contribution made by Orson Welles to the field of the drama, his economic difficulties, his work in Hollywood, his interest in politics. (MC-Lit-POL-E)

Various. "Film Unions and the Low-budget Independent Film Production—An Exploratory Discussion," *Film Culture*, XXII-XXIII (Summer 1961), 135-57.

Transcription of a taped discussion by several "art" film makers on union-caused financial difficulties encountered in the production of art films, together with a specific schedule of film financing techniques. (MC-E-S)

MUSIC

Bowen, Catherine Drinker. "The Nature of the Artist," *Atlantic*, CCVIII (Nov. 1961), 41-46.

A distinguished biographer tells allusively of the part which music has played in her life. (MU-Lit)

Lang, Paul Henry. "Opera in America," *Theatre Arts Monthly*, XLV (Jan. 1961), 10-11.

The difficulties opera as a genre has faced in America. The best future for an operatic tradition in America is to be found in the unorganized and sporadic "popular" operatic movement of recent years. (MU-Lit-MC)

Scruggs, Louise. "History of the Five-String Banjo," *Tenn. Folklore Bull.*, XXVII (Mar. 1961), 1-5.

The banjo is deeply rooted in American history but was almost forgotten until 1940. Now, a revival. (MU-F-H)

Thomson, Virgil. "America's Musical Maturity: A Twentieth Century Story," *Yale Rev.*, LI (Autumn 1961), 66-74.

American music began its adult life in 1920, and a survey of academic instruction and composers indicates that America in music has come to maturity. (MU-ED)

Troubetzkoy, Ulrich. "How Virginia Saved the Outlawed English Carols," *Hist. Mag. Protestant Episcopal Church*, XXX (Sept. 1961), 198-202.

English carols and other Christmas observances, banned in Puritan England in 1650s, survived in Virginia. (MU-R-H)

Williams, Martin. "'The New Think' in Jazz," *Harper's*, CCXXIII (Oct. 1961), 69-75.

Ornette Coleman's radical innovations have renewed jazz. (MU-MC)

PHILOSOPHY

Bertocci, Peter A. "Borden Parker Bowne: Philosophical Theologian and Personalist," *Religion in Life*, XXIX (Autumn 1960), 587-97.

A tribute written for the fiftieth anniversary of his death. (P-R)

Curti, Merle. "Jane Addams on Human Nature," *Jour. of the Hist. of Ideas*, XXII (Apr.-June 1961), 240-53.

Examines the development of and influences upon Jane Addams' essentially humanistic view of human nature. (P-S-H)

Dudden, Arthur P. "Nostalgia and the American," *Jour. of the Hist. of Ideas*, XXII (Oct.-Dec. 1961), 515-30.

Historical evidence supports the view that the spirit of nostalgia is as necessary to adequate understanding of the American experience as is the idea of progress. (P-H)

Greene, Marc T. "Ethics and Morals in America," *Quar. Rev.*, CCXCIX (Oct. 1961), 381-92.

The prevailing low standard of morality, both public and private, among many Americans, and its origins in the greed of a few; the near-destitution of others, especially of the aged; and the powerlessness of much of institutional religion. (P-S-R)

Howell, Wilbur Samuel. "The Declaration of Independence and Eighteenth-Century Logic," *Wm. & Mary Quar.*, XVIII (Oct. 1961), 463-84.

Although the Declaration does not conform to traditional 18th-century rhetoric, it does conform to the newer system of logic, based on the use of axioms in mathematics, which was influenced by John Locke and William Duncan and which was fully expressed by Joseph Priestley later in the century. (P-H-POL-PA)

Noone, John B. Jr. "The Philosophy of History: A Prolegomenon to Political Philosophy," *Rev. of Politics*, XXIII (Oct. 1961), 472-89.

Examines various interpretations of the philosophy of history over the centuries and calls attention to the lack of an explicit democratic concept in tune with the modern world. (P-H-POL)

Parsons, Howard L. "Dewey's Religious Thought: The Challenge of Evolution," *Jour. of Phil.*, LVIII (Mar. 1961), 113-21.

The effects of Darwin on Dewey's religious thought are evident insofar as Dewey rejects all final, formal values. The presuppositions and implications of Dewey's alternative view that God is "the active relation between ideal and actual" are examined and criticized. (P-R)

Randall, John H. Jr. "The Changing Impact of Darwin on Philosophy," *Jour. of the Hist. of Ideas*, XXII (Oct.-Dec. 1961), 435-62.

The great significance of Darwin for philosophy "was to introduce a new 'mode of thinking' and thus to transform the 'logic of knowledge'" so as to produce a new naturalism—particularly in America. Includes a broad survey of the various influences of Darwin on philosophy. (P-H-SC)

Rausch, Renate. "Die Bewertung der Arbeit in Amerika: Von der Werkheiligkeit zur 'Freiertheiligkeit,'" *Studium Generale*, XIV (1961), 355-61.

The change in the intellectual and religious atmosphere from Puritanism through the period of the "Enlightenment" to present-day spiritually confused secularism as reflected in the American attitude toward labor. (P-R-S)

Strout, Cushing. "The Unfinished Arch: William James and the Idea of History," *Amer. Quar.*, XIII (Winter 1961), 504-15.

If James had lived longer, he would have developed a philosophy of history justifying the view of history as narrative. Comparisons and criticisms of James and Becker. (P-H)

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Allen, George V. "Books and the American Image," *Atlantic*, CCVII (May 1961), 77-80.

The U.S.I.S. overseas libraries, their value and their contribution to international understanding. (POL-Lit)

Baldwin, James. "The Dangerous Road before Martin Luther King," *Harper's*, CCXXII (Feb. 1961), 33-42.

King as a typical Negro political leader caught "in a no man's land between black humiliation and white power." (POL-ED-Law-S-R)

Beth, Loren P. "The Supreme Court and the Future of Judicial Review," *Political Sc. Quar.*, LXXVI (Mar. 1961), 11-23.

The future of judicial review lies somewhere between the "self-restraint" position of Justice Frankfurter and the "selective activism" theory of Justice Black. (POL-H-Law)

Billington, Ray Allen. "Government and the Arts: The W. P. A. Experience," *Amer. Quar.*, XIII (Winter 1961), 466-79.

Evaluation of the Writers' Project, with which the author was associated. (POL-Lit-A-MU)

Bogardus, Emory S. "National Political Conventions as Social Institutions," *Sociology & Social Research*, XLV (Jan. 1961), 205-9.

Unless basic procedural changes are made, convention delegates are likely, as in the case of electors, to become rubber stamps. (POL-Psy-MC-S)

Carleton, William G. "The Cult of Personality Comes to the White House," *Harper's*, CCXXIII (Dec. 1961), 63-68.

Shifts in American society have changed the nature of the Presidency at the expense of both parties. (POL-S)

Elkins, Stanley & Eric McKittrick. "The Founding Fathers: Young Men of the Revolution," *Political Sc. Quar.*, LXXVI (June 1961), 181-216.

After reviewing the arguments with respect to the Beardian interpretation, asserts that the key struggle at the Constitutional Convention of 1787 was between the inertia of the Anti-Federalists and the energy of the Federalists. (POL-H-E)

Gorenstein, Arthur. "A Portrait of Ethnic Politics: The Socialists and the 1908 and 1910 Congressional Elections on the East Side," *Pub. Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, L (Mar. 1961), 202-38.

The changing orientation of Socialist candidates from anti-nationalism to regard for ethnic interests led to the final victory of Meyer London in 1914. (POL-H-S-R)

Hacker, Andrew. "The Elected and the Anointed: Two American Elites," *Amer. Political Sc. Rev.*, LV (Sept. 1961), 539-49.

The differences between the legislative desires of a sampling of congressional and corporation elite are examined by comparing selected aspects of their backgrounds. (POL-E-S)

McSeveney, Samuel T. "The Michigan Gubernatorial Campaign of 1938," *Mich. Hist.*, XL (June 1961), 97-127.

The defeat of the Democrats disrupted the New Deal coalition but at the same time aligned lower-income groups with that party in this election. (POL-H-S-E)

Morgan, Thomas B. "The People-Machine," *Harper's*, CCXXII (Jan. 1961), 53-57.

Kennedy's secret computing device that will change future political strategy. (POL-SC)

Mosk, Stanley & Howard H. Jewel. "The Birch Phenomenon Analyzed," *N. Y. Times Mag.* (Aug. 20, 1961), 12.

Includes techniques used by the Birchers to disrupt public speeches. (POL-PA)

Paetel, Karl O. "Kennedy, Harvard und die 'Eierkopfe,'" *Geist und Tat*, XVI (June 1961), 171-73.

Type of "egghead" in American politics and the background he represents. (POL-S)

Reagan, Michael D. "The Political Structure of the Federal Reserve System," *Amer. Political Sc. Rev.*, LV (Mar. 1961), 64-76.

After an examination of "the 'fit' of the System's formal structure to (1) the policy functions and informal policy-making mechanisms . . . and (2) the pattern of interests and values affected by monetary policy" shows that it "is inappropriate to its functions and out of line with informal arrangements that have the logic of necessity behind them." (POL-E-H)

Richardson, Elliot L. "Poisoned Politics: The Real Tragedy of Massachusetts," *Atlantic*, CCVIII (Oct. 1961), 77-81.

With coordination the forces for a drive against corruption in government now exist in Massachusetts. (POL-S)

Roche, John P. "The Founding Fathers: A Reform Caucus in Action," *Amer. Political Sc. Rev.*, LV (Dec. 1961), 799-816.

The Constitutional Convention of 1787 as the achievements of a group of democratic revolutionaries operating skillfully against political enemies and eventually to gain popular approval. (POL-H)

Rowen, Hobart. "Kennedy's Economists," *Harper's*, CCXXIII (Sept. 1961), 25-32.

Economic advisers must argue more vigorously to overcome the President's conservative streak. (POL-E)

Schall, James V. "Government Without Bother," *Thought*, XXXVI (Summer 1961), 277-88.

Though American national government evidences the optimistic political approach of Aristotle, American state and local government historically has reflected the notion of government as an evil. (POL-P)

Sheehan, Robert. "Arizona Fundamentalist," *Fortune*, LXIII (May 1961), 137, 140, 246, 251, 252, 254.

Image and ideas of Barry Goldwater as a spokesman for conservatism. (POL-P-PA)

Stempel, Guido. "The Prestige Press Covers the 1960 Presidential Campaign," *Jour. Quar.*, XXXVIII (Spring 1961), 157-64.

Analysis of 15 highly rated U.S. dailies shows they gave the Democrats and the Republicans almost equal coverage. (POL-MC-H)



Tinder, Glenn. "The Necessity of Historicism," *Amer. Political Sc. Rev.*, LV (Sept. 1961), 560-65.

The meaningfulness of history is properly an object of intellectual endeavor and a problem rightfully deserving the concern of scholars. (POL-H-P)

Tinling, Marion. "Thomas Lloyd's Reports of the First Federal Congress," *Wm. & Mary Quar.*, XVIII (Oct. 1961), 519-45.

Adds to the information concerning the early shorthand reporting of congressional debates. (POL-PA-H)

Whipple, Charles L. "Dirty Money in Boston," *Atlantic*, CCVII (Mar. 1961), 41-46.

The extent of corruption revealed by the Worcester case makes reform of government and taxation in Massachusetts a necessity. (POL-E)

PSYCHIATRY & PSYCHOLOGY

"A Symposium: Alienation and the Search for Identity," *Amer. Jour. of Psychoanalysis*, XXI (Nov. 1961), entire issue.

Articles on alienation in modern art, literature, society, etc., as well as in psychiatry. (Psy-A-Lit-S)

Arsenian, John. "Situational Factors Contributing to Mental Illness in the United States: A Theoretical Summary," *Mental Hygiene*, XLV (Apr. 1961), 194-206.

Analysis of supports, ideological stresses and conflicts in U. S. society. (Psy-S)

Bruch, Hilde. "The Effects of Modern Psychiatric Theories on our Society—A Psychiatrist's View," *Jour. of Existential Psychiatry*, II (Fall 1961), 213-32.

Characteristic American attitudes have interacted with modern psychiatric theory for good (optimism, research) and for ill (stereotype thinking). (Psy-MC-S)

Cole, David L. "The Perception of Lincoln: A Psychological Approach to the Public's Conception of Historical Figures," *Jour. of Soc. Psychology*, LV (Oct. 1961), 23-26.

Patterns of word selection used to measure popular estimate of Lincoln (as "father," etc.) are an approach to archetypal content of historical personages. (Psy-H-L-MC)

Fox, Ezra G. Benedict. "Was General Lee a Victim of Group Psychology?" *Psychoanalysis & The Psychoanalytic Rev.*, XLVIII (Fall 1961), 62-68.

Suggests Lee at Gettysburg, influenced by near-worship of troops, overestimated his strength. (Psy-H)

Galvin, James A. V. & Arnold M. Ludwig. "A Case of Witchcraft," *Jour. of Nervous & Mental Disease*, CXXXIII (Aug. 1961), 161-68.

Medieval Spanish folklore combines with that of American Indian tribes to foster cases of "witchcraft" among rural Spanish-Americans in Colorado. (Psy-F-S)

Gerbner, George. "Psychology, Psychiatry and Mental Illness in the Mass Media: A Study of Trends, 1900-1959," *Mental Hygiene*, XLV (Jan. 1961).

"Popular interest in (or exposure to) articles on mental illness . . . appears to rise in war and prosperity and fall during depression or recession." (Psy-MC-S)

Goshen, Charles E. "New Interdisciplinary Trends in Psychiatry," *Amer. Jour. of Psychiatry*, CXVII (Apr. 1961), 916-21.

Mental health statistics "are reflections of many variables determined by different and complex attitudes and socio-economic practices." (Psy-S)

Hoffman, Frederick J. "The Wheel of Self: Some Contemporary Examples and Definitions," *Jour. of Existential Psychiatry*, II (Summer 1961), 105-12.

Examines in Mailer, Goodman, Malamud, Bellow, Ginsberg, Sartre, Camus *et al.*, "the self entirely cut off from a heroic center." (Psy-Lit-P)

Janowitz, Morris, "Mass Persuasion and International Relations," *Public Opinion Quar.*, XXV (Winter 1961), 560-70.

Review of three recent studies (by Hadley Cantril, Frederick Barghoorn, Robert von de Velde) of Soviet and American psychological operations. (Psy-POL-MC-S)

Pittenger, Robert E. & Paul Martineau. "Some Notes on the Authority Structure and the Responsibility of Adolescents in the George Junior Republic," *Jour. of Nervous & Mental Disease*, CXXXIII (Oct. 1961), 339-45.

One of the oldest U.S. childcaring institutions reflects in its structure and training program 19th-century preoccupation with questions of government, jurisprudence and economics. (Psy-POL)

Rieff, Philip. "The American Transference: From Calvin to Freud," *Atlantic*, CCVIII (July 1961), 105-7.

Connections between the views of man presented by Calvin and Freud. (Psy-S)

Rolo, Charles J. "Are Americans Well Adjusted?" *Atlantic*, CCVII (Jan. 1961), 59-63.

Critical appraisal of the sociological study *Americans View Their Mental Health* (Basic Books). (Psy-S)

_____, ed. "Psychiatry in American Life," *Atlantic*, CCVIII (July 1961), 61-111.

Supplement of 14 articles dealing with psychiatry's effect on medicine, writing, religion, art, children and morals. (Psy-MC-R-P-ED-Lit-A-P)

Russell, Roger W., ed. "Psychology and Policy in a Nuclear Age," *Jour. of Social Issues*, XVII (1961), 1-85.

Collection of eight articles. (Psy-SC-S)

Seeley, John R. "The Americanization of the Unconscious," *Atlantic*, CCVIII (July 1961), 68-72.

"The love affair between America and its image" took special form with the arrival of Freudianism. (Psy-S)

Wechsler, Henry. "Community Growth, Depressive Disorders and Suicides," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, LXVII (July 1961), 9-16.

Rapidly growing communities tend to produce significantly higher rates of hospitalized depressive disorders and suicide but not of other mental disorders. (Psy-S)

PUBLIC ADDRESS

Barrow, Lionel C. Jr. "Factors Related to Attention to the First Kennedy-Nixon Debate," *Jour. of Broadcasting*, V (Summer 1961), 229-38.

"The major emphasis . . . on the social and psychological factors" of listeners in Lansing-East Lansing, Michigan. (PA-MC)

Becker, Samuel L. "Presidential Power: The Influence of Broadcasting," *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XLVII (Feb. 1961), 10-18.

Argues that "a shift in the balance of power from Congress to the President" may be attributed in some part to the President's ability to use mass media. (PA-POL-MC)

Braden, Waldo W. "The Emergence of the Concept of Southern Oratory," *So. Speech Jour.*, XXVI (Spring 1961), 173-83.

Investigates the myth of Southern oratory and the image of the Southern orator. (PA-Lit-H)

Brinkerhoff, F. W. "The Ottawa Chautauqua Assembly," *Kans. Hist. Quar.*, XXVII (Winter 1961), 457-68.

The 30-year history of the Ottawa (Kansas) Assembly and its most noted speakers. (PA-ED-H-MC-R)

Casy, Ann. "Thomas Starr King and the Secession Movement," *Hist. Soc. of So. Cal. Quar.*, XLIII (Sept. 1961), 245-75.

His oratorical persuasiveness in saving California for the Union. (PA-H-R)

Dell, George W. "Robert M. Hutchins: Paradox in Persuasion," *So. Speech Jour.*, XXVI (Summer 1961), 291-99.

His shift from isolationism to internationalism. (PA-POL)

Freeley, Austin J. "The Presidential Debates and the Speech Profession," *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XLVII (Feb. 1961), 60-64.

Purports "to record the role of speech profession in the 'great debates' of 1960." (PA-POL-H)

Fehrenbacher, D. E. "Lincoln, Douglas, and the 'Freeport Question,'" *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, LXVI (Apr. 1961), 599-617.

Analysis of Lincoln's famous question on the exclusion of slavery in the territories and Douglas' answer. (PA-H)

Friedman, Robert T. "Arthur M. Hyde: Articulate Antagonist," *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, LV (Apr. 1961), 226-34.

Analysis of "hard-hitting oratory" of prominent Missouri Republican and phrasemaker. (PA-H)

Gunderson, Robert G. "Lincoln and the Policy of Eloquent Silence: November, 1860, to March, 1861," *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XLVII (Feb. 1961), 1-9.

The strategy of Lincoln from the election to the inauguration. (PA-H)

Hargis, Donald E. "A Virginian in California, 1849," *So. Speech Jour.*, XXVI (Summer 1961), 271-78.

The influence of Charles Tyler Botts in framing the constitution of California. (PA-H)

Horner, Harlan Hoyt. "The Substance of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates, Part I," *Lincoln Herald*, LXIII (Summer 1961), 89-98; Part II (Fall 1961), 121-33.

The positions taken by the speakers on important issues in the debates. (PA-H)

King, C. Richard. "Woodrow Wilson's Visit to Texas in 1911," *South-western Hist. Quar.*, LXV (Oct. 1961), 184-95.

Wilson's speech at Texas State Fair, Dallas. (PA-H)

Jeffrey, Robert C. "Republican Credentials Committee Debates, 1952," *Speech Monographs*, XXVIII (Nov. 1961), 265-73.

Analyzes "four of the major debates staged by delegations from Texas, Florida, Louisiana, and Georgia." (PA-H-POL)

Hillbruner, Anthony. "Man at Work: An Old Pro on the Platform," *Frontier*, X (Dec. 1961), 14-15.

Critical analysis of Goodwin J. Knight's speech early in the 1962 California gubernatorial campaign. (PA-POL)

Larsen, Lawrence H. "William Langer: A Maverick in the Senate," *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, XLIV (Spring 1961), 189-98.

The politics and speechmaking of the U.S. Senator from North Dakota. (PA-H-POL)

Lomas, Charles W. "Kearney and George: The Demagogue and the Prophet," *Speech Monographs*, XXVIII (Mar. 1961), 50-59.

How George learned some effective speaking techniques from Kearney. (PA-H)

Lowitt, Richard. "Populism and Politics: The Start of George W. Norris' Political Career," *Neb. Hist.*, XLII (June 1961), 75-94.

His early campaigning and speaking in Nebraska. (PA-H-POL)

McCurdy, Frances. "Courtroom Oratory of the Pioneer Period," *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, LVI (Oct. 1961), 1-12.

Pioneer lawyers in Missouri depended upon wit, strategy and emotional appeal to win favorable verdicts. (PA-H-Law)

Manierre, William Reid. "Verbal Patterns in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*," *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XLVII (Dec. 1961), 402-13.

Stylistic techniques of Puritan preacher. (PA-Lit-L)

Pence, James W. Jr. "The Decline of the Literary and Debating Societies at the University of Virginia," *So. Speech Jour.*, XXVI (Spring 1961), 214-23.

Factors which led to the decline. (PA-H-ED)

Rives, Ralph Hardee. "Public Address in the 'Old Dominion' 1820-40," *So. Speech Jour.*, XXVI (Summer 1961), 318-28.

The role "oratory" played in shaping opinions, ideas and the "destiny of the Commonwealth of Virginia." (PA-H)

Rose, Ernest D. "How the U.S. Heard About Pearl Harbor," *Jour. of Broadcasting*, V (Fall 1961), 285-98.

Report and analysis of several radio broadcasts. (PA-MC-H)

Rubin, Bernard. "Propaganda and Ideological Conflicts, 1917-45: the Need for Psychological Peacefare—I," *Contemporary Rev.*, CC (Dec. 1961), 630-36.

Essentials in democratic propaganda and its use, especially by the U.S. in World War I. (PA-Psy-H-POL)

Seifrit, William C. "Literary Societies at West Virginia Wesleyan," *W. Va. Hist.*, XXIII (Oct. 1961), 42-49.

Activities of two societies from 1890 to 1925. (PA-H-ED)

Underhill, William R. "Harry S. Truman: Spokesman for Containment," *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XLVII (Oct. 1961), 268-74.

Foreign policy speeches of 1945-47. (PA-H-POL)

Werner, M. R. "Fiorello's Finest Hour," *Amer. Heritage*, XII (Oct. 1961), 38-41, 106-11.

La Guardia's speechmaking in the 1929 New York mayoralty campaign. (PA-H-POL)

White, Hollis L. "Champ Clark, The Leather-Bound Orator," *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, LVI (Oct. 1961), 26-40.

His unique oratorical style helped him to rise to Speaker of the House and presidential candidate. (PA-H-POL)

Williams, Donald E. "Andrew D. White: Spokesman for the Free University," *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XLVII (Apr. 1961), 133-42.

Summarizes and evaluates early speaking of first president of Cornell University. (PA-ED)

———. "Protest Under the Cross: The Ku Klux Klan Presents Its Case to the Public, 1960," *So. Speech Jour.*, XXVII (Fall 1961), 43-55.

Study of efforts of KKK to present its line of thought. (PA-H)

Windes, Russel R. Jr. "A Study of Effective and Ineffective Presidential Campaign Speaking," *Speech Monographs*, XXVIII (Mar. 1961), 39-49.

Seeks to determine the factors of effectiveness and ineffectiveness in the 1956 campaign speeches of Stevenson. (PA-H-POL)

Wolfarth, Donald L. "John F. Kennedy in the Tradition of Inaugural Speeches," *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XLVII (Apr. 1961), 124-32.

Discusses the form, length and content of inaugural addresses. (PA-H-POL)

Zacharias, Donald W. "John J. Crittenden Defends a 'Scoundrel,'" *So. Speech Jour.*, XXVII (Fall 1961), 7-19.

The lawyer's defense of Matt Ward in murder case, 1854. (PA-H)

Zucker, Norman L. "George W. Norris: Nebraska Moralist," *Neb. Hist.*, XLII (June 1961), 95-124.

His development and speechmaking as a moralist in international affairs from 1903 to 1942. (PA-H-POL)

RELIGION

Arrington, Leonard J. "Utah and the Depression of the 1890's," *Utah Hist. Quar.*, XXIX (Jan. 1961), 3-18.

The Mormon Church's extensive program to fight depression included moral admonition, stop-gap relief, resettlement or colonization and the establishment of new industries. (R-E-H)

Berky, Andrew S. "The Schwenkfelders," *Hist. Rev. Berks County*, XXVII (Winter 1961-62), 13-15.

One of the smallest Protestant denominations, a pietist sect, which came to Pennsylvania in the 1730s. (R-H)

Brauer, J. C. "Images of Religion in America," *Church Hist.*, XXX (Mar. 1961), 3-18.

Impressions of foreign visitors to the U.S. (R-H)

Brown, Lawrence L. "The Episcopal Church in the Arid West, 1865-1875: A Study in Adaptability," *Hist. Mag. Protestant Episcopal Church*, XXX (Sept. 1961), 142-72.

Attempts to meet the needs of agricultural and mining communities of varied ethnic backgrounds and to minister to the Plains Indians. (R-H-S)

Cahn, Edmond. "How to Destroy the Churches," *Harper's*, CCXXIII (Nov. 1961), 33-39.

Clergymen who attempt to break down the wall between church and state are doing religion a disservice. (R-POL)

Cheney, Brainard. "Christianity and the Tragic Vision: Utopianism USA," *Sewanee Rev.*, LXIX (Autumn 1961), 515-33.

The modern American, presently lost ideologically, may yet become Christian. Holds that "hubris" and utopianism are the greatest obstacles to the possibility. (R-P-H-MC)

Clebsch, William A. "Christian Interpretations of the Civil War," *Church Hist.*, XXX (June 1961), 212-30.

The thought of several major Christian interpreters of the War, including Philip Schaff and Horace Bushnell. Followed by a "Comment" on history, Bushnell and Lincoln by Sydney E. Ahlstrom. (R-H)

Cushman, Joseph D. Jr. "Francis Huger Rutledge, 1799-1866, First Bishop of Florida, 1851-1866," *Hist. Mag. Protestant Episcopal Church*, XXX (June 1961), 127-37.

A nephew of John and Edward Rutledge, he strongly supported Florida's secession from the Union. (R-H)

Dillenberger, John. "Protestantism in the United States: Its Temper and Main Tendencies," *Studium Generale*, XIV (1961), 102-6.

Historical factors—such as the separation of church and state, the challenges and problems of the frontier and the rapid growth of population—responsible for the past and present nature of American Protestantism. (R-H-S)

Dumond, Dwight L. "Democracy and Christian Ethics," *Jour. of Negro Hist.*, XLVI (Jan. 1961), 1-11.

Discusses the basic responsibilities in the acceptance of the Christian Ethic with respect to racial equality in the United States. (R-P-H-S)

Eaton, Clement. "Professor James Woodrow and the Freedom of Teaching in the South," *Jour. of So. Hist.*, XXVIII (Feb. 1962), 3-17.

An important instance in history of academic freedom and the religious accommodation of evolution. (R-E-P-SC-H)

Griffin, Clifford S. "Converting the Catholics: American Benevolent Societies and the Ante-Bellum Crusade Against the Church," *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, XLVII (Oct. 1961), 325-41.

Though anti-Catholic in intent, Protestant groups such as the Home Mission Society or the Tract Society in their efforts to win converts exerted a moderating effect during the Know-Nothing period. (R-H-PA)

Henderson-Howat, A.M.D. "Christian Literature in the Eighteenth Century," *Hist. Mag. Protestant Episcopal Church*, XXX (Mar. 1961), 24-34.

Literature sent to the American colonies by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. (R-H-Lit)

Ingalls, R. "The Poetry of Wallace Stevens: A Christian Context," *Religion in Life*, XXXI (Winter 1961-62), 118-30. (R-Lit)

James, Sydney V. "Quaker 'Charity' Before the American Revolution," *Bull. Friends Hist. Assoc.*, L (Autumn 1961), 82-95.

The sect's early charitable concerns were primarily for the welfare of its own members rather than the broader humanitarianism which characterized its efforts following the Revolution. (R-H)

Karp, Abraham J. "Simon Tuska Becomes a Rabbi," *Pub. Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, L (Dec. 1960), 79-97.

The education of a 19th-century pioneer in Reform Judaism. (R-ED-H)

MacVicar, Barbara M. "Southern and Northern Methodism in Civil War California," *Cal. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, XL (Dec. 1961), 327-42. (R-H)

McGehee, Charles W. "Minot Judson Savage: Rebuilder of Faith," *Proc. of Unitarian Hist. Soc.*, XIII, Pt. 2 (1961), 25-44.

On problems of evolution and religion. This issue also includes articles by other authors on Henry W. Bellows, Theodore Parker, George Ripley and Francis G. Peabody. (R-P-SC-H)

Meyer, Isidore S., ed. "The American Jew in the Civil War," *Pub. of Amer. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, L (June 1961), 263-408.

A series of articles in a Civil War centennial issue. (R-H)

Mezvinsky, Norton. "An Idea of Female Superiority," *Jour. of Central Miss. Valley Amer. Studies Assoc.*, II (Spring 1961), 17-26.

The religious origins of the concept of female superiority and its theoretical and practical effects. (R-H-S)

Miller, Perry. "Theodore Parker: Apostasy within Liberalism," *Harvard Theological Rev.*, LIV (Oct. 1961), 275-95. (R-H)

Miller, Robert Moats. "Methodism, The Negro, and Ernest Freemont Tittle," *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, XLIV (Winter 1960-61), 102-9.

A Midwestern minister's struggle to desegregate religion in the years 1920-40. (R-S-H)

Mitchell, Lionel L. "The Episcopal Church and the Christian Social Movement in the Nineteenth Century," *Hist. Mag. Protestant Episcopal Church*, XXX (Sept. 1961), 173-82.

With special reference to The Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, The Christian Social Union, and such social gospel clergymen as James Otis Sargent Huntington and William Dwight Porter Bliss. (R-H-E-S)

Moberg, David O. "Religion and Society in the Netherlands and in America," *Amer. Quar.*, XIII (Summer 1961), 172-78.

"Certain forces in American society appear either to be planned intentionally to establish vertical pluralism in America or to have latent consequences that may result in it." (R-S)

Moershel, Henry G. & Martin Dickel. "Historical Background of Amana" & "Communal Life in Amana," *Iowa Jour. of Hist.*, LIX (Jan. 1961), 78-89.

On the German communitarian sect. (R-H-S)

Shearer, Ernest C. "Sam Houston and Religion," *Tenn. Hist. Quar.*, XX (Mar. 1961), 38-50.

His attitude toward religion, and his fluctuating affiliations from Catholic to Know-Nothing. (R-H)

Smart, William B. "Mormonism's First Foothold in the Pacific Northwest," *Utah Hist. Quar.*, XXIX (Jan. 1961), 21-30.

The first, and unsuccessful, attempt to plant the Mormon Church in Oregon in the 1850s. (R-H)

Thoms, Arthur C., trans. "Early Lutheranism in Colorado, by Pastor William Luessenhop," *Colo. Mag.*, XXXVIII (Apr. 1961), 131-34.

Contemporary account, translated from an 1893 German-language publication. (R-H)

SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

Brecher, Ruth & Edward. "The Happiest Creatures on Earth?" *Harper's*, CCXXII (Apr. 1961), 85-90.

"Project Donkey" by working directly on the brain has developed a new kind of "reward"—more seductive than food, money or sex—that offers ultimate control of human behavior. (SC-Psy-S)

Canby, Courtland & Richard K. Morris. "Father of the Modern Submarine," *Amer. Heritage*, XII (Feb. 1961), 35-39, 94-99.

An account of John Holland. (SC-H)

Fisher, Marvin. "The Iconology of Industrialism, 1830-60," *Amer. Quar.*, XIII (Fall 1961), 347-64.

Responses of European visitors to American technology reveal covert fears of violation of nature and explain the delayed appearance of functionalism in industrial design. (SC-Lit-S)

Gates, Paul W. "Charles Lewis Fleischmann: German-American Agricultural Authority," *Agricultural Hist.* (Jan. 1961), 13-23.

A German immigrant as transmission belt for German scientific knowledge of sheep breeding, agricultural education, sugar beet culture, etc., and concurrent activities in stimulating German immigration to the U.S. (SC-S-H)

Graustein, Jeannette E. "The Eminent Benjamin Smith Barton," *Pa. Mag. Hist. & Biog.*, LXXXV (Oct. 1961), 423-38.

Career of notable physician, naturalist, teacher in pre-revolutionary Philadelphia and his impact on other scientists. (SC-ED-H)

Griffenhagen, George. "Bartholomew Browne, Pharmaceutical Chemist of Salem, Massachusetts, 1689-1704," *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, XCVII (Jan. 1961), 19-30.

Browne's activities in Salem, throwing some light on 17th-century pharmacology. (SC-H)

Guerra, Francisco. "Medical Almanacs of the American Colonial Period," *Jour. of Hist. Medicine*, XVI (July 1961), 234-55.

Medical material in general almanacs. (SC-Lit-H)

Hendrickson, Walter B. "Nineteenth-Century State Geological Surveys: Early Government Support of Science," *Isis*, LII (Sept. 1961), 357-71.

Early state geological surveys and the economic and political forces behind them. (SC-H-POL-E)

Johnson, John C. "A Brief History of the Rocky Mountain Biological Laboratory," *Colo. Mag.*, XXXVIII (Apr. 1961), 81-103.

The story of a remarkable research institution, built on the site of an old ghost town, told by its founder. (SC-H)

Jones, Gordon W. "The Year Virginia Mourned," *Bull. of Hist. of Medicine*, XXXV (May-June 1961), 257-65.

The yellow fever epidemic in Norfolk, 1855. (SC-H)

Kagan, Morris. "Federal Public Health: A Reflection of a Changing Institution," *Jour. of Hist. of Medicine*, XVI (July 1961), 256-79.

History of Federal participation in public health. (SC-H-POL)

Killian, James R. "Making Science a Vital Force in Foreign Policy," *Science*, CXXXIII (Jan. 6, 1961), 24-25.

Urges more international scientific cooperation and less use of science for propaganda. (SC-POL)

Kolmeyer, Fred W. & Floyd L. Herum. "Science and Engineering in Agriculture: A Historical Perspective," *Technology & Culture*, II (Fall 1961), 368-78.

History of agricultural technology, largely in America. (SC-H)

Lathrop, Amy. "Pioneer Remedies from Western Kansas," *Western Folklore*, XX (Jan. 1961), 1-22.

How much of pioneer medical lore was effective or how much was "fool luck?" (SC-F-S)

Miller, Perry. "The Responsibility of Mind in a Civilization of Machines," *Amer. Scholar*, XXXI (Winter 1961-62), 51-69.

Traces cult of technological progress and stresses the need for positive intelligence to deal with the problems of a machine culture. (SC-Lit-H-P-S)

Murphree, Idus L. "The Evolutionary Anthropologists: The Progress of Mankind; The Concepts of Progress and Culture in the Thought of John Lubbock, Edward B. Tyler, and Lewis H. Morgan," *Amer. Phil. Soc. Proc.*, CV (June 27, 1961), 265-300.

The sources of the ideas of Morgan and his English contemporaries. (SC-S-H-P)

Nichols, Roy F. "The Magic Square," *Amer. Phil. Soc. Proc.*, CV (June 27, 1961), 237-43.

Explains Philadelphia's interest in science in the 18th century. (SC-H)

Piel, Gerard. "End of Toil," *Nation*, CXCII (June 17, 1961), 515-19.

The impact of automation on the labor force and the prospects for a new way of life. (SC-E-S)

Riess, Karlem. "The Rebel Physiologist—Bennet Dowler," *Jour. of Hist. of Medicine*, XVI (Jan. 1961), 39-48.

Pioneer Southern physician and physiologist (1797-1878). (SC-H)

Roddis, Louis H. "Naval Medicine in the Early Days of the Republic," *Jour. of Hist. of Medicine*, XVI (Apr. 1961), 103-23. (SC-H)

Sayre, Wallace S. "Scientists and American Science Policy," *Science*, CXXXIII (Mar. 24, 1961), 859-64.

Stresses the need for the scientist to play an active political role. (SC-POL)

Tucker, Leonard. "President Thomas Clap of Yale College: Another 'Founding Father' of American Science," *Isis*, LII (Mar. 1961), 55-77.

Clap as a scientific modernist who adapted the new science to religious orthodoxy. (SC-ED-H-R)

Waring, Joseph I. "The Influence of Benjamin Rush on the Practice of Bleeding in South Carolina," *Bull. of Hist. of Medicine*, XXXV (May-June 1961), 230-37.

Traces the practice largely to former students of Rush. (SC-H)

Weinberg, Alvin M. "Impact of Large-Scale Science on the United States," *Science*, CXXXIV (July 21, 1961), 161-64.

Questions whether the U.S. is devoting too much of its resources to "big science." (SC-POL-E)

SOCIOLOGY & ANTHROPOLOGY

Alger, Hugh W. "Crops and Chores: Pennsylvania Farm Life in the 1890's," *Pa. Mag. Hist. & Biog.*, LXXXV (Oct. 1961), 367-410.

Hardships of farm life in 1890s and the way of life of farmer. (S-H-MC)

Barth, Ernest A. "Community Influence Systems; Structure and Change," *Social Forces*, XL (Oct. 1961), 58-63.

Analysis of functional relationship between the demographic and economic institutional base of the community and the structure of the influence system. (S-E-POL)

Bernard, Jessie, ed. "Teen Age Culture," *Annals of Amer. Acad. of Pol. Soc. Sc.*, CCCXXXVIII (Nov. 1961), 1-207.

Issue of 12 articles on three major topics: "Teen Age Culture," "Values" and "Variations." (S-MC-ED-Psy-R-E)

Bressler, Marvin, ed. "Meeting Health Needs by Social Action," *Annals of Amer. Acad. of Pol. Social Sc.*, CCCXXXVII (Sept. 1961), 1-146.

Fourteen articles deal with five aspects of American Health: "The Structure of Medical Services," "Some Social Mechanisms for Meeting Health Needs," "The Special Problems of Low-Income Groups and the Aged," "Anticipating the Health Needs of Americans." (S-E-SC-POL-Psy)

Brooks, Juanita. "Indian Sketches from the Journals of T. D. Brown and Jacob Hamblin," *Utah Hist. Quar.*, XXIX (Oct. 1961), 347-60.

Descriptions of Indian life by two Mormon missionaries of the 1850s. (S-H-R)

Burchinal, Lee G. & Jack E. Rossman. "Relations Among Maternal Employment Indices and Developmental Characteristics of Children," *Marriage & Family Living*, XXIII (Nov. 1961), 334-40.

In general, there was no relationship between maternal employment indices and the selected personality characteristics and social relationship patterns of the children. (S-Psy-E)

Carlton, Frank T. "American Labor and Capitalism in the Sixties," *Sociology & Social Research*, XLV (Apr. 1961), 320-26.

The typical large American organization has become a "business" union, heading toward institutional rigidity and a loss of its missionary or idealistic spirit. (S-E-POL)

Chatfield, E. Charles. "The Southern Sociological Congress: Rationale of Uplife," *Tenn. Hist. Quar.*, XX (Mar. 1961), 51-64.

"Sociological" in a practical rather than an academic sense, the Congress preached social amelioration from moral and religious premises and served as a vehicle of challenging social ideas in the decade 1910-20. (S-R-H)

Commager, Henry Steele. "Do We Have a Class Society?" *Va. Quar. Rev.*, XXXVII (Autumn 1961), 548-57.

Although our society may be arranged in classes, whether by economic or social categories, what matters is that membership in these classes is fluid. (S-E)

Cumming, Elaine & David M. Schneider. "Sibling Solidarity: A Property of American Kinship," *Amer. Anthropologist*, LXIII (June 1961), 498-507.

Intensive interview data indicate the strength of sibling bonds in the U.S. and their function in an industrial society. (S-Psy-MC-ED-E)

Day, Lincoln H. "Status Implications of Employment of Women in U.S.," *Amer. Jour. of Economics & Sociology*, XX (July 1961), 391-97.

An examination of the non-economic reasons why women work, and the positive and negative status effects of work for wives. (S-E)

Dean, Dwight G. "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement," *Amer. Soc. Rev.*, XXVI (Oct. 1961), 753-58.

There is a negative correlation between the three components of Alienation (Powerlessness, Normlessness and Social Isolation) and occupational prestige, education, income and rural background, and a positive correlation with advancing age. (S-E-ED-Psy)

Fischer, J. L. "Art Styles as Cultural Cognitive Maps," *Amer. Anthropologist*, LXIII (Feb. 1961), 79-93.

Possible use of styles in art as reflections of the character of cultures otherwise unknown. (S-A)

Freedman, Ronald & Doris P. Schlesinger. "Fertility Differentials for the Indigenous Non-farm Population of the United States," *Population Studies*, XV (Nov. 1961), 161-73.

Relationship between fertility and socio-economic status of non-farm couples as measured by husbands' income and wives' education. (S-E)

Freedman, Ronald & Pascal K. Whelpton. "Socio-Economic Factors in Religious Differentials in Fertility," *Amer. Soc. Rev.*, XXVI (August 1961), 608-14.

Precision matching is used to test whether religious differences in fertility behavior result from socio-economic differences between the major religious groups. (S-E-R)

Gentile, Frank & S. M. Miller. "Television and Social Class," *Sociology & Social Research*, XLV (Apr. 1961), 259-64.

The nature of the portrayal of seven "working class" characters on television was studied in terms of occupation, speech, consumption style, ethnic character, dramatic role and positive or negative presentation. (S-MC-E)

Getzels, Jacob W. & Philip W. Jackson. "Family Environment and Cognitive Style: A Study of the Sources of Highly Intelligent and of Highly Creative Adolescents," *Amer. Soc. Rev.*, XXVI (June 1961), 351-59.

These groups were found to differ in intellectual and social behavior, and to have their source in differing family environments. (S-Psy)

Gould, Julius. "American Jewry: Some Social Trends," *Jewish Jour. of Sociology*, III (June 1961), 55-75.

The extent to which American Jews have retained their separate identity in race, customs, religion and places of abode. (S-R-Psy)

Greenfield, Robert W. "Factors Associated with Attitudes toward Desegregation in a Florida Residential Suburb," *Social Forces*, XL (Oct. 1961), 31-42.

Favorable and unfavorable attitudes are significantly associated with occupational prestige, education, a configuration indicating relative exposure to Southern race relations norms, and regional self-identification. (S-E-ED)

Hauser, Philip M. "The Census of 1960," *Sc. Amer.*, CCV (July 1961), 39-45.

The first detailed figures indicate that the urbanization of the U.S. continues. (S-H)

Heald, Morrell. "Business Thought in the Twenties: Social Responsibility," *Amer. Quar.*, XIII (Summer 1961), 126-39.

Uncertain growth of a sense of social responsibility. (S-H-E)

Helfrich, Margaret L. "The Generalized Role of the Executive's Wife," *Marriage & Family Living*, XXIII (Nov. 1961), 384-87.

Basic duties and norms of expectation associated with the role of executive wife. (S-E)

Jacobs, Jane. "Violence in the City Streets," *Harper's*, CCXXIII (Sept. 1961), 37-43.

Dangers inherent in modern rehabilitated areas of the city due to isolation, absence of stores, people and traffic. (S-A)

Kelleher, John V. "Irishness in America," *Atlantic*, CCVIII (July 1961), 38-40.

Uses the defeat of folk-hero John L. Sullivan as the mark of the Irish social "arrival" on the American scene. (S-F-H)

Krasner, William. "Hoodlum Priest and Respectable Convicts," *Harper's*, CCXXII (Feb. 1961), 57-62.

A St. Louis Jesuit has revolutionized the parole system in establishing Dismas House, named for the good thief who died beside Jesus. (S-R)

Krippendorff, Ekkehart. "Schwarzer Radikalismus," *Der Monat*, XIV (Oct. 1961), 23-28.

The social and political situation leading to the rise of a radical group of American Negroes having certain religious and cultural convictions. (S-POL-R)

Lazerwitz, Bernard. "A Comparison of Major United States Religious Groups," *Jour. of Amer. Statistical Assoc.*, LVI (Sept. 1961), 568-79.

Analysis of demographic and socio-economic characteristics based on data from three recent national surveys. (S-R-E)

Lewis, W. David. "The Female Criminal and the Prisons of New York, 1825-1845," *N. Y. Hist.*, XLII (July 1961), 215-36.

Consideration of "double standard" upon penology and New York's pioneering role in creating women's prisons. (S-H-Law-POL)

Litwak, Eugene. "Voluntary Associations and Neighborhood Cohesion," *Amer. Soc. Rev.*, XXVI (Apr. 1961), 258-71.

Suggests principle that social control is maximized by coordination of bureaucratic and primary groups. (S-E-POL)

Marcson, Simon. "Organization and Authority in Industrial Research," *Social Forces*, XL (Oct. 1961), 72-80.

Problems of control and administration as they relate to the work of scientists in industrial research depend on the manner in which the laboratory organizes its authority. (S-SC-E)

Matza, David & Gresham M. Sykes. "Juvenile Delinquency and Subterranean Values," *Amer. Soc. Rev.*, XXVI (Oct. 1961), 712-19.

To view the adolescent in general and the delinquent in particular as members of the last leisure class may help to explain both the large amount of unrecorded delinquency and the occurrence of delinquency throughout the class structure. (S-MC-E)

Monahan, Thomas P. "On the Trend in Delinquency," *Social Forces*, XL (Dec. 1961), 158-68.

Basic fluctuations can be observed corresponding to changes in the social climate such as during and after war periods and economic cycles. (S-E)

Morris, Willie. "Houston's Superpatriots," *Harper's*, CCXXIII (Oct. 1961), 48-56.

The radical right and the radical left are turning a city into a mecca for the zany. (S-POL)

Motz, Annabelle Bender. "The Roles of the Married Woman in Science," *Marriage & Family Living*, XXIII (Nov. 1961), 374-76.

The general role definitions and values associated with scientist and housewife in American society contradict rather than complement each other. (S-SC)

Murphy, Raymond J. & Richard T. Morris. "Occupational Situs, Subjective Class Identification, and Political Affiliation," *Amer. Soc. Rev.*, XXVI (June 1961), 383-92.

Individuals in Finance and Records and Commerce situses tend to see themselves as middle class and favor the Republican party, while those in manufacturing and building and maintenance identify with the working class and prefer the Democratic party. (S-POL-E-Psy)

Nelson, Harold A. & Edward C. McDonagh. "Perception of Statuses and Images of Selected Professions," *Sociology & Social Research*, XLVI (Oct. 1961), 3-16.

Occupational status is dependent upon the social situation and symbolic clues derived from the situation. (S-E-Psy)

Neumeyer, Martin H. "Community Coordinating Councils as a Social Movement," *Sociology & Social Research*, XLV (Apr. 1961), 265-73.

Coordinating councils stress cooperation, coordination, studies, planning, education and democratic action. (S-POL-E-ED)

Rezneck, Samuel. "Diary of a New York Doctor in Illinois—1830-1831," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.* (Spring 1961), 25-50.

Raw Illinois frontier community life as seen by a sophisticated young doctor, Asa Fitch. (S-E-ED-H-Lit-R-SC)

Riesman, David. "Tocqueville as Ethnographer," *Amer. Scholar*, XXX (Spring 1961), 174-87.

Democracy in America helps us to understand but not to solve our problems. (S-POL-H)

Rieuf, Christie. "Praying Mantises," [trans. from *La Nef*, Paris (Jan-Mar. 1961)], *Atlas*, I (Apr. 1961), 40-45.

"The American woman devours her man." (S-Psy)

Robinson, James A. "Process Satisfaction and Policy Approval in State Department-Congressional Relations," *Amer. Jour. of Soc.*, LXVII (Nov. 1961), 278-83.

Satisfaction with information parts of policy-making correlates with satisfaction with policy. (S-POL)

Roosevelt, Eleanor. "What has Happened to the American Dream?" *Atlantic*, CCVII (Apr. 1961), 46-50.

Examines factors in complacency of American youth. (S-Psy-ED)

Roucek, Joseph S. "Juvenile Delinquency in the U.S.A.," *Contemporary Rev.*, CC (Dec. 1961), 637-41.

The causes, sociological and psychological, of juvenile delinquency, of which the most important are broken homes, difficulties of assimilation of immigrants, personal deficiencies and lack of parental control. (S-Psy)

Rovere, Richard H. "Notes on the Establishment in America," *Amer. Scholar*, XXX (Autumn 1961), 489-95.

Observations on policies, media of influence and members lend support to contention there is an "establishment" in the U.S. (S-MC-POL)

"Spotlight on Marriage," *Population Bull.*, VII (June 1961), 61-69.

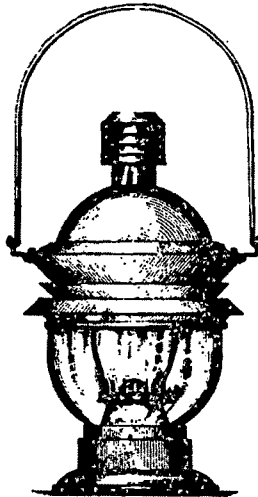
Historical and comparative data on marriage trends in U.S., especially since 1950. (S-H-E-Psy-R)

Street, David & John C. Leggett. "Economic Deprivation and Extremism: A Study of Unemployed Negroes," *Amer. Jour. of Soc.*, LXVII (July 1961), 53-57.

Groups hard hit by economic deprivation will come to view violence as a plausible concomitant of economic depression, especially when deprivation increases for the whole community and when respondents have radical views on governmental intervention in the economy. (S-E-POL)

Wilensky, Harold L. "Orderly Careers and Social Participation: The Impact of Work History on Social Integration in the Middle Mass," *Amer. Soc. Rev.*, XXVI (Aug. 1961), 521-39.

Data suggest that chaotic experience in the economic order fosters a retreat from both work and the larger communal life. (S-E-POL)



AMERICAN STUDIES

DISSERTATIONS IN PROGRESS

The purpose of this checklist is to inform the ASA membership of the interdisciplinary dissertations-in-progress involving an American subject. Although the entries primarily represent research in formal programs in American Studies, any dissertation topic, no matter what its auspices, may be included if it represents more than one academic discipline pertinent to an American subject. Those who supplied information for this listing were asked to indicate that more than one discipline was involved and to specify the disciplines. Any American subject might be relevant to American Studies, but since other journals devoted to individual disciplines already list dissertations-in-progress the encyclopedic record—and repetition—of such subjects would serve some purpose other than that of this selective checklist.

Each entry in the checklist includes author, title, the degree for which the dissertation is written (D or M), and the school at which the student is enrolled. Completed dissertations bear a date: customarily, the date of the graduate degree to which this dissertation contributed.

Additions and corrections will be included in the next checklist if they are addressed to the compiler, Henry Wasser, The City College of New York.

The City College Fund provided financial assistance for this checklist.

Abood, Edward. *The Reception of the Abbey Repertory Theatre in America*. D, Chicago.

Adams, Dick. *Ring Lardner's America*. D, Minnesota.

Adams, Harry. *Conservation in Colorado in the Progressive Era*. M, Denver.

Agee, William H. *Chicago in the Novel: the Alienated Individual in the New America*. D, Minnesota.

Albrecht, Robert C. *The New England Transcendentalists' Response to the Civil War*. D, Minnesota.

Anderson, Esther. *Barzun and William James*. M, Pennsylvania State. 1961.

Anderson, Hugh George. *The Lutheran Church in the South: 1860-1920*. D, Pennsylvania.

Angel, Donald E. *U. S. Foreign Relations in the Mid-Twentieth Century*. D, Denver.

Ashby, LeRoy. *The Middle Ground on American Independence: Dickenson, Dulaney and Galloway*. M, Wyoming. 1961.

Baker, Donald G. *Novel and Politics, 1920-1960, as Reflected in the Best Seller Lists*. D, Syracuse. 1961.

Bannister, Robert Corwin. *The Mind and Thought of Ray Stannard Baker: 1890-1919*. D, Yale. 1961.

Bates, Allan. *Mark Twain and the Mississippi River*. D, Chicago.

- Bernstein, Joel. *The Federal Arts Project and Its Impact on the American Painter*. M, Wyoming.
- Besselink, Herman. *Maria Weston Chapman and The Liberty Bell*. D, Michigan.
- Biggs, Donald C. *Stevenson's Regiment of New York Volunteers in California (1846-1848): A Historical Study of Social Action*. D, Minnesota.
- Birnbaum, Lucille. *Watsonian Behaviorism and American Social Thought, 1913-1933*. D, California, Berkeley.
- Bliss, Richard. *Social History of Agriculture in Lewis County*. D, Cornell.
- Bolger, Stephen. *The Irish Immigrant in the American Novel, 1830-1860*. D, Pennsylvania.
- Bottorf, Wm. K. *An Edition of American Poems, Selected and Original, 1793*. D, Brown.
- Brickner, Dale. *Analysis and Impacts of Labor Law Developments of Three Decades*. D, Cornell.
- Bridges, William E. *The Family in Nineteenth Century American Poetry*. D, Brown.
- Briscoe, Eugenia. *Settlement of South Arkansas Territory, 1830-1836*. D, Denver.
- Brodtkorb, Paul Jr. *Melville's Symbolology*. D, Yale.
- Callison, Louise. *George Cary Eggleston: A Biographical and Critical Study*. D, Western Reserve.
- Callow, James T. *Knickerbocker Writers among the Fine Arts, 1807-1855*. D, Western Reserve.
- Canby, Courtland. *Literary Culture in Sixteenth-Century Virginia*. D, Harvard.
- Carlson, Roy W. *Jack London's Heroes: A Study of Evolutionary Thought*. D, New Mexico. 1961.
- Carr, Charles A. "Americanism" in American Catholic Thought, 1866-1900. D, Minnesota.
- Chmaj, Betty. *The Double Attraction: The National Artistic Will, 1890-1917*. D, Michigan. 1961.
- Cohen, Henry. *The Banking Career of William W. Corcoran*. D, Cornell.
- Coleman, Leon. *The City in American Painting*. D, Minnesota.
- Colwell, James Lee. *The American Experience in Berlin during the Weimar Republic*. D, Yale. 1961.
- Connors, Donald Francis. *Enchanted Wilderness: A Commentary on Thomas Morton's New English Canaan*. D, Columbia. 1961.
- Cooke, Stuart. *American Collegiate History Texts, 1890-1960*. D, Denver.
- Cooper, Alice A. *Study of the Beecher Family*. D, Harvard.
- Coverley, Cyril. *The Episcopal Church and the Trans-Mississippi Frontier, 1850-1894*. D, Denver.
- Cross, Donald. *Romantic Landscape in the Trans-Mississippi West*. D, Pennsylvania.
- Curtis, Bruce. *William Graham Sumner*. D, Iowa.
- Davis, James H. *The Ku Klux Klan in Colorado*. M, Denver.
- DeJong, John. *Evolutionism in America Prior to Darwin*. D, Iowa. 1962.
- Denzil, Clifton. *Dallas Scottish Rite Masonry—Fifty Years of Growth and Development*. M, Baylor.
- Dow, Eddy. *Lewis Mumford's Literary Criticism*. D, Pennsylvania.
- Dowell, Peter W. *Van Wyck Brooks and the Mind of his Generation*. D, Minnesota.
- Draper, James. *Hemingway and Religion*. M, Pennsylvania State.
- Duberman, David. *French Visitor's Description of the United States*. D, Pennsylvania.
- Duus, Louise. *Image of Law, 1902-1932*. D, Minnesota.
- Ehmann, Francis Alan. *Cultural Conflict in New Mexico: The Problem and Its Recognition in the 1890s*. D, Minnesota.

- Elbers, Gerald W. *Censorship of American Literature, 1870-1935*. D, Minnesota.
- Elder, Marjorie J. *Transcendental Symbolists: Hawthorne and Melville*. D, Chicago.
- Engel, Ralph. *The Relationship of Aesthetic and Sociological Criticism in the Work of F. O. Matthiessen*. D, Michigan.
- Erno, Richard B. *Image of the Negro in Ante-Bellum Southern Diaries*. D, Minnesota. 1961.
- Farnen, Russell. *Grant: A Case Study in Popularity and Partisanship in the Presidency*. D, Syracuse.
- Feeley, Thomas F. *History of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Denver*. D, Denver.
- Finkler, Norman. *History of the Philadelphia Free Library, 1925-1955*. D, Pennsylvania.
- Fleet, James W. *General Irving Hale, Engineer and Soldier*. M, Denver.
- Flink, James. *American Acceptance of the Automobile*. D, Pennsylvania.
- Flint, Allen D. *An Investigation of Nathaniel Hawthorne's Attitudes Toward Society and Politics*. D, Minnesota.
- Fogarty, Robert. *John Humphrey Noyes and Social Reform*. M, Denver.
- Fonaroff, Benjamin S. N. *The New Republic from 1919-1939: A Study of American Liberal Thought Between the Two World Wars*. D, Minnesota.
- Ford, Richard B. *Colorado Influence in the New Deal*. D, Denver.
- Frazier, J. L. *Public Life of William A. H. Loveland*. D, Denver.
- Free, Dan. *Development of Unitarian-Universalism since 1900*. D, Denver.
- George, Douglas. *Social Protest in Twentieth-Century German and American Painting*. D, Minnesota.
- Gervasi, Sean. *Welfare Theory and the Concept of Economic Surplus*. D, Cornell.
- Gianakos, Perry E. "The Yanio-Spanko War": Our War with Spain in American Fiction [formerly *The Spanish-American War in American Literature*]. D, New York. 1961.
- Gladish, Robert W. *Elizabeth Barrett Browning and America, 1838-1861. A Study of Her American Friendships and of Her Publication and Reputation in America*. D, Chicago.
- Goodwin, Gerald Joseph. *The Response of Colonial Anglicans to Pietism and Deism*. D, Wisconsin.
- Goodwin, Paul. *Theodore Roosevelt and Presidential Nominating Politics*. D, Syracuse.
- Gopaul, Paul A. *Monsignor John A. Ryan: American Social Gospeller, 1900-1945*. D, New Mexico.
- Gordon, Jean. *The Reception of Modern Art in America, 1900-1930*. D, Wisconsin.
- Graham, Alice D. *Pennsylvania-German Elements in the Work of Conrad Richter*. M, Pennsylvania State.
- Greer, Kirk. *George Lippard: Novelist and Social Reformer*. D, Pennsylvania.
- Gregory, Donald L. *The American Writer as Political Officeholder*. D, Ohio State.
- Grimsted, David. *The Romantic Drama in Early 19th Century America*. D, California, Berkeley.
- Gurian, Jay P. *Two Western Mining Communities: A Study of Their Actual Development and Their Mythology*. D, Minnesota.
- Hackley, David. *The New Panama Canal Company and American Isthmian Diplomacy, 1894-1904*. M, Wyoming. 1961.
- Hale, Nathan. *The Popular Reception of Freud in the 1920s*. D, California, Berkeley.
- Hamolsky, Sidney. *Interpretations of the Status of Puerto Rico as a Commonwealth*. M, Brown. 1961.

- Hancock, John L. Professional City Planning in America: A Study of the Office of John Nohlen. D, Pennsylvania.
- Hansen, Erik Arne. Irving Babbitt and His View of Tradition. D, Yale.
- Harvey, Robert D. A Study of the Literary Techniques of "Muckraking" Journalism in Relation to Realistic Fiction. D, Chicago.
- Hathaway, Richard Dean. Sylvester Judd: Biographical and Critical Study. D, Western Reserve.
- Hausdorff, Don. American Humor and the Great Depression. D, Minnesota.
- Hiebert, Ray. Courtier to the Crowd: Ivy Lee and the Development of Public Relations. D, Maryland.
- Hiner, James H. The Boatman and the Boat: Mark Twain's Relation to the Technology of His Age. D, Minnesota.
- Hirsch, David. The Intellectual as Portrayed in American Fiction. D, Ohio State. 1961.
- Holsinger, M. Paul. Willis Van Devanter: A Study in Conservatism. D, Denver.
- Holtzclaw, Harold W. Effect of the U. S. Military on Policy Structure, 1865-1939. D, Denver.
- Hoople, Robin P. The Third Edition of *Leaves of Grass*: A Study of Whitman and American Culture in 1860. D, Minnesota.
- Haupt, William P. Henry N. Day and the Maine Lumber Business. D, Pennsylvania.
- Hove, Halder L. The Norwegian Immigrant Press, 1870-1920. D, Chicago.
- Hudnut, David. Airplanes in American Culture. D, Pennsylvania.
- Hunsaker, Kenneth. Mormon Literature. D, Pennsylvania State.
- Jaher, Frederic C. Doubters and Dissenters: A Study of Cataclysmic Thought in America, 1880-1918. D, Harvard. 1961.
- Johnston, Kenneth Gordon. The Organic Tradition in Industrial America. D, Minnesota.
- Jones, Charles E. A Perfectionist Persuasion: Social Implications of the Holiness Movement within American Methodism in the Late Nineteenth Century. D, Wisconsin.
- Kane, Patricia. The Image of the Lawyer in American Novels of Social Realism and Conceptual Novels of Symbolic Action. D, Minnesota. 1961.
- Karl, Barry. Twentieth Century Concepts in Public Administration: Merriam, Brownlow and Gulick [formerly *The New Reform: American Public Administration, 1900-1940*]. D, Harvard. 1960.
- Katz, Seymour. Unitarian Ministers of Boston, 1790-1860 [formerly *Boston's Churches, 1790-1865*]. D, Harvard. 1961.
- Kay, Arthur. The Epic Intent and the American Dream: The Westering Theme in American Poetry. D, Columbia. 1961.
- Kelsey, Harry. John Evans, M.D., Pioneer, Educator, Governor, Builder, and the Winning of the West. D, Denver.
- Kifer, Allen. The Negro and the New Deal. D, Wisconsin. 1961.
- Kirkpatrick, Jean R. The Temperance Novel in the United States. D, Pennsylvania.
- Kitchens, John R. The American Revolution and Higher Education. D, New Mexico.
- Kite, Marilyn. Three Views of the Washington Conference, 1921-22: The Journalists, the Political Scientists, the Historians. M, Wyoming.
- Knapp, Joseph. Melville's Criticism of American Culture. D, Minnesota.
- Knowles, Jane. Social Class Structure in Colonial Philadelphia and Boston. D, Pennsylvania.
- Kopp, Charles. Thoreau and Mysticism. D, Pennsylvania State.

- Krebsbach, Raymond P. Howells, Mark Twain and Garland and the Agrarian Tradition. D, Minnesota.
- Kreuter, Kent. Industrialism and the Man of Letters, 1790-1890. D, Wisconsin.
- Langdon, George D. Jr. Plymouth Colony, 1649-1692. D, Yale. 1961.
- Lankford, John. Protestant Benevolence in the Twentieth Century. D, Wisconsin. 1961.
- Lemisch, L. Jesse. Seamen in New York, 1763-1775. D, Yale.
- Lemmons, William E. A Critical History of Western Interpretation. D, Minnesota.
- Levin, Norman G. Jr. A Study of the American Left and Foreign Affairs, from World War I to the Korean War. D, Harvard.
- Levy, David W. The Self-Image and the Public Image of the Abolitionists. D, Wisconsin.
- Levy, Eugene Donald. James Weldon Johnson: A Study in Negro Leadership. D, Yale.
- Leyendecker, Liston E. History of Laredo, Texas. D, Denver.
- Lluch, Teresa. The Governors of New Mexico in the 18th Century. M, Denver.
- Lowens, Irving. Music in American Civilization, 1770-1820. D, Maryland.
- Lyons, Richard E. An Inquiry into the Motivation and Characteristics of Certain Art Consumers in North Dakota. D, Minnesota.
- Makosky, Donald. Images of Women in American Magazine Fiction, 1905-1955. D, Pennsylvania.
- Manesis, George. Elias Ammons (1913-1915) Governor of Colorado. M, Denver.
- Marina, William F. Anti-Imperialism in the United States, 1895-1960. D, Denver.
- Marshall, Herbert. The Negro in Business. D, Western Reserve.
- Max, Peter. Regulation of the Natural Gas Industry. D, Cornell.
- Mayer, Gerald. History of the University of Denver, 1920-1945. M, Denver.
- McBride, Sarah E. A Hundred Years of Women's Magazines. D, Minnesota.
- McCleary, Richard. The Rise of an Existentialist Temper in American Thought: 1918-1941. D, Yale. 1961.
- McMahon, William E. The World-View of Hart Crane. D, Chicago.
- Melder, Keith E. Beginnings of the Women's Rights Movement in the United States, 1833-1848. D, Yale.
- Menke, Wayne. The Doctor: A Study of Values, 1920-1960. D, Minnesota.
- Merideth, Robert D. Edward Beecher: A Cultural Biography. D, Minnesota.
- Miller, Edward Jr. U. S. Naval Air Force in World War I. D, Denver.
- Miller, Ross. Jerome B. Chaffee of Colorado. M, Denver.
- Mitchell, J. Paul. The Progressive Movement in Colorado. D, Denver.
- Moak, Barbara. History of the Southern Literary Festival. M, Baylor. Withdrawn.
- Moon, John E. Van Courtland. Preconceptions of American Strategy, World War II. D, Harvard.
- Mooney, Joan. American Detective Story. D, Minnesota.
- Moore, William. The "Higher Criticism" in American Thought, 1840-1920. D, California, Berkeley.
- Morrison, Marcia I. American Cultural Rebellion in the 1890s. D, Minnesota.
- Moss, Rex H. Governor Albert Cummings of Colorado. M, Denver.
- Murbe, Hans. The American Image of Germany as Found in Nineteenth-Century Travel Books. D, Ohio State.
- Murdock, Mary Elizabeth. Charles William Eliot. D, Brown.
- Murphy, George. New Biographies of 1920s and their Reappraisal of the American Tradition. D, Pennsylvania.

- Murray, Hazel. *American Historical Fiction, 1865-1885: Reflections of American Culture*. D, Wisconsin.
- Nash, Roderick W. *The American Wilderness: A Study of the Idea and Achievement of Wilderness Preservation*. D, Wisconsin.
- Nicholl, Grier. *Christian Social Fiction in America, 1870-1920*. D, Minnesota.
- Norheim, Margaret N. *Some Aspects of the Oxford Movement in America*. D, Chicago. 1962.
- O'Brien, Charles. *The Diplomacy of North American Defense: A Study in Canadian-American Relations, 1936-1945*. M, Wyoming.
- Oliva, Leo E. *Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail [formerly The Western Urban Frontier, 1850-1894]*. D, Denver.
- O'Neill, William. *The Divorce Movement in Early 20th Century America*. D, California, Berkeley.
- Orr, John B. *Images of America in the Contemporary French Novel, 1920-1955*. D, Minnesota.
- Parham, Paul M. *Malcolm Glenn Wyer and the Development of American Libraries in the Rocky Mountain Region*. D, Denver.
- Parkins, C. Richard. *Fundamentalism and Authoritarianism*. D, Pennsylvania.
- Payne, Jack Brooks. *Censorship in the United States and the Twentieth-Century Novel*. M, Wyoming. 1961.
- Picht, Douglas Robert. *The Image of the American Farmer, 1930-1950*. D, Minnesota.
- Pool, Elizabeth Leigh. *New England Puritan Social Theory of the Seventeenth Century*. M, Wyoming. 1961.
- Potter, Hugh M. *The Romantic Nationalists of the 1920s*. D, Minnesota.
- Price, Starling. *Jack London's America*. D, Minnesota.
- Pyle, William. *History of the Colorado State Capitol Complex [formerly Towards Establishment of an Air Academy: Planning and Problems, 1920-1950]*. M, Denver.
- Raensch, Bruce. *The Indianization of the Mountain Men*. D, Pennsylvania.
- Randle, William McKinley. *History of American Popular Music*. D, Western Reserve.
- Reese, Virginia. *Civil War in American Short Fiction*. M, Pennsylvania State.
- Resh, Richard W. *American Intellectuals, Propaganda and World War II*. D, Wisconsin.
- Richwine, Keith N. *The New Art and the New Freedom: A History of Bohemian Groups in America, 1910-1918*. D, Pennsylvania.
- Rider, Daniel E. *Music Philosophy and Practice of the New England Transcendentalists*. D, Minnesota.
- Riley, William. *Regionalism in Six Presidential Administrations*. D, Syracuse.
- Ringer, Gerald. *Terror in Recent American Fiction*. M, Florida State.
- Robertson, Henry M. *The Student Personnel Movement in Higher Education: A Study of Its Origins and Development Against the Background of American Thought and Experience*. D, Minnesota.
- Robinson, Cecil. *Mexico and the Hispanic Southwest in American Literature*. D, Columbia. 1961.
- Rock, Virginia. *The Making and Meaning of *I'll Take My Stand*: A Study in Utopian Conservatism, 1925-1939 [formerly The Twelve Southerners and *I'll Take My Stand*: A Study in Conservatism]*. D, Minnesota. 1961.

- Rosenfeld, William. *The Divided Burden: Common Elements in the Search for a Religious Synthesis in the Works of Theodore Parker, Horace Bushnell, Nathaniel Hawthorne and Herman Melville*. D, Minnesota. 1961.
- Rosenmeier, Jesper. *Typology and History in Colonial American Literature*. D, Harvard.
- Roussalis, Mary. *Governor Frederick Pitkin of Colorado*. M, Denver.
- Royall, Walter. *John Burgoyne as Man of Letters*. M, Pennsylvania State. 1961.
- Schmidt, Dolores Barracano. *Theodore Dreiser's Social Philosophy*. D, Pennsylvania.
- Schuster, Richard. *American Civil War Novels to 1880*. D, Columbia. 1961.
- Sclarenco, Carl D. *Lewis Mumford: The Utopian Focus*. D, Minnesota.
- Seaton, Esta Klein. *The Changing Image of the American Woman in a Mass Periodical (The Ladies' Home Journal, 1890-1919)*. D, Minnesota.
- Sheketoff, Merwin. *William Graham Sumner: Social Christian, 1869-1872*. D, Harvard. 1961.
- Shultz, William Henry. *A Study of the Writings of John Collier, former United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs*. D, Chicago.
- Siebert, Roger. *A History of the Shoshoni Indians of Wyoming*. M, Wyoming. 1961.
- Silverman, Henry Jacob. *American Social Reformers in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century*. D, Pennsylvania.
- Simmons, Peter. *Changing Views of Debtor-Creditor Relations*. D, Wisconsin.
- Skidmore, Max J. *The Impact of the Concepts of Social Security upon American Culture*. D, Minnesota.
- Smith, Alvin Linfield Jr. *History of the Accounting Profession in Colorado*. D, Denver.
- Smith, David E. *John Bunyan in America: A Critical Inquiry*. D, Minnesota.
- Smith, Nolan E. *Nathaniel Hawthorne's Image of Puritanism in the Novels and Tales through 1853*. D, Yale.
- Smith, Ralph Carlisle. *Charles Godfrey Leland: A Critical Biography*. D, New Mexico. 1961.
- Somkin, Fred. *Freedom and Anxiety in American Culture, 1825-1860*. D, Cornell.
- Stenerson, Douglas C. *A Genetic History of H. L. Mencken's "Prejudices," 1880-1926*. D, Minnesota. 1961.
- Sykes, Richard E. *The Influence of Rapid Social Change on Unitarianism in Massachusetts between 1800-1870, and the Implications of this Influence on the Understanding of Religion and American Culture*. D, Minnesota.
- Tarson, Theodore L. *A History of Governmental Treatment of Corporate Consolidation since 1890*. D, Yale. 1961.
- Taylor, R. Jean. *The "Return to Religion" in America in the Post World War II Decade as Evidenced in Literature, Press, Public Speeches and Public Acts*. D, Minnesota. 1961.
- Thernstrom, Stephan. *Class and Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City [Newburyport, Mass.] [formerly The American Worker and the American Dream: Social Mobility in Yankee City, 1850-1940]*. D, Harvard.
- Thompson, Neil Baird. *The Impact of Industrialism on the Public High School*. D, Minnesota.
- Ton, Paul. *J. Ross Brown and the Spirit of American Enterprise, 1825-1900*. D, Denver.
- Trachtenberg, Alan. *Brooklyn Bridge: Fact and Symbol, 1869-1930*. D, Minnesota.
- Turaj, Frank. *A Study of the Significance of the Contribution of H. L. Mencken*. D, Brown.
- Vander Hill, Charles Warren. *History of Holland, Michigan*. D, Denver.

- Vecoli, Rudolph. *The Italian Community of Chicago*. D, Wisconsin.
- Von Hendy, Andrew. *Ezra Pound's Cantos: Uses of the Past*. D, Cornell.
- Waldera, Gerald. *Governor William H. Adams of Colorado, 1927-33*. D, Denver.
- Watkins, Martin A. *The American Revolution in Literature and History, 1783-1860*. D, Pennsylvania.
- Weaver, Earl James. *John Dewey and Reinhold Niebuhr as Spokesmen for their Ages*. D, Brown.
- Weber, Daniel Barr. *John Muir: The Function of Wilderness in an Industrial Society*. D, Minnesota.
- Webster, Lindsley. *American Involvement in German Repatriation, 1919-1929*. D, Cornell.
- Weinstein, Eugene D. *National Interest and Honor: A Study in American Nationalism*. D, Minnesota.
- Weiss, Robert M. *The Image of Emerson in American Life and Thought*. D, Wisconsin.
- Wickens, James F. *Depression, Drought and the New Deal: Colorado, 1933-40*. D, Denver.
- Wiggs, William. *The Indians and the Government: A Study of the Theory and Practice of Tribal Termination*. M, Wyoming.
- Williams, Ellen Bremner. *The Early History of Poetry: A Magazine of Verse*. D, Chicago.
- Wilson, Raymond J. *American Discussion of Human Nature, 1859-1890*. D, Wisconsin.
- Wilson, Theodore. *Psychological Aspects of the Early Life of Woodrow Wilson*. D, Pennsylvania.
- Zieger, Robert H. *Some American Attitudes Toward Labor, 1880-1895*. M, Wyoming. 1961.
- Zyskind, Harold. *Principles in Theodore Roosevelt's Rhetoric*. D, Chicago.



WRITINGS ON THE THEORY AND TEACHING OF AMERICAN STUDIES

This is the fifth annual bibliography. Interest continues to focus on the theory and philosophy of American Studies.

Each entry is listed once under its appropriate heading. Though the survey for this bibliography was done as systematically as possible, some items may have been overlooked. These should be brought to the attention of the editor for inclusion in the next annual bibliography. No systematic search was made in newspapers, private university publications or alumni magazines.

A special committee of the American Studies Association of New York State has been responsible for the preparation of the bibliography.

CHAIRMAN & EDITOR:

Arnold A. Sio, Colgate University

MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE:

Robert J. Cooke, Syracuse University

Benjamin F. Gronewold, Buffalo State Teachers College

Kenneth B. O'Brien, Colgate University

I. THE PHILOSOPHY OF AMERICAN STUDIES

Agard, W. R. "Our Classical Humanities: Refuge and Guide," *Va. Quar. Rev.*, XXXVIII (Spring 1962).

Points out the positive contributions of the classical humanities to American culture and suggests that the classical humanities have positive values for present and future American culture.

Brogan, D. W. "Anglo-American Relations," *Yale Rev.*, LI (Autumn 1961), 11-22.

The trend in American-British relations is from contempt to concern. These countries must learn the historical and contemporary forces which shape their respective characters.

Higham, John. "American Intellectual History: A Critical Appraisal," *American Quar.*, XIII, No. 2, Pt. 2 (Summer 1962), 219-33.

The interests and aims of writers of American intellectual history as traditionally a union between the ideas preceding and involved directly in the actions of men. The intellectual historian is committed to the expansion and development of ideas as related to realities and not to the realities of fact, *per se*.

The development of American Studies programs (movement) was due to a literary interest in ideas. The unidimensional non-specialized commitment of such a program is a means of extending ideas and multiplying interests and insights into historical problems.

LaBudde, Kenneth. "Regionalist Painting and American Studies," *Jour. of Central Miss. Valley Amer. Studies Assoc.*, II (Fall 1961), 49-65.

Art in our culture and the uses of art in American Studies. Treats the shortcomings of cultural studies in which painting is read simply as illustrative of subject. The unique contribution of painting to cultural analysis lies in its consideration as a painting. Considering only the subject of a painting is not enough. Thus the declining interest in the regionalists of the 1930s is not simply the consequence of a change in public taste but related to the emotional needs of Americans which are in turn affected by the ethos of the society.

Peyre, Henri. *Observations by Henri Peyre on Life, Literature, and Learning in America*, Carbondale, Illinois: University of Southern Illinois Press, 1961.

Witty essays on the image America projects abroad. The influence of mass media, the influence of American literature on the French, and education in France and the United States are considered.

Riesman, David. "Tocqueville as Ethnographer," *Amer. Scholar*, XXX (Spring 1961), 174-87.

The findings of Tocqueville help us to understand our contemporary problems in American democracy but do not show us how to solve them.

Woodward, C. Vann. "Reflections on the Centennial: The American Civil War," *Yale Rev.*, L (June 1961), 481-90.

The centennial of the Civil War is an opportunity for the American people to retreat into the past. American authors of the last century have "deepened the drama of the war and endowed it with dignity." The American people have not yet objectively faced the horrors that they inflicted on themselves and each other during the war.

II. COURSES & PROGRAMS IN AMERICAN STUDIES

Adams, D. K. "A British Honors Program in American Studies," *Superior Student*, IV (Mar.-Apr. 1962), 9.

In the University College, Keele. See below.

———. "American Studies at Keele," *British Assoc. for Amer. Studies Newsletter*, No. 5 (Jan. 1962), 11.

"In the session 1961-62 the first and at present the only fully integrated Honors programme in American Studies in the United Kingdom will begin at the University College, Keele." Grounded in seminal courses in American geography, history and literature, it incorporates politics, sociology, economics, philosophy and art history. It is a full subject, taking up three years of specialized study.

"American Studies at Nottingham," *British Assoc. for Amer. Studies Newsletter*, No. 5 (Jan. 1962), 12.

The University has "reorganized and developed its work in American Studies so as to offer a course that is at once more broadly-based and more intensive than was possible before."

"American Studies in France, Italy, and Spain," *EAAS Newsletter of the European Assoc. for Amer. Studies*, VI (1960-61), 12-14.

Brief reports on activities in these countries.

Duncan, Bingham. "Seminar Diplomacy," *American Studies*, V (July 1961), n. p.

An account of an American Studies seminar in Sorak-san involving Koreans and Americans interested in American Studies as a general method for contributing to international understanding and harmony.

"New Developments in American History in St. Andrews," *British Assoc. for Amer. Studies Newsletter*, No. 5 (Jan. 1962), 12-13.

The creation of a second Lectureship has made possible the considerable expansion of the teaching of American history in St. Salvator's College.

Schwenk, Norman. "American Scholars in Nordic Countries," *EAAS Newsletter of the European Assoc. for Amer. Studies*, VI (1960-61), 14-15.

"A large number of American scholars continue to visit the Nordic countries each year under the auspices of the . . . Fulbright program." Names the current ones and their affiliations.

"Summer Schools and Special Sessions on American Studies," *EAAS Newsletter of the European Assoc. for Amer. Studies*, VI (1960-61), 15-17.

Brief reports of seminars, conferences and summer sessions in Austria, the Netherlands and Göteborg.

"The ACLS 1962-63 Competition for International Fellowships in American Studies," *ACLS Newsletter*, XIII (May 1962), 13-16.

Reports on developments during academic year 1961-62 when a competition was held for selection of European scholars to be awarded International Fellowships.

III. SUBJECTS & METHODS OF TEACHING

Gill, Clark C. "American History Teaching: Then and Now," *The Social Studies*, LIII (Feb. 1962), 62-65.

Historical analysis of the changing methods of teaching history in the secondary schools.

Good, Edwin M. "The Purpose of Religious Studies in Higher Education," *Jour. of General Education*, XII (Oct. 1961), 180-93.

Argues a place for religion in the curriculum on the grounds of its influence in the heritage of western culture and its culture claims to human allegiance and effort.

Hutchinson, John A. "Four Quarters of Religion and General Education," *Jour. of General Education*, XII (Oct. 1961), 149-59.

General education can supply the educational and integrative function of informing students about religious values and western cultural traditions.

Hyman, Stanley Edgar. "Poetry and Criticism: T. S. Eliot," *Amer. Scholar*, XXX (Winter 1960-61), 43-56.

Poetry and literary criticism are related and should be used to gain insights from each other.

Keeler, Clinton. "A Method for American Studies?" *Midcontinent Amer. Studies Jour.*, III (Spring 1962), 50-52.

Sees danger that the search for a method "will simply lead to one more artificial codification that increases, rather than diminishes, the barriers to understanding." Also, "one of the values of American Studies is the affirmation of the right of the investigator to use the methods which seem best to his own honesty and intelligence."

Lampard, Eric E. "American Historians and the Study of Urbanization," *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, LXVII (Oct. 1961), 49-61.

Suggests "two distinctive but related approaches . . . the study of urbanization as a societal process and the comparative study of communities in a framework of human ecology."

Little, J. Kenneth. "Higher Education and the National Purpose," *Educational Rec.*, XLII (July 1961), 161-72.

The development of federally sponsored programs in institutions of higher learning in America and how they reflect and condition the national purpose and beliefs.

McMurrin, Sterling M. "Education and the National Goals," *School Life*, XLIV (Sept. 1961), 2.

A plea for the continued democratization of our educational system as a primary means of strengthening national character.

Potter, David M. "American Women and the American Character," *Stetson Univ. Bull.*, LXII (Jan. 1962).

One of four lectures delivered in connection with a seminar pertaining to the problem of methods in the study of national character in general and with the interpretation of American character in particular. Suggests that the roles of men and women have been similarly as well as differently affected by the major historical trends in our society and that generalizations about the American character must take this into account.

Rosen, Seymour M. "Soviet Interpretation of United States Higher Education," *Higher Education*, XVIII (Dec. 1961), 8-11.

A description of the picture of U.S. higher education which emerges from the Soviet handbook *Vysyshee Obrazovanie V. SSSR*.

Smith, Wilson. "The New Historian of American Education: Some Works for a Portrait," *Harvard Educational Rev.*, XXXI (Spring 1961), 136-43.

Suggestions as to what may be the intellectual and academic outlook of the new historian of education in the U.S.—the traits will be broader historical reforms, and a wider, more humanistic professional commitment.

Wallace, James W. "Making History Relevant," *Social Education*, XXVII (Jan. 1962), 17-18, 24.

The author advances the idea of teaching history from present to past.

IV. BIBLIOGRAPHY

"Articles on Mass Communications in Magazines of the U. S. A.: A Selected Annotated Bibliography," *Journalism Quar.*, XXXVIII (Spring, Summer & Autumn 1961), 250-59, 403-13, 564-72.

Articles, often interdisciplinary, appearing Jan.-Sept. 1961.

Bailis, Stanley, Bernard Mergen & Joyce Kayser. "Aid to Graduate Students in American Civilization for 1962-63," *Amer. Quar.*, XIII, No. 2, Pt. 2 (Summer 1961), 303-7.

A listing of 25 universities offering financial assistance to graduate students of American Studies.

Brown, Stuart Gerry. *Memo for Overseas Americans*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1961.

This guide for Americans going abroad contains chapters on the many aspects of American civilization and a selective bibliography on America for overseas Americans.

European Association for American Studies. "Current Bibliography, 1960," *EAAS Newsletter of the European Assoc. for Amer. Studies*, VI (1960-61), 23-30.

The sixth annual installment covers all of the more important books, monographs and printed doctoral dissertations relating to America and published in Europe for 1960. Periodical literature is not included.

Koster, Donald N. *et al.* "Articles in American Studies, 1960," *Amer. Quar.*, XIII, No. 2, Pt. 2 (Summer 1961), 238-91.

The seventh issue of the annotated interdisciplinary bibliography of current articles in American Studies. Coverage is international, although necessarily selective.

Marx, Leo. "The American Scholar Today," *Commentary*, XXXII (July 1961), 48-53.

Critique of the specialized, textually-oriented, "scientific" Americanists now in ascendancy in American Studies, who lack the interdisciplinary competence to relate their work to a larger context and to present realities. Emerson's "The American Scholar" contains a conception of the scholar in American Studies that ought to be informing his work.

Sanford, Charles L. *et al.* "Writings on the Theory and Teaching of American Studies," *Amer. Quar.*, XIII, No. 2, Pt. 2 (Summer 1961), 308-15.

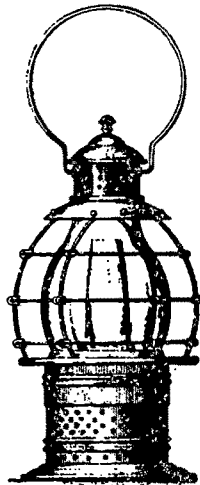
The fourth annual installment of an annotated bibliography with international coverage. It lists books and articles on the philosophy of American studies, courses and programs, subjects and methods of teaching, and bibliographical aids for the study of American civilization.

Smith, W. James & A. Leland Jamison, eds. *Religion in American Life*. Vol. I. The Shaping of American Religion. Vol. II. Religious Perspectives in American Culture. Vol. IV. A Critical Bibliography of Religion in America by Nelson R. Burr. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961.

Nineteen essays in two volumes. The first volume deals with the Puritan tradition; the second with its effects upon American institutions. The bibliography of 1200 pages covers every aspect of American religious thought.

Van Nostrand, Albert D. "American Studies Dissertations in Progress," *Amer. Quar.*, XIII, No. 2, Pt. 2 (Summer 1961), 292-301.

The sixth annual check list of dissertations in progress at some twenty major colleges and universities in the United States.



AID TO GRADUATE STUDENTS IN AMERICAN CIVILIZATION FOR 1963-64

The following summary is the third consecutive annual report to be published in the summer supplement of the *American Quarterly* on financial aid currently available to graduate students of American Civilization. Information on awards available (*i.e.* type, attendant obligations, number, designation of source, amount, renewability, taxability) and application procedure (*i.e.* addressee, use of standard forms, nature of supporting materials required, special qualifications of applicants, deadlines, etc.) was solicited concerning graduate programs in 31 universities, of which 27 have replied including 24 with relevant data.

As with the first two reports, this is not an exhaustive listing of all available financial aid. Loan funds have not been listed for each school because of their general availability; information on loans can best be had by writing directly to the graduate school in question. Variations in the detail of replies, the fact that four schools did not reply to the first or second request for information and the probability that some programs were overlooked make this compilation imperfect. Interested professors and students are therefore counseled to consult other sources of information on private and public financial aid to students such as Michael Edmund Schlitz, *Fellowships in the Arts and Sciences*, revised annually (American Council on Education) and Richard C. Mattingly, *Financial Aid for College Students: Graduates* (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1957).

Attention is also called to awards offered by the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, N. Y., and the Committee on Fellowships Program, American Association of University Women Educational Foundation, 2401 Virginia Avenue, N.W., Washington 7, D. C. The Fulbright-Hays Act (Public Law 87-256, 87th Congress, H. R. 8666, September 21, 1961) is more generous in its provisions than its predecessor, and American Studies is the only field specifically named in the act. Copies of the law may be obtained from United States Representatives and Senators.

I wish to thank all respondents for their prompt and courteous replies and to urge the directors of programs not listed below to communicate with the American Studies Association national office so that their offerings may be included in the next report.

KENNETH E. DAVISON, HEIDELBERG COLLEGE
For the Ohio-Indiana Chapter

BAYLOR UNIVERSITY, Waco, Tex.: 1 Scholarship (Dixon Wecter American Civilization Scholarship), \$1000 plus tuition, non-renewable, non-taxable, awarded every other year, application to Chairman, Dixon Wecter Scholarship Committee, no standard forms required; letter-references, transcripts to Graduate School; Apr. 15.

BROWN UNIVERSITY, Providence, R. I.: 5-10 fellowships, \$1900 plus tuition; 5-10 University scholarships, up to \$1000 plus tuition; all renewable, non-taxable, university-wide competition; 2 Teaching Associates, \$1800-\$2000 plus tuition, renewable for one year, taxable, awarded only after a year in residence; forms from Graduate School; new applicants and first-year students require letters of recommendation, transcripts, etc.; graduate record examinations recommended; early in Feb.; need and scholastic ability.

UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO, N. Y.: no fixed number of fellowships, \$250-\$2000; no fixed number of scholarships, part or full tuition; both renewable and non-taxable; three letters and forms to the Graduate School; Mar. 15; full standing in Graduate School.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY, Ithaca, N. Y.: "What we offer here is not regularly offered and is not available to other than students already enrolled for graduate work at Cornell." A variable number of John L. Senior Fellowships in American Studies ("normally worth approximately \$2500 plus tuition and fees") is awarded to students who have completed all graduate work for the Ph.D. except the doctoral dissertation and who are working in an American area as major field of interest (and dissertation). "Generally, students do not apply for these fellowships. The John L. Senior Professor of American Institutions (Clinton Rossiter) indicates to the relevant departments whether any will be available, and then the Depts. of English, History, Economics, Government, and Sociology consider whether they have nominees. The Senior Professor then decides what awards to make. Thus far no award has ever been made to a student who was a candidate for a degree elsewhere than Cornell, and is unlikely to be."

UNIVERSITY OF DENVER, Colo.: 5 University Fellowships, \$2000 plus one-third tuition; renewable and taxable; forms, three recommendations, transcript, photograph, 300-word statement, B.A.; to the Department, Feb. 22 for fellowships; letter to the Department, June 1 for 10 assistantships. "The program in American Studies at the Ph.D. and Master's level is new as of September, 1959."

FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY, Tallahassee: "There are no awards specifically for American Studies. Graduate students are eligible for all available

graduate awards. Deadline for fellowship appointments Feb. 15; for assistantships, no fixed date; apply direct to Graduate School."

GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, Washington, D. C.: 5 University Fellowships, \$1350 plus \$500 tuition; 1 graduate teaching assistantship, \$1215 plus 20 hours tuition; fellowship renewable, both taxable; letter, forms and three references to Department of English, Mar. 1.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, Cambridge, Mass.: no fixed number of fellowships ("depends on needs of academic departments"), one-fifth approximately \$900 and three-fifths "maximum" (unspecified); no fixed number of scholarships, no \$ limits but work restricted to 10 hours per week; assistantships available by departments same as fellowships; all are renewable and "?" taxable; fellowships available from departments after first year, no set procedure but application form; form, letters to Graduate School of Arts and Sciences for scholarships and grants; deadline varies, usually Feb.-Mar.; academic merit.

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA, Iowa City: no fixed number of fellowships, \$530 and up; no fixed number of scholarships, full remission of tuition and fees, \$140 per semester; both renewable and non-taxable; no fixed number of assistantships, "individually determined" \$, renewable and taxable; all fellowships, scholarships and assistantships by forms and supplementary materials to Chairman, American Civilization Program, Mar. 3.

KENT STATE UNIVERSITY, Ohio: "No degree is presently offered in American Studies, as such. However, English and History offer an informal program, including seminars and other special work, and degrees may be earned in either field. There are three NDEA fellowships, \$2000-2400, renewable and not taxable; an unspecified number of assistantships in both departments at \$1600, plus fee waiver, and four teaching fellow appointments at \$2000, both renewable. Applications to respective departments, letter forms, references and/or supplementary materials. Deadline for Fellowships, Feb. 10, assistantships by Mar. 1. Appointments announced by Apr. 1."

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND, College Park: 1 Fellowship in American Civilization, \$800; unspecified assistantships in English and History, \$2000; both renewable and taxable; letter and supplementary materials to the Department (forms for assistantship) in both cases; Mar.; "Strong background in English, History" for assistantships.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, Ann Arbor: 2-3 University Fellowships, \$1600 (residents)—\$1900 (non-residents), renewable; 1 first-year Graduate Fellowship, \$2100 plus fees; 1 Predoctoral Fellowship, \$2250 plus fees; both

not renewable; all non-taxable; unspecified Teaching Fellowships (English), \$1400; unspecified Non-Teaching Assistantships (English), \$225 per semester; both renewable and taxable; forms, references and supplementary material to Graduate School for fellowships and scholarships, Feb. 1; "high academic record with more A's than B's. Knowledge of at least one foreign language; letters and forms to Department of English for assistantships"; Apr. 1.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, Minneapolis 14: no fixed number of Greater University Fellowships and Graduate School Doctoral Fellowships, \$2000, renewable and non-taxable, "awarded on the basis of scholarship, general merit and promise to advanced doctoral students already enrolled at the University"; 4 quarter-time assistantships in American Studies, \$1050, renewable and taxable, and resident tuition charges (savings of \$417); unspecified number of assistantships, quarter to two-thirds time, in other departments and offices of the university, \$ varies, M.A. or B.A. in one of the participating humanities or social sciences departments; transcripts, letters of recommendation, student papers, forms, and letters for assistantships to Chairman, Program in American Studies; Feb. 15.

UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO, Albuquerque: an unspecified number of fellowships, \$1900, which are renewable and non-taxable; an unspecified number of Teaching Assistantships in English (\$2300) and Graduate Assistantships in "other departments" (\$2000), all renewable and taxable; applications for all awards through Graduate School; letters, forms, references and transcripts required; Feb. 15. " 'Resident tuition' deductible from both awards."

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, New York City: no fixed number of University Scholarships (average 1-2 years), up to \$4,200, out of which tuition must be paid (includes the Louis Lerner Memorial Scholarship for full tuition, \$1050, restricted to graduate students of American civilization or American literature); renewable and non-taxable; forms, transcript and letters of recommendation to Graduate School for fellowships; letter to English Department for assistantships; both Feb. 1.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, Philadelphia 4: 15-20 Harrison Fellowships (men), \$1500 plus tuition, renewable for one year and non-taxable; 20-30 University Fellowships, up to \$2000 plus tuition; 2 Moore Fellowships for women, \$500 plus tuition; 2 Bennett Fellowships for women, \$400 plus tuition; all renewable and non-taxable; 15 Harrison Scholarships (men), \$400 plus tuition, non-renewable and non-taxable; 50 University Scholarships and 10 Ashton Scholarships, tuition, renewable and non-taxable; unspecified number of assistantships in various departments,

\$750 to \$2000 plus tuition, renewable and taxable; forms, three references and student papers to Dean, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences for fellowships and scholarships; Feb. 1; letter to Department concerned for assistantships; Mar. 1.

STETSON UNIVERSITY, DeLand, Fla.: 18 scholarships available, summer session only, tuition-room-board, renewable, "non-taxable if working for advanced degree"; forms from Co-ordinator, Summer Institutes; forms and college transcript to Chairman, The Charles E. Merrill Program of American Studies, Mar. 15; "The Awards are intended primarily for secondary teachers in the State of Florida, although some non-residents may apply."

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY, N. Y.: ". . . the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs offers no fellowships or scholarships specifically assigned to American Studies. However, three fellowships and a number of assistantships are available each year for candidates for the degree of Doctor of Social Science and inter-disciplinary degrees preparatory to college teaching. Within this program many students elect a concentration in American Studies."

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS, Austin: "There are no awards specifically for American Studies. Graduate Students are eligible for all available awards for graduate study."

WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY, Pullman: "3 National Defense Fellowships; teaching assistantships (\$2500, half-time) in Departments of English and History; write Professor Raymond Muse, Department of History or Professor Nelson A. Ault, Department of English; standard forms obtainable from Graduate School; Feb. 15; Ph.D. is only American Studies degree awarded."

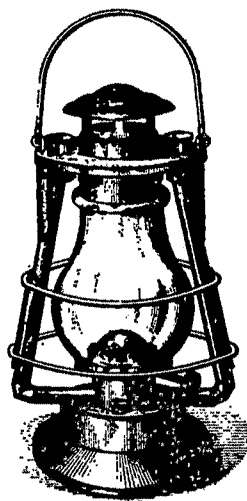
WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY, Cleveland 6, Ohio: no fixed number of Tuition Scholarships ("generally two or three"), \$1050 full tuition; letter, forms, references and supplementary material to Director of Admission; Mar. 1.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, Madison: 58 University Fellowships, \$1870; 15 Knapp Fellowships, \$1830; 8 University Scholarships, \$1200; all non-taxable; unlimited Non-resident Scholarships (provide remission of out-of-state fees), renewable and non-taxable; unlimited Teaching Assistantships, \$1433.33 (one half time); all renewable and taxable; Project and Research Assistantships, \$1965 (one half time), all renewable and taxable (except Research Assistantships); all application procedures the same—transcripts, forms and letters to both the Graduate School and the Major department, letters of recommendation to the major department ("apply

to the Graduate School for admission, and to the Department for everything else"); Feb. 15; high grade average preferred (3.5 to 4.0).

UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING, Laramie: 8 Coe Fellowships, \$2000 plus partial remission of fees; 50 Coe Scholarships, 5-week summer term, for secondary school teachers, \$125 plus fees and travel allowances; both non-renewable and non-taxable; forms, supporting letter to Director, School of American Studies, Mar. 1 (Apr. 1 for summer awards); no work offered beyond the M.A.

YALE UNIVERSITY, New Haven, Conn.: 9 Coe Fellowships in American Studies, up to \$2350, renewable and non-taxable; unspecified fellowships and scholarships on the basis of university-wide competition, varying amounts; all applications including letters, forms, recommendations and transcript to both the Graduate School and the American Studies Program, Feb. 1; doctoral degree must be received within seven years of beginning of graduate study at Yale or elsewhere, ". . . our policy is to try to help a student to carry through to the degree after a year's residence in which to show the student's ability on equal terms with other students of his year."



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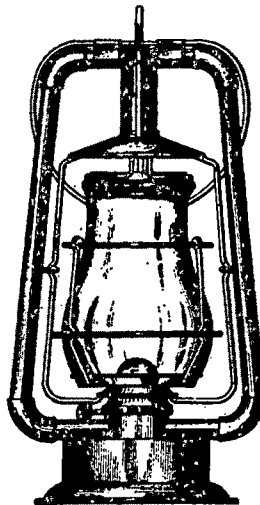
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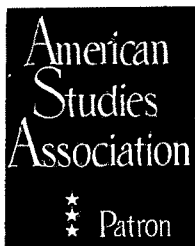
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CHARLES E. SHAIN
Connecticut College

The English Novelists and the American Civil War

ON JUNE 10, 1861, A LITTLE MORE THAN A MONTH AFTER THE NEWS OF THE outbreak of the American Civil War had reached England, Mrs. Gaskell, the Manchester novelist, wrote a pressing letter to her young American friend Charles Eliot Norton in Cambridge, Massachusetts. She wanted him to explain to her what the war was about.

We talked over your politics and could *not* understand them [she began] and I half determined to do what I am doing now—take myself and Meta for average specimens of English people—*most kindly* disposed to you, our dear cousins, hating slavery intensely, yet thoroughly *puzzled by* what is now going on in America. I don't mind your thinking me dense or ignorant, and I think I can be sure that you will give me a quiet, unmetaphorical statement of what is in the end proposed in this war. Now don't be indignant at me (or at the English) when I tell you exactly how much I (average English) know, and how much I don't know. I understood "the Union" to be an *expansive* or *contractive* contract. Expansive (as being capable of including more than the original thirteen states) it has proved itself to be. But it seems to me that the very fact of its power of expansion involved that of its *dissolution*. No over great empire has long preserved itself in vigour. You included (by your annexations) people of different breeds, and consequently different opinions and habits of thoughts; the time was sure to come when you could not act together as a nation; the only wonder to me is that you cohered so long. . . . We have a proverbial expression in Lancashire "Good riddance to bad rubbish" that I think I should have applied to the Southern secessions.

Such a staunch Northerner as Norton must have been discouraged as he read these confused English assumptions about the United States and the integrity of the Union. If Mrs. Gaskell did not understand the issues

of the Civil War any more clearly than this, how could even a yearning Boston Anglophile find any hope of English intelligence and sympathy. The Gaskells were just the sort of English people Norton's New England was counting on. They were Unitarians from Bright and Cobden's Lancashire, a county that the South of England scornfully called "America and water." And Mrs. Gaskell had first met Norton and other cultivated Americans in the congenial Anglo-American atmosphere of Florence and Rome. Norton did what he could. Long, patient letters explaining the sacredness of the Union and the righteousness of the Northern cause were sent to Manchester, and soon the Gaskell family became convinced supporters of the North.

But this was just one family. How could eloquence like Norton's hope to reach all those other influential English people the Gaskell family stood for, those who must understand why the defence of the Union, not the emancipation of the slaves was the battle cry of the North? For the next four years ignorance of the Northern cause and the indifference of literary and intellectual England toward the Civil War was going to prove bitterly disappointing to many Northerners, especially in New England. The great irony of the Anglo-American situation, Oliver Wendell Holmes said in a public lecture and an *Atlantic* article in 1863, was that never had England and the United States been joined together so closely by literary communication as just before the war. "We reprinted each other's books, we made new reputations for each other's authors, we wrote in each other's magazines, and introduced each other's young writers to our own several publics. Thought echoed to thought, voice answered to voice across the Atlantic." And now, he went on, where are the English writers when we need them?

Where is the English Church in this momentous struggle? . . . Where is Lord Brougham, ex-apostle of the Diffusion of knowledge . . . ? Where is Dickens, the hater of the lesser wrongs of Chancery Courts, the scourge of tyrannical beadles and heartless schoolmasters? . . . Where is the Laureat, so full of fine indignations and high aspirations? Where is the London "Times". . . . Where is the little hunchback's journal . . . ?

Across the ocean, just after the war, a young English intellectual, Leslie Stephen, expressed his complete disagreement with Holmes' premises. He thought that sheer British ignorance of America was the cause of all the wrong-headedness literary New England complained of. Most Englishmen, Stephen wrote, were "as ignorant of American history since the revolution as of the history of the Chinese empire, and of

American geography as of the geography of central Africa. . . . The name of America . . . called up to the ordinary English mind nothing but a vague cluster of associations compounded of Mrs. Trollope, *Martin Chuzzlewit* and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*." Stephen, as he wrote this, was in the process of denouncing the misinformation about America supplied by the *Times* to its influential readers, including Mrs. Gaskell. During the war, Stephen had been such an ardent "Northerner" that he had absented himself from his Cambridge fellowship for a summer trip to America to make himself better informed about the progress of the cause. He wrote back to his mother from Boston in 1863 that he was having an awkward time talking to his new American friends.

There is still a good deal to be explained about the state of English opinion which is hard to put plainly to them. I really don't know how to translate into civil language what I have heard a thousand times over in England; that both sides are such a set of snobs and blackguards that we only wish they could both be licked, or that their armies are the scum of the earth and the war got up by contractors, or that the race is altogether degenerate and demoralized, and it's pleasant to see such a set of bullies have a fall. I really can't tell them all these little compliments, which I have heard in private conversation word for word, and which are a free translation of *Times* and *Saturday Review*, even if I introduce them with the apology (though it is really a genuine apology) that we know nothing at all about them.

The genuineness of Stephen's apology might not have been so impressive to his American friends as its irony. For if England knew nothing about America, how could it damn both the Union and the war so irrationally and irretrievably?

The answer was that the impact of the beginning of the Civil War only seemed to confirm all previous British impressions of America. The confusion of issues, the strident, conflicting voices from Washington, New York, Charleston and Boston, newspaper dispatches that described mob violence in the cities and mob armies in the field, these were exactly of a pattern with the vision of America Dickens had written into *Martin Chuzzlewit*. During young Henry Adams' first autumn in the American Ministry in London he was as much sickened with anxiety by the distressing news from America as he was by the perfidy of British politics. He wrote to his brother in America in October 1861,

You know how much encouragement we have had from your side. Every post has taken away on one hand what it has brought of good on the other. It has by regular steps sapped the foundation of all confidence in us, in our institutions, our rulers and our honor. How do you

suppose we can overcome the effects of the New York Press? How do you suppose we can conciliate men whom our tariff is ruining? How do you suppose we can shut people's eyes to the incompetence of Lincoln or the disgusting behavior of many of our volunteers and officers?

In the first two years of the Civil War America reached the nadir of its reputation in Britain.

Most of the British feelings of distaste for the Americans that the conflict ripened had been maturing for a long time. The anti-Americanism most vehemently expressed was the old Tory complex of fear and contempt. But its expression now seemed to come from all sections of educated opinion except from those few English radicals who remained firm in their American faith. Before the war the Prime Minister's wife could afford to be amused by the prospect of the growing commercial prosperity of the United States. Lady Palmerston wrote to Monkton Milnes in 1858, "I think we are fast verging into Democracy and Americanism. Sir Hamilton Seymour teaches his children to speak through their noses, as this is what he thinks they all must come to." Before the war it had been the Manchester School of economists who had circulated the warnings that the economic and industrial superiority of America to England was "as certain as the next eclipse." Once the war had begun to be debated in Parliament, however, the Tories borrowed this argument from its begetters and used it to recommend the recognition of the Confederacy. Lord Robert Cecil pointed out to the House in March 1862 that England and the Northern states could never in any case have been friends.

not merely because the newspapers wrote at each other, or that there were prejudices on both sides, but because we were rivals, rivals politically and rivals commercially. We aspired to the same position. We aspired to the government of the seas. We were both manufacturing people, and at every port, as well as at every court, we were rivals to each other. . . . With respect to the Southern States the case was entirely reversed.

In September 1861 Bulwer-Lytton made a more elaborate analysis of the threat from America for the enlightenment of the country squires gathered at the Herts. Agricultural Society:

If it could have been possible, that, as population and wealth increased, all the vast continent of America, with her mighty seaboard and the fleets which her increasing ambition as well as her extending commerce would have formed and armed, could have remained under one form of government, in which an executive has little or no control over a

populace exceedingly adventurous and excitable, why then America would have hung over Europe like a gathering and destructive thundercloud. . . . But in proportion as America shall become subdivided into different states, each of which is large enough for greatness—larger than any European kingdom—her ambition will be less formidable to the rest of the world, and I do not doubt that the action of emulation and rivalry between one free state and another . . . will produce the same effects upon art and commerce, and the improvements in practical government, which the same kind of competition produced in the old commonwealths of Greece.

The news of Lee's surrender was to come as a terrible shock to Bulwer. He said to an American diplomat in Paris, "Well I must tell you frankly, Mr. Bigelow, I am sorry for it. I had indulged the hope that your country might break up into two or more fragments. I regard the United States as a menace to the whole civilized world if you are allowed to go on developing as you have been, undisturbed." Bulwer's fears were not based only on trade statistics and merchant navy comparisons. The spectacle of a huge rival Anglo-Saxon population unled and unleavened by any county families frightened him more deeply.

But members of Lord Derby's and Disraeli's Conservative Party were not the only politicians to hope for a Balkanized America. It was a Liberal M.P., Roebuck, who in 1863 introduced the motion to recognize the Confederacy. An important theme of his speech was that "the great bully of the world" should be made ineffective by having half his strength cut away. It is difficult, in fact, in reading the history of the Parliamentary reaction to the Civil War to discover the point where pro-Confederate sympathy begins and anti-Northern sentiment ends. The governing Liberal Party and its leaders were more confused than the better disciplined Conservatives about whether it was easier to love the South and its Simon Legrees or hate the North with its Hannibal Chollops and Jefferson Bricks.

If we turn from the conservatives in both political parties to two "liberal" thinkers, Walter Bagehot and Matthew Arnold, we might expect to find less doctrinaire minds at work on the American problem, but for each of them the coming of the Civil War provoked transatlantic thoughts as dark as Bulwer's. Early in the war Bagehot published under a pseudonym a study of the American Constitution in the *National Review*. Much to the disappointment of Gladstone, to whom he sent a copy, Bagehot did not conclude that the Constitution had implied the power of secession to the Southern states. For the rest, however, he seemed to be outlining the ideas which Gladstone and many

others in the country's Liberal majority were to work from during the war. To Bagehot the Americans were England's "nearest national kindred and our most important trading connexions," but the seat of the trouble in American society and government was that nowhere could be found authority, nowhere was reflected the strong love of order that was the glory of the British people and their institutions. His essay states strongly a British view most often repeated by leading public men during the course of the war, that disunion was inevitable because of the fundamental contrasts between North and South in "characters, ideas and habits"; that the Union could never be restored because no "free state can rule an unwilling dependency of a large size." Then, quite gratuitously for the purposes of his analysis, Bagehot went on:

To this gradual corruption of American democracy [the extension of universal suffrage] it is principally owing that Europe at large, and England especially, have not grieved much at the close proximity of its probable fall, but perhaps rejoiced at the prospect of some marked change from a policy which was so inconvenient to its neighbors, which must be attended to because its range was so wide, and the physical force under its direction was so large, but of which the events were mean, the actors base and the working inexplicable. A low vulgarity, undefinable but undeniable has deeply displeased the cultivated mind of Europe; and the American union will fall, if it does fall, little regretted, even by those whose race is akin, whose language is identical, whose weightiest opinions are on most subjects the same as theirs. The unpleasantness of mob government has never before been exemplified so conspicuously, for it never before has worked upon so large a scene.

To this gradual corruption of American democracy [the extension of Arnold added the warnings of an English intellectual concerned about forces tending toward division and disintegration in English society. For him there was a lesson in the American war for the unity of British national life. In 1861 in one of his earliest descriptions of the cultural situation of England he found it useful to employ the new word "Americanized"—"a short and significant expression which everyone understands." The danger of America may be England's: "the multitude in power with no ideal to elevate or guide it, the spirit of the nation vulgarized; unity imperilled because there is no institution grand enough to unite around." America's fault, he said, was national self-conceit. The American forgets that it is indispensable "to have before his eyes objects which suggest heights of grandeur, or intellect, or feeling, or refinement. . . . Neither in Church or in State have they had the spectacle of any

august institution before their eyes. The face of the land is covered with a swarm of sects. . . . They have no aristocracy. . . . The occasional contact with real superiority finds the American half credulous, half resentful." The whole country affords "the spectacle of a people which threatens to lose its power of intellectual and moral growth." And in a footnote Arnold added, "The above was written at the beginning of last year, when the important events now agitating the American States had not yet occurred."

The tone of self-satisfaction or the full-struck note of omniscience that sounded through the voices of Bulwer, Bagehot and Arnold results from the confidence they felt in 1861 that they were summing up the dominant English opinion of the American people over the last thirty years. Whether, as Leslie Stephen suggested, the notions of America had come from Mrs. Trollope or Dickens, or from Tocqueville, whether they were conceptions born of reading the travelers and novelists, or preconceptions born of fears for English cultural stability or the rule of the English gentlemen, they were the most widely expressed judgments of America as the Civil War started. They were endlessly repeated by that most influential weekly, the *Saturday Review*, and powerfully expressed by the *Times* in the hands of a management that was close to Palmerston and almost obsessively fixed to a distrust of democracy.

Out of this general disillusionment with American affairs, North and South, soon grew two British attitudes contemptuous of the Northern cause. Each was influential in attracting English feeling once the war had started and each furnished themes for English war novels. The first was the general assumption, inherited from the prewar years but getting stronger every day, that slavery had nothing to do with the war. The second, in part dependent upon the first, was that the South was an oppressed agrarian aristocracy fighting for its liberty, or, as the *Times* put it in a leader for July 5, 1861, it was the only half of the country which could celebrate Independence Day with unconfused feelings.

During the first eighteen months of the war the mass of English opinion on the sincerity of Northerners toward the emancipation of the slaves wavered between cynicism and indifference. The British national slavery conscience, the Anti-slavery Society, might have aroused the nation's interest as they had in 1833, but they were just as disappointed in Lincoln and the war aims of the Republican Party as the American abolitionists were. Ever since the Compromise of 1850 and the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law the English abolitionists saw no hope in any section of the American people for a just war against slavery. In an abolitionist meeting in London in 1851 a resolution had declared that

the Northern states were as deeply implicated in the guilt of slavery as the South. For, if the North with a population seven million greater than the South and 152 representatives in Congress to the South's 81 wanted to end slavery by a majority vote, it had the power to do so. These facts and "truths" had guided British opinion for the past ten years. No action of Lincoln's government until the announcement of the intended Emancipation Proclamation in September 1862 could lift the moral tone of the Northern cause, even for many of those Non-conformist and working-class British who were closest in feeling to the North. When, after January 1, 1863, the Proclamation was not followed by any bloody slave insurrections behind the Southern lines, the North's battle in England for public opinion began to be won. The decision on the slavery issue, it seems now, was critical for turning the great bulk of British opinion from disillusion with the American war to belief in it. In the summer of 1863 Jefferson Davis ordered his emissary James M. Mason to consider his mission in London at an end, and at the same time he expelled the British consuls from the Confederacy.

Pro-Northern British feeling influenced by the slavery issue seems to have been chiefly in the working class, the congregations of the "free" churches and other miscellaneous sections of the British people, hard to locate and identify except perhaps in Mrs. Gaskell's phrase, those "most kindly disposed to you, our dear cousins." But these same people might intermittently share another popular wartime sentiment, admiration for the "brave little Confederacy." Many degrees of admiration were possible. Monkton Milnes, whom Henry Adams called "one of the warmest Americans in the world" and whom he and his father counted on for support in Parliament and in fashionable society, can represent a feeling of reluctant respect for the Confederacy dictated by a choice between shabby alternatives. In Parliament he spoke in a way completely satisfactory to the Adams family, but in private he wrote to a friend, "For my part I see no gleam of good in anything American; the lower civilization, as represented by the South, is so much braver & cunninger & darger than the cultivated shopkeepers of the North—it is just as if the younger sons of the Irish and Scotch nobility were turned loose against the bourgeois of Leeds." Milnes was using his own version of the favorite English analogy for the American war, a historical parallel that was so pervasive in English thinking about the Civil War that it cannot be separated from any English view of the Southern cause.

The analogy involved many colorful resemblances between the English and American civil wars. It could become quite elaborate. The South were of course the Cavaliers. Its first families were descended from

English families through emigrated younger sons, some of them having fled the country after the Royalist defeat at Worcester, James M. Mason's family, for instance. They had kept their true patrician inheritance unsullied—except, of course, for blows suffered to such institutions as primogeniture, entail and the established church under the attack of that demagogue, the un-Virginian Jefferson—until now in the nineteenth century they made up an agrarian aristocracy as pure and perhaps luckier economically than the tradition they derived from. They were England's natural allies and friends. In the words of a pro-Confederate M.P. to Parliament, "There still remain among them the ancestral and hereditary recollections of England." The North, it followed, were originally Cromwell's Roundheads, now mixed with other races, especially the German and Irish peasantries. The New England Puritans had been the first anti-monarchical forces in England, and now their descendants were fighting for principles so antithetical to the code of the gentleman as universal suffrage, commercial contracts, tradesmen's values.

To trace the origin and growth of this historical parallel is not difficult in the case of the North. Since early in the century the North and its western extension the Frontier had furnished English travelers and novelists with all the evidence of American commercialism and peasant vulgarity. When Lincoln was placed by his English visitors as the Consummate Yankee ("I never saw such a specimen of Yankee in my life," Lord Hartington wrote home to his father the Duke of Devonshire) we can assume that he took on many of the distasteful associations of Sam Slick. The image of the aristocratic South was a more recent phenomenon and needed the war to bring it into full bloom.

One anti-democratic Englishman who knew America well had found the major tenets of the Southern faith well established in South Carolina in 1835. G. W. Featherstonhaugh, a geologist, reported in his travel book a conversation with a group of early Southern nationalists in Columbia. It was quite new to him, he wrote, though he had known America since 1806, "to hear men of the better class express themselves openly against a republican government, and to listen to discussions of great ability, the object of which was to show that there can never be a good government if it is not administered by gentlemen." He told his English readers that the leading planters of South Carolina were the gentlemen of America, that they looked down upon "the trading communities of the Northern States, where slavery does not exist, with that habitual sense of superiority which men born to command . . . always cherish when they are placed in competition with men engaged in mercantile pursuits." But before the war English writers of fiction had preferred Virginia to South Carolina as the

fictional home of a separate American gentry. In the late fifties Thackeray's novel, *The Virginians*, had helped to fortify the tradition.

The international theme of *The Virginians* was the American War of Independence seen as an unfortunate quarrel between brothers, with a happy transatlantic reconciliation at the end. But whenever possible, despite the awkward fact of Virginia's contribution to the rebellion and Thackeray's aggrandizement of Washington, the novelist's emphasis fell on the loyalty to England of Virginia and her traditions. The young Virginian gentleman, Harry Warrington, comes to England and beats a picked group of aristocrats at their own games and courtesies chiefly because he has grown up in a healthier patrician culture than mid-eighteenth-century England could provide. Thackeray's Virginia was "a loyal colony. The Virginians boasted that King Charles II had been king in Virginia before he had been king in England. English king and English Church were alike faithfully honored there. The resident gentry were allied to good English families. They held their heads above the Dutch traders of New York and the money-getting Roundheads of Pennsylvania and New England."

If English novelists helped to acquaint the English mind with the Southern tradition, they were even more influential in the South itself. The phenomenal popularity of Sir Walter Scott, G.P.R. James, Bulwer and Disraeli in the South, especially in the decade before the war, has been studied as one of the sources of Southern nationalism, and Mark Twain's statement that Sir Walter Scott gave the South the image of itself that it was prepared to die for has taken on a new credence. The cult of chivalry, the code of the duel, the revival of Cavalier manners and martial traditions in the new military colleges were doubtless both cause and effect of the "Waverley" tastes of the prosperous, "separatist" South. To what extent Southerners could make these tastes known to kindred spirits in England before the war is hard to discern. But a newly arrived Englishman could be indoctrinated with them very quickly, according to the *Times* correspondent William Howard "Bull Run" Russell. In his first meeting with the Southern Commissioners in Washington in the spring of 1861 they told him that "trade, commerce, the pursuit of gain, manufacture, and the base mechanical arts, had so degraded the whole race of Northerners they would never attempt to strike a blow in fair fight for what they prized so highly in words. . . ." When the Commissioners went on to remind him of the Cavalier descent and spirit of the South, Russell felt impelled to remind them that the best gentry in England had been "worsted at last by the train-bands of London and the rabblement of Cromwell's Independents." The English officers who crossed the Atlantic

to join the Confederate army arrived in the South fully indoctrinated in the glorious cause. One group of them who successfully ran the blockade proclaimed their mission to the citizenry of Wilmington, North Carolina, in these words, "We come, not as mercenary adventurers, to enlist under the banner of the Confederacy, but, like true knights errant, to join as honorable volunteers the standards of the bravest lance in Christendom, that of the noble, peerless Lee."

Late in his life Henry Adams summed up his observations of the strong British attraction for the Southern cause in the sixties, and he wrote an essay on eccentricity as the strongest quality of the English mind and "the chief charm of English society as well as the chief terror." He describes, in effect, what other American observers, Emerson for instance, had established as an American's sharpest impression of the mid-nineteenth-century English scene, the sight of the British gentleman retreating into colorful ways of life and thought which he hoped would distinguish or establish his patrician descent and continue a tradition of social respectability in great danger of its life from the democratic mob. Adams called upon the novels of Thackeray and Dickens, the essays of Arnold and Gladstone's instant recognition of Sothorn's portrait of Lord Dundreary to substantiate his impression that eccentrics filled the English scene. And he noted that in the 1860s England was a comparatively quiet, unagitated country, full of political and institutional contradictions which allowed public eccentricity to flourish.

By natural affinity the social eccentrics commonly sympathized with political eccentricity. The English mind took naturally to rebellion—when foreign—and it felt particular confidence in the Southern Confederacy because of its combined attributes—foreign rebellion of English blood—which came closer to ideal eccentricity than could be reached by Poles, Hungarians, Italians or Frenchmen. All the English eccentrics rushed into the ranks of the rebel sympathizers. . . .

Henry Adams' eccentrics were strikingly present among the English novelists who chose the Civil War for a subject. The most colorful of the group, George Alfred Lawrence, tried to rush bodily into the ranks of the South. Lawrence had created a hero and a hero-cult with his extremely popular novel *Guy Livingstone* in 1857. His hero was a Victorian version of Byron's dark and passionate Englishman, a hard-riding and hard-living Guards officer, a gambler, a duellist and a heartbreaker. The cult founded on the novel was called "muscular blackguardism" by unfriendly critics, but today the pose struck by Lawrence' hero seems more Victorian than Byronic. He is too sentimentally world-weary and too respectably anti-bourgeois. In American affairs his type was sure to be

anti-Northern, and when the war came Lawrence, acting out his hero's role, leapt upon a Cunarder to join the crusade against the North. He described the war in these terms:

On one side is ranged an innumerable multitude—which can hardly be looked upon as a distinct nation for in it mingles all the blood of Western Europe—doggedly determined, perhaps, to persevere in its purpose, yet strangely apathetic when a crisis seems really imminent—easily discouraged by reverses and easily prone to discontent and distrust of all ruling powers—divided by political jealousies, often more bitter than the hatred of the commonwealth foe—mingling always with their patriotism a certain commercial calculation, that, if all the tales are true, makes them from the highest to the lowest, peculiarly open to the temptations of the Almighty Dollar; these men are fighting for a positive gain; for a reacquisition of a vast territory, that if they win they must watch, as Russia has watched Poland. On the other side I see a real nation, numerically small, in whose veins the Anglo-Saxon blood flows almost untainted; I see rich men casting down their gold, and strong men casting down their lives, as if both were dross, in the cause they have sworn to win. I see Sybarites enduring hardships that *un vieux de la vielle* would have grumbled at; I hear gentle and tender women echo in simple earnestness the words that were once spoken to me by a fair Southern wife—"I pray that Philip may die in the front, and that they may burn me in the plantation, before the Confederacy makes peace on any terms but our own." I see that reverses, instead of making these people cashier their generals, or cavil at the rules, only intensify their fierce energy of resistance. These men are fighting—not to gain a foot of ground, but simply to hold their own, with the liberty they conceive to be their birthright.

The literary result of Lawrence' American adventure was not a novel, but it can fairly be called fiction manqué. In *Border and Bastille*, published in 1863, he describes his unsuccessful attempts to join the Southern forces and his months of imprisonment in Washington after the Federals had captured him. The only South that Lawrence found was in Baltimore where, between forays at the border, he whiled away his days as an honorary member of the Maryland Club with billiards, fast trotters and duck shooting on the Chesapeake. His capture in western Maryland was ignominious. The three local farmers who intercepted him did not, he complains, use the regular formulas of challenge. When his captors "indulge in a rough jocularly" at his expense, he replies with appropriate hauteur. "I had not escaped from London chaff and Parisian persiflage to be mocked by a wild Virginian." After eight weeks in a Washington prison Lawrence was released on his parole, visited Niagara Falls and

went back to England to write in the last pages of his story that the Union would never be recovered: ". . . not for the first time in history has an aristocracy grown up in the centre of a democracy; . . . The New Englander sees this just as plainly as the Virginian, and both have equal pride in thinking that Cavalier and Roundhead are fighting the old battle once more."

Though Lawrence continued to write novels until 1876 he never used his Civil War experiences in his later fiction. He must have discovered soon after his return that another novelist had beaten him to his own story, for the character that Lawrence had invented in *Guy Livingstone* and tried to live in *Border and Bastille* had been taken up by a spectacular new novelist who called herself Ouida and was just beginning to shock and delight all England, "from peers to pantry maids" as the phrase went. In a pair of novelettes published about this time she sent two heroes of the Lawrence stripe to serve the Confederacy with conspicuously greater success than he had managed to achieve.

Ouida's two Southern war stories are really the same tale written twice. In each case a disgraced Guards officer seeks oblivion in the Confederate Army and finds redemption instead. In *Deadly Dash* the hero of that name, "a sort of compound of Monte Cristo, Mephistopheles and Murat mixed in one," as Ouida calls him, must send in his commission and emigrate to the American war after he kills one Russian prince too many in the Bois de Vincennes in a quarrel that concerned a "wretched little chorus-singer of the Café Alcazar." Some time later a holidaying fellow Guardsman, who has run the blockade and "pushed at once into the heart of Virginia, to be in the full heat of whatever should come in the cards," rides into a skirmish where "a handful of Southern troopers held their own with tremendous difficulty against three divisions of Federal infantry." Although the visitor is legally neutral—"delicate Anglo-euphemism for coward"—he rides into the battle and fights beside the superb cavalry leader who is, of course, Deadly Dash. It is "a hot thing," "the pace is so splendidly fast," and with a gallant charge and a rebel yell they flee through the surrounding infantry, Deadly Dash turning in his saddle at the last minute to bring down the Union general. But a second Northern force of two thousand troopers overpowers the little band and they are captured. A strange lottery follows. The two Englishmen draw slips that send them back to Virginia in exchange for Northern prisoners, but Major Stuart Lane, a native Virginian, draws a death slip. Now, even in the Confederate South Dash has not changed his preference for married women. He has tried to tempt Major Lane's wife, but she has spurned him. Purified somehow by this unique reversal, Deadly

Dash changes places with the Virginian and dies before a Union firing squad.

In *Redeemed, An Episode with the Confederate Horse* Bertie Winton leaves for "Secessia" under a cloud similar to Dash's. In disgrace with his father and the regiment for his too frequent appearances in divorce cases, duels and gambling "hells," he too is discovered with a small band of cavalry in a Virginia setting where, we are told in Ouida's splendid prose, "the rice grew but the richer and faster because it was sown in soil where slaughtered thousands rotted, unsepulchered and unrecorded." Bertie, in his turn, saves Jeb Stuart's cavalry by creeping through the Federal pickets to blow up their fortifications. "Tarnation cheeky thing to do," says the Northern general as he tosses down a gin sling. But Bertie's apotheosis is yet to come. Fighting for the South has made over this listless man-about-town into a bold cavalry leader, ". . . no man was better known or better trusted in all Lee's divisions." On a famous day in the Shenandoah Valley General Longstreet orders Colonel Winton's squadrons to "break the enemy's square on the left," and Bertie "bowing with the old Pall Mall grace, turned and gave the word to advance." He breaks the square but is almost killed in the attempt. His father, Lord Winton, is, unaccountably, a spectator of the battle from the Federal side and he rides to rescue his forgiven son.

Few stories of any war can compare with Ouida's in their striking combination of gore and nonchalance. Her exiled English gentlemen conduct themselves as if they were killing blue-coated grouse instead of Union soldiers, and the enemy dead pile up around them as if the Federals made a deliberate strategy out of dying in heaps. The character of the opposing forces is always indicated by the contrasting figures of dashing cavalymen and thick lines of foot soldiers hiding behind breastworks. The struggle is obviously between two ways of life, and the historical analogy with the English civil wars is always in the foreground.

A like-minded but slightly less respectable novelist than Lawrence or Ouida fictionalized the war in a series of "yellowbacks" which tried to be as timely in their appearance as the news dispatches from America. In a series of five novels William Stephens Hayward made a spectacular attempt to bring a durable cast of English characters through four years of the war. When, as he was writing the last two volumes, military events overtook his pro-Southern plots and prophecies he learned to roll with the wave of history and face the facts of Southern defeat with composure.

Hayward's first novel, *Hunted to Death*, barely gets his hero, an English adventurer named Captain George, on the American scene and indoctrinated with a passion against the North. He cleans out several New

York gambling houses and marries a Creole beauty in New Orleans. In the next novel, *The Black Angel*, he is in the Confederate Army in Virginia and assists General Beauregard at Fort Sumter and Charleston. The third novel, *The Star of the South*, finds Captain George leading a cavalry squadron, the Carolina Crashers, at Bull Run. The carnage of the battle is lingered over and, as is customary in these English novels of the war, the Southern cavalry charge is described in English hunting terms.

There was a fierce excitement in this which chimed in well with George's present humor. To see them double and twist like hunted hares—gasping, panting till at last the inevitable time came, and, rising in his stirrups, the sabre would whistle through the air, gleam in the sunshine, and the next instant the running form would be a dark spot on the plain.

The Northern officers at Bull Run are epitomized in a Massachusetts lawyer who sits his horse like a sack. To prove the motives of the opposing armies and account for the difference in their military prowess, the Fugitive Slave Law is remembered as "the curse and eternal disgrace of the hypocritical, dollar-worshipping Yankees . . . by which the tricking Northerners bound themselves to the system of slavery."

The Star of the South was written at the high point of Hayward's hopes for Confederate success. The next novel, *The Fiery Cross*, although it celebrates the Southern "victory" at Shiloh, begins to rationalize the difficulties of the Southern position. The Fiery Cross, an order like the Ku Klux Klan, is formed in Louisiana to combat slave revolts and to answer Northern emancipation propaganda. Hayward grants that slavery is in itself a great evil but he wants to exhibit the bloody havoc that will result when the Negroes, so dependent on their masters, are turned loose. And it ill becomes the English, he says, echoing Carlyle, to put up a "hypocritical whine" at the wickedness and inhumanity across the Atlantic while they have industrial slaves and paupers surrounding them at home. The novelist does admit that the

haughty Southerner brave and chivalric to a fault and withal insolent from their long wielding absolute power, refused to read the signs of the times. Slavery and States Rights! Had they blotted out the former, the latter must certainly win their independence against all the might of mongrel Yankeeland, whose armies were made up principally of German and Irish mercenaries.

After Shiloh Hayward's characters return to New Orleans just before Farragut's capture of the city. "Beast" Butler enters the novel and a new heroine, Lola the quadroon, is brought before him to be insulted. His

heroes act out some of the actual events that followed the surrender of the city and then retreat by water to continue Hayward's war in the last novel *The Rebel Privateer*. This volume was written after the war when some of the novelist's sentiments had been revised. The Yankees are no longer cowards, that is, the "pure born Americans—not the questionable hordes who throng that country, the prodigals of Europe." But his bitterness against English neutrality still holds. Some day, Hayward predicts, England may turn faint and exhausted for aid and she will be met with the cynical doctrine of non-intervention, which to English statesmen means never fight equals, intervene only when there is a profit to be made. The last piece of Civil War history that Hayward fictionalizes is Lincoln's assassination. His hero enters Washington in disguise, meets Wilkes Booth and prepares a plot for the abduction, but not the murder, of Lincoln. But the President, who in the novel talks and jokes like an English stage Yankee, craftily sends an old rail-splitting friend disguised as himself to the rendezvous and vastly enjoys his joke. The Englishman and his Southern friends are dissuaded from going any further with the plot by the quadroom beauty, who is now a famous actress. A few days later she is present watching *Our American Cousin* from the wings of Ford's Theater when Booth shoots. Our final sight of Hayward's heroes finds them watching the last Southern privateer sink. But they will not admit defeat. "It may not be this year or the next, not for many years; but ultimately the South shall achieve independence. We may sink now like our gallant ship; but as the waves close over us, our motto shall be *Resurgam*."

This fervent loyalty shown by the "best sort" in England for the brave little Confederacy kept its vitality in one tradition of the English novel for the next twenty-five years. For a novelist's purpose Southern defeat had, perhaps, advantages. An unlimited supply of tragedy and pathos was made available for an indefinite number of stories and, beyond this, a novelist could play with the resemblances between the loss of the tradition of the gentleman in America and his unstable fortunes at home. The reading public for romantic and "fashionable" novels had become larger than ever in the sixties. The embattled and defeated Confederacy became a convenient recent background against which to place the brooding English aristocrat always ready to fight to retain his imperiled heritage against his natural enemies, the mob of democrats and boors.

Disraeli in his most pretentious and flamboyant novel, *Lothair*, uses elements of this Anglo-American situation, although the defeated South is only a small part of the novel's complications. *Lothair*, which was published in 1870, arranges a gaudy collection of aristocrats in a tapestry-like

plot, and where the novelist's announced satire begins and the attitude of adoration ends has puzzled many readers, including Anthony Trollope, who thought it was the most snobbish book he had ever read. With one of his golden figures, Colonel Campion, Disraeli introduced into fiction the Confederate exile in Europe. He is an exotic mixture, a rich man who fights on the barricades with Garibaldi, collects contemporary art and is married to the mysterious Theodora, the high priestess of a natural religion and the inspiration of all the revolutionary movements in Europe. The Colonel is, as Disraeli's duke says of him, a gentleman,

not a Yankee. People make the greatest mistake about these things. He is a gentleman of the South; they have no property but land; and I am told his territory was immense. He always lived in Paris and in the highest style, disgusted of course with his own country. It is not unlikely he may have lost his estates now; but that makes no difference to me. I shall treat him and all Southern gentlemen, as our fathers treated the emigrant nobility of France.

A less pretentious postwar novel of the Confederate South was *Debenham's Vow* by a popular woman novelist Amelia B. Edwards. Temple Debenham, her hero, is a penniless baron who during the war turns blockade runner and makes a fortune selling rifles, clothing and rum to the Confederates and buying cotton at five cents a pound in Charleston to sell it in Manchester for eighteen. The blockade-running adventures are described in detail. In America the welcome that Debenham receives from hospitable Charleston families frequently tempts him to swerve from his official English neutrality. Miss Edwards' benefit of hindsight protects her hero from inaccurate American judgments and predictions, but she is often interested in showing what affinities exist between the aristocracy of Charleston and a nobly born Englishman. In the end Debenham decides that he cannot say to the beautiful Diana Ashby of Charleston what he would like to say, "Gallant and chivalrous as you are, descended from old English cavaliers as you are, your cause is stained with the sin of slavery." Back in England Debenham discusses the war at dinner parties. Miss Edwards, in 1870, was trying to reconstruct upper-class opinion during the war and to give her hero the sentiments that had turned out to be right. An older companion announces in one conversation that "less than one third of the men in the Federal regiments are genuine Northerners; and that their ranks, being recruited from the back slums of Boston and New York, are chiefly made up of English, Irish and German immigrants." Debenham agrees that the strength of the North lies in her unlimited supply of men:

The population of the South, on the other hand, consists chiefly of masters, an independent middle class and slaves. Hence it follows that in many Confederate regiments every soldier is a gentleman. I have myself seen a Charleston regiment, one thousand strong, recruited entirely from the landed gentry and the learned professions. Let them fight as bravely as they will, these gentleman soldiers must be outnumbered at last.

Lord Stockbridge replies, "According to my creed, one gentleman is equal to a score of mercenaries." "But not to five hundred," Debenham reminds him.

The Yankees of the novel are mean-spirited creatures. A renegade old sailor from Martha's Vineyard pilots the blockade runners in and out of Charleston Harbor at seven hundred and fifty pounds a round trip. At Nassau, the center of the new trade, another New Englander repairs English ships and draws the line only at receiving his pay in Confederate money. Debenham interprets these interesting specimens for an English friend,

The vein of heroism is still there; imbedded, perhaps, in much base material, but still there, an inherent part of the man's nature. There is even a symbolic element mixed up with the worship of the almighty dollar. Dollar is power, and power is national greatness; so, even here, patriotism is touched at a tangent.

R. D. Blackmore, seven years after *Lorna Doone* had made him famous, serialized an American novel, *Erema*, in the *Cornhill Magazine* in 1876-77. It was a sensational novel, after the manner of Charles Reade. His American scenes are unreal, his Americans speak a wild combination of Biblical and cockney English, but one incident of his plot deserves recording. A young Californian loves an English girl and when she returns to England he is so heartbroken that he travels east and joins the Confederate Army. The heroine comes back to America and a week after the battle of Chancellorsville she is in Washington, hoping, rather illogically, to get news there of her Southern hero. He is, of course, in Washington in a hospital lying wounded in a serious and wonderful way. At Chancellorsville he had fought as a colonel under "Stonewall" Jackson, and after the rout of the Northern forces he had been at the head of his regiment when his keen eyes had seen suspicious figures ahead in the dusk. He gave the command to fire, and Blackmore had depicted for English readers the tragedy of the Southern officer who accidentally shot England's favorite Confederate general. "Poor Ephriam Grundy's rare power of sight had been fatal perhaps to the cause he fought for, or at least to its greatest

captain." In his shame the young man falls on his sword, Roman fashion, and it snaps off after piercing his body. But two New York surgeons perform a delicate operation, and he and his wife, now Lady Castlewood, retire to the splendid scenery of California.

It is hard to categorize William Hepworth Dixon's novel of America and England, *Diana, Lady Lyle*, published in 1877, although it follows in outline the pattern of post-Civil War fiction found in these other novels. Its matter is the romantic marriage between the scion of a noble English family, Sir Leonard Lyle, and a glorious daughter of Virginia, Diana Randolph. Dixon's story depends on the usual bonds of a common culture and lineage between the Southern landed gentry and the English aristocracy even to the extent of demonstrating that Diana's father, Senator Randolph, was the tenth cousin of the Duke of Doncaster and carried in his veins the blood of an English king and a Scottish prince. But Diana is also one quarter Negro even though she is her father's legitimate daughter and heiress. Dixon had combined the "beautiful quadroom" plot of prewar antislavery fiction with a romance of the Civil War.

For all its extravagance of plot and furnishings Dixon's novel was meant as a demonstration that miscegenation offered a solution for the South after its defeat. We know this because *Diana* is written out of an earlier book, *New America*, which when it was published in 1867 became the book of the season and rapidly went through eight editions in England, three in America, and was translated into French, German, Russian, Dutch and Italian. *New America* was written from Dixon's half-formed ideas on race, religion, sex and cultural cycles. It began as a conventional travelogue of an Englishman's journey across the plains from St. Louis to Denver and over the mountains to Salt Lake City. Then for a hundred pages Dixon analyzed the significance of Mormonism. He lived closely with the Mormons, described their community with some admiration and then moved back east to visit other religious colonies, the Shakers at Mt. Lebanon, New York, a Spiritualist convention in Providence, the female Seers in Boston, the Dunkers at Lancaster and the Bible Communists of Oneida. Its success tempted him to add a sequel which he called *Spiritual Wives*. (*The Pall Mall Gazette* accused this second book of indecency, and Dixon, who was editor of the literary weekly *The Athenaeum*, brought action for libel and won the verdict.)

Dixon's analysis of American life in *New America* was based upon his theory of a national American polarity between the values of individual freedom and the urge toward social unity. He thought that the Civil War had been preceded by a period of "great unrest" in which the divisive forces in the United States had been all-powerful. The flight of our

writers and artists to Europe, the rise of minor political parties, schisms in the churches, agitation for women's rights and attacks on property and morality were some of the evidence he adduced to illustrate "the final stage of freedom, as it verges into chaos." The Civil War had shown America the terms of her choice, "The prize for which the South contended against the North was nothing less than the Principles of National Life." For this Englishman the Northern war aims had proved to be national unity, social equality, belief in the ideas of democracy and faith in moral progress. In the South ". . . stood the lotus eater, with his airs and languors, his refinements and traditions"; in the North ". . . stood the craftsman, with his head full of ideas, his heart full of faith, his arm full of strength . . . on one side chivalry with all its glories and its vices; on the other side equality with its ardors and its hopes." One chance the Southern white man had, Dixon thought, "one from which it is commonly believed his pride must revolt, and his taste recoil,—a family alliance with the negro race." Would it not restore the strength of the "pale and bilious Southerners" to marry their sons and daughters to the "highly gifted and emotional" Negroes? The Negro, Dixon said, may be the coming man in the States. During the war he had proved himself a man. If miscegenation had been practiced for years in the South anyway, ". . . why not give legal standing and moral sanction to what is already the habit of the stronger sex?"

Many of Dixon's observations must have shocked and confused his American readers. How many new misconceptions of the United States his popular book spread in Europe it would be hard to determine. When he came to write his American novel he chose to cast his story of a mixed marriage on such a melodramatic level that it might not have occurred to his English readers that he was posing a fair illustration of this thesis. The story is too elaborate to recount in detail. The scene is the South in 1860, a once noble but now decadent country. Diana, the beautiful quadroon, owes a great deal to all her glamorous predecessors in slavery fiction. After the death of her father—who has acknowledged her mother's freedom and her legitimate birth only in a private paper which is seized by a wicked overseer—she is carried north by the underground railway, becomes a great lady and departs for England. She does not tell her English husband of her Negro blood, and in England and India during the war she remains loyal to the South and becomes to her husband's fellow Army officers the beautiful personification of the Glorious Cause. We are told that in India Lee is the hero of all the British garrisons and that a "Southern lady, representing chivalry and aristocracy, is soon the rage in every club and coterie." At last Sir Leonard has to learn from the

overseer who had followed Diana to England of the supposed shame of his wife's birth. His decision is to exile himself from home and this disgrace cast upon his house and heir. But when he discovers the paper which proves Diana's legitimate birth he returns to his wife and son in time to be elected to Parliament as the Conservative "Young England" candidate for his county.

The case for the South, uncomplicated by any racial theory, was pushed to its furthest extreme in a novel published in 1880 by Percy Greg. Greg was a journalist who during the war had contributed to the pro-Southern *Manchester Guardian* and *Saturday Review* as a propagandist on the payroll of the chief secret agent of the Confederacy in London. He wrote several novels including a scientific romance set on Mars. A biographical note describes him as a man who tended to violent extremes, ". . . in youth a secularist, in middle life a spiritualist, and in particular an embittered adversary of the American Union." To justify and display his bitterness he wrote two novels of the Civil War South, *Errant* and *Sanguelac*, and a *History of the United States from the Foundation of Virginia to the Reconstruction of the Union* (1887).

The history is a monument to Greg's deep hatred of the North. The postwar *Saturday Review* thought he protested too much, "The statesmanship, the wisdom, the culture, the valor, the chivalry, the lofty refined courtesy of the South are insisted on till one longs for the suppression of those immaculate creatures." He writes from a most elaborate North-South, Puritan-Cavalier parallel. What was once worthy in the old Roundhead tradition in New England disappeared or deteriorated during the Revolution. The greater part of the "natural aristocracy" of Massachusetts was driven into exile and only the scum remained. The Southern planters, on the other hand, had kept alive "the finest and most characteristically English type of Anglo-Saxon race." Slavery is described as a relation between classes similar to that which "an English squire feels for his tenants and cottagers," and the "Chivalric spirit and punctilious courtesy of former days have been preserved by the appeal to the duel still sanctioned by Southern opinion." Inevitably, then, the war becomes for Greg the unequal contest between Union hordes who "delighted in humiliating, harassing, and mortifying women, young girls and children" and a vastly outnumbered group of gentlemen "who would not even take water from a private back-yard without asking leave."

With such advantages as this Miniver Cheevy passion for the Southern chivalry and the industry that went into his eight-hundred-page history Greg could not fail to surpass his fellow defenders of the South among the Victorian novelists. In *Errant* he used every detail of the pro-Southern

novel and achieved a new intensity by multiplying by a factor of ten. His Englishman, Lionel D'Arcy, has become a Louisiana planter after participating in a fatal duel in France. In the New Orleans slave market he buys a "lot" of Negroes, including four beautiful quadroons, one of whom is the lovely American girl he had met in India when she was touring with her owner-father. Like most of the other English protagonists in these war novels D'Arcy is a commander of cavalry troops, in his case called "The Devil's Own." He leads his troops against "Beast" Butler in New Orleans and as the fury of the war increases he vows by the "Starry Cross" "never to rest or spare while there were Yankee soldiers to kill and Northern homes to desolate." His sacred fealty is sworn to General Lee, "the noblest Christian and soldier of his age." D'Arcy dies defending Lee's retreat from Richmond.

Greg's novel wallows in gore and cruelty. Such scenes as these written twenty-five years after the war suggest a disordered mind:

The Colonel struck not a blow till he reached him: and then struck twice, like lightning, but I am sure both blows were well and truly aimed—and not to kill. The first gashed his face from eyes to chin, so that the mother who bore him could never have endured to look on the ghastly object again; the second caught him above the hips, crippling him horribly and forever. The man's screams were hideous to hear."

"Our men stood round and as the Yankees tried to escape from the flames, he had them driven back at the point of the lance. Then when the howling and yelling from within the building became fainter, when that business was well-nigh done, he came where Ballard lay.

Henry Adams' eccentricity could not be carried much further than this.

Nor was it. The English devotion to the cause of a Southern aristocracy sank to rest in the quieter formulas of a G. A. Henty's boys' novel. There the vestiges of its social faith showed only faintly. Several generations of Henty's young English readers were probably unmoved, even unenlightened, by reading in *With Lee in Virginia* that "one Southerner fighting for home and liberty is more than a match for two hired Germans or Irishmen, even with a good large sprinkling of Yankees thrown in," or that in the paternalistic communities of the old South the slaves were luckier than their English counterparts, for the "fear of loss of employment or the pressure of want, ever present to our English labourers, had never fallen upon them."

The vitality and the duration of this pro-Confederate tradition in English fiction may seem to require more explanation than has been offered here. It is surprising that so much sentiment and romance could be con-

centrated on a way of American life which before the war had attracted almost no attention from English novelists. The wartime novels had, of course, only fictionalized the view of the war spread by the *Times*, the *Saturday Review* and most of the other influential journals of England. And in their animosity against Yankees these novelists were continuing the antagonism against America which had begun to be popular in the thirties. No English novelist had ever written a pro-Northern novel. Anti-Yankee stories and stage caricatures had been famous for years before the Civil War. But there will probably never again be another rallying cry like the Rebel Yell to gather together a school of English novelists so ardently attached to one section of America and so anxious to do battle against the rest of it as a nation of perfidious Yankees.



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Emerson and Zen

BECAUSE OF HIS REPUTATION AS AN AMERICAN ORACLE, RALPH WALDO EMERSON has also come to serve as an occasional measuring device for the native compatibility of the various vogues of religion, philosophy or political doctrine which invade our culture from time to time. If Emerson was (as Carl F. Strauch has stated) "the literary middleman of the nineteenth century," he is just as legitimately to our age a familiar source or at least a point of reference to whom we return, periodically, to assess the foreign elements demanding a specifically American reinterpretation. Thus in the last thirty years alone the Emersonian mystique has provided an indigenous testing ground for the premises of Marxist dialectics, German national socialism, Oriental mysticism (repeatedly and with reference to its various forms) and lately, post-World War II atheistic and Christian existentialism. I am only following a tradition of American scholarship, therefore, in attempting to define the relationship of Emerson to Zen Buddhism and to evaluate the significance of that philosophy-faith for our culture from the perspective of our first uniquely American poet-seer. The idea is not my own. In his article "Current Western Interest in Zen," printed in *Philosophy East and West*, Van Meter Ames makes occasional comparisons between modern Zen and the Emersonian attitude as a means of demonstrating the reasons inherent in the recent popular espousal of the Japanese sect by the West.¹ I intend to examine a number of the more significant similarities between Emerson and Zen, especially as they affect the Emersonian ontology, and on the basis of the results venture an opinion on the relevance of Zen for the American with his heritage of self-reliance, accessibility of divine truth and trust in an ultimate benevolence of Nature and God.

It is necessary first to check the remote possibility of Emerson's own first-hand acquaintance with Zen. It is common knowledge that he was attracted to Buddhism, but the degree of its influence upon him has

¹ Van Meter Ames, "Current Western Interest in Zen," *Philosophy East and West*, X (April-July 1960), 23-33.

remained largely undetermined. The two classical works on Emerson and Oriental thought, Arthur Christy's *The Orient in American Transcendentalism* and F. I. Carpenter's *Emerson and Asia*, offer only incidental aid.² Yet on the basis of their information alone, one learns that Emerson's actual knowledge of Buddhism was probably even sketchier than the available source material. At one place, for example, he identifies the Bhagavad Gita as "the much renowned book of Buddhism" (a confusion common to the Transcendentalists, perhaps, since Thoreau also identified Buddhism with Brahmanism) and, as Carpenter informs us, his observations on Buddhism were limited to the popular concepts of fate, quietism and Nirvana. This information, therefore, practically precludes any possibility that Emerson may have known Zen itself. Apart from the fact that none of the teachings of the early Zen masters was translated into English during Emerson's lifetime (or into any European language, for that matter), his restricted reading in Buddhistic thought of any kind makes it quite unlikely that he was ever confronted with the interpretations peculiar to the Zen school. Any comparison, as a result, will have to be on the basis of purely intellectual or experiential similarity and without the support of historical correspondence.

At the same time, one can point to a surprising resemblance between the historical development of Zen and Emerson's version of New England Transcendentalism, a discussion of which will bring us to a consideration of individual relationships between the two. Older Zen, rejecting the Theravada (Hinayanist) ideal of individual release in favor of the world-inclusive Nirvana of the Mahayanist Bodhisattva (ideal man), then in disavowing the isolation of transcendental Nirvana in favor of an "existential" day-by-day experience, came to represent a decidedly left-wing, iconoclastic branch of the traditional Northern School of Buddhism. Ames introduces a comparison with the New England religious situation of Emerson's day with the statement that "Zen seems to mean a rejection of traditional Buddhism like the Unitarian rejection of traditional Christianity, while at the same time keeping the tradition, to reinterpret it in a more naturalistic and humanistic way, as in Emerson."³ I do not

² Arthur Christy, *The Orient in American Transcendentalism* (New York, 1932); Frederic Ives Carpenter, *Emerson and Asia* (Cambridge, 1930). The appendix in Christy's book listing the Oriental readings of the Transcendentalists is quite valuable. However, I found only four or five entries relating Emerson and Buddhism, and all of these but one were concerned with insignificant aspects of Buddhism. The one exception, Max Mueller's *Lectures on the Science of Religion*, which contained a section on Nirvana and Buddhist nihilism, did not appear until 1872 and was therefore too late to influence the corpus of Emerson's writings. Similarly, in checking *Ralph Waldo Emerson's Reading* by Kenneth Cameron (Raleigh, N. C., 1941), I have been unable to discover any entries which would indicate a deeper acquaintance of Emerson with Buddhism.

³ Ames, pp. 30-31.

think that this observation carries the details of the comparison nearly far enough. In the first place, for whatever the parallel may be worth, modern Zen is not only a "rejection of traditional Buddhism"; it is a development of a liberalizing movement within the ancient orthodox Mahayana and one of the five divisions resulting from the liberal impulse. But beyond that, there was a major schism within the Zen sect itself, producing a Northern and Southern Branch (not to be confused with the original Northern and Southern Schools of Buddhism) and leading ultimately to the dominance of the Southern Branch with its doctrine of Sudden Enlightenment as opposed to the Gradual Enlightenment of the Northern, imperially supported Branch. This Southern Branch, discounting other divisions mainly social and geographic, is represented in present-day Japanese Zen. Similarly, the Transcendentalism that Emerson represented during the middle period of his life was also an extreme modification and liberalization of the existing Unitarianism which had already established the lines of its anti-Calvinist protest and settled into a kind of orthodoxy of its own. More significant are the analogous directions which Zen and Emersonian Transcendentalism took in their departures from the traditional positions. Both, for example, were extremely suspicious of the externals comprising so much of the old system and became dedicated to the task of ridding their thinking of the dead weight of the past. Both, in line with the process of de-externalization, put forth special efforts to destroy anthropomorphic concepts of deity. Both concentrated much less on speculation regarding the nature of God, extremely important to the systems from whence they emerged, and emphasized instead the experiential process whereby one could find and unite with God. Both, finally, worked to eliminate whatever vestiges of a transcendent-immanent as well as of a good-evil dualism still existed within the structure of their world views and sharpened instead the monistic view of an ontic-cosmic unity inherent in their efforts to become one with the all.

These general historical parallels should indicate more specific correspondences within the philosophical-religious framework, and I intend to point out a number of these in the next pages.⁴ First, both Emerson and Zen have two similar concepts forming the foundation of their ontologies: God or Buddha as the One Mind, and the unity of the one

⁴ The difficulty in explicating Zen, of course, is that the interpreter finds himself in the embarrassing position of trying to work with a system (or nonsystem) that by its very nature denies and defies the possibility of explication. Yet even Suzuki, who prefaces his books and lectures with a note on the impossibility of discussing Zen, has managed to write and speak profusely on the subject. Therefore—to adapt Suzuki's way of stating the problem—if one cannot talk Zen, one can at least speak respectfully about it and convey thereby as much of its essence as the intellect can grasp.

and all which is basically God or Buddha. Blofeld states in his introduction to the Huang Po sermons that "Zen followers . . . prefer to talk of 'the Absolute' or 'the One Mind', for which they employ many synonyms according to the aspect to be emphasized in relation to something finite."⁵ To Huang Po himself are attributed the words:

All the Buddhas and all sentient beings are nothing but the One Mind, beside which nothing exists. This mind, which is without beginning, is unborn and indestructible. . . . The One Mind alone is the Buddha, and there is no distinction between the Buddha and sentient things, but that sentient beings are attached to forms and so seek externally for Buddhahood.⁶

This stress upon God-as-Mind is very like Emerson's emphasis. One of his primary designation for deity is *Mind*, with various adjectives preceding the appellation, such as "Supreme," "Great," "Universal." In addition, one finds in Emerson as in Zen an astonishing number of synonyms for God-as-Mind, each attempting to express some facet of the concept relating to the particular element of existence under immediate discussion. In Emerson's early popular essays after 1836 and in the *Essays: First Series* alone one finds at least twenty terms equivalent to the concept of God-as-Mind. Note, as examples, the similarity to the Zen terminology and to its efforts to capture the multiplexity in simplicity of Buddha-as-Mind in three quotations from Emerson. Writing in the "Divinity School Address" and commenting upon evidences of morality in the universe, he states that "These facts have always suggested to man the sublime creed that the world is not the product of manifold power, but of one will, of one mind; and that one mind is everywhere active."⁷ In "History" he writes that "There is one mind common to all individual men. Every man is an inlet to the same and to all of the same. . . . Who hath access to this universal mind is a party to all that is or can be done, for this is the only and sovereign agent."⁸ And speaking to the subject of "Modern Literature" he asserts the same idea: "Another element of the modern poetry akin to this subjective tendency, or rather the direction of that same on the question of resources, is the Feeling of the Infinite. Of the perception now fast becoming a conscious fact,—that there is One Mind. . . ."⁹ Significantly, for both Zen and Emerson,

⁵ John Blofeld, *The Zen Teaching of Huang Po* (New York, 1959), p. 16.

⁶ Blofeld, p. 29.

⁷ Ralph Waldo Emerson, *The Complete Works*, Centenary Edition (New York and Boston, 1903), I, 123. All quotations from Emerson, unless otherwise designated, are from the Centenary Edition, referred to hereafter as *Works*.

⁸ *Works*, II, 3.

⁹ *Works*, XII, 316.

"Mind" stands for more than mere rationality. The concept in itself comes to serve as a synonym for God or Buddha and can in many instances be equated with "essence" or "being"; as such it accentuates the willing, ordering and knowing aspects of deity. In Zen, this all-inclusiveness of Mind as being has its roots as deep as in the idealism of the earliest Indian Buddhism. In Emerson, it is the result of the centrality of mind as he found it in Plato, Plotinus, in the much later German transcendental idealism and, of course, in Orientalism itself.

The second ontological foundation, the unity of the one and the many, receives analogous treatment in the two philosophies also. Zen teaches distinctly the doctrine of *sunyata*: that all separate things are empty in themselves, that the variety of existence has no meaning or reality except as the many modes and forms of existence are understood to be manifestations of the one Buddha-nature. Suzuki, certainly the most articulate exponent and interpreter of modern Zen to the Western world, illustrates the Buddha-infusion of all things in the recording of a dialogue between the Master Gensha and a monk:

A monk asked: "What is the One?"

G.: "The many."

M.: "What is the many?"

G.: "The One!"

M.: "What is the Buddha-mind?"

G.: "The mind of sentient beings."

M.: "What is the mind of sentient beings?"

G.: "The Buddha-mind." ¹⁰

Compare this to the statement by Emerson in "The Sovereignty of Ethics" that "God is one and omnipresent; here or nowhere is the whole fact. The one miracle which God works evermore is in Nature, and imparting himself to the mind." ¹¹ There is probably a final difference between Zen and Emerson in this aspect, but it resolves itself into a matter of degree. In Zen, the Buddha-infusion of all results in a complete interchangeability of all components of existence and in an absolute denial of any transcendental mode of being by Buddha. Buddha is not only found *in* this or that thing; he *is* the thing. Thus there is the total identity of mind and matter and, negatively, the *sunyata*—the impermanence and unreality of all individual forms—until they reach the "suchness" of the Buddha-nature. Emerson would not go so far. In spite of his insistence upon the presence of God "in every moss and cobweb," he can never complete the equation, either intellectually or experientially. The aid

¹⁰ Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, *Living by Zen* (London, 1950), p. 45.

¹¹ *Works*, X, 199.

of Schelling and Fichte notwithstanding, God remains for him an objective and therefore ultimately transcendent "other"; even when he is at his daring best and declares that man is God, the assertion has the nature of a conceit and is not a literal truth. More important for the purpose of contrast with Zen, Emerson cannot participate spiritually in the identity of God and all because he has neither the whole constitution nor the method of the mystic that would enable him to do so. He cannot really move beyond the dichotomy of subject and object (beyond "conceptualizing," Suzuki would say), although he can talk about it and "metaphorize" on it, and thus he never experiences the merging of his personality with that of deity. Nevertheless, since I am still pointing out similarities, it is necessary to state that the direction of the two systems regarding the one and the many is the same. Emerson may not have carried the concept to its natural conclusion, as in Zen, but at least he tried during his Transcendental period, and even after that, having missed the mystic vision, he retained the idea as a vital element of his later idealistic naturalism. Before leaving the subject, one should notice yet a secondary effect of the doctrine of the one and the many conspicuous in Zen and Emerson. Since all life, all being, is Buddha, or since all life is infused with God, there is nothing that should not be revered and nothing that is evil in itself or by its nature. As Watts expresses it;

For the first principle of the Mahayana is that all things, however vile on the surface and however insignificant, are aspects of the Buddha-nature, and this implies that every being and thing must be accepted; nothing can be excluded from the "Lotus Land of Purity" as being "worldly" or "trivial" or "base."¹²

Therefore when the Zen pupil is asked to reply to his master, in a typical *mondo*, concerning the mysteries of the Buddha-nature, his best answer will be a simple reference to "The cypress tree in the courtyard!" "The bamboo grove at the foot of the hill!" "The dried up dirt scraper!"¹³ Emerson uses much the same technique, with the same philosophy behind it, when he tries to shock the conservative intellect into accepting the God-ness of all by asking, "What is there of the divine in a load of bricks? What is there of the divine in a barber's shop or a privy? Much. All."¹⁴

These metaphysical elements, evidencing an unusual degree of similarity in their expression within the two systems, are only the background for the real concern. Zen as well as Emerson wishes above all to convert

¹² Alan W. Watts, *The Spirit of Zen* (New York, 1958), pp. 47-48.

¹³ Watts, p. 56.

¹⁴ *The Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, eds. William H. Gilman et al. (Cambridge, 1960), I, xxi.

the potentialities of the divinely inspired universe into a means of helping the individual solve the problems of life. Both, moreover, are existential in the modern sense of the word in that, although they utilize the mind as the vehicle for contemplating reality, they are intent on moving beyond the cognitive process to encounter being and becoming with the total personality.

I see three areas in which Zen and Emerson alike work to accomplish their goal of transcending the nonbeing of a purely conformist, sense- or logic-dictated life: in the underlying attitude of self-reliance, the intuitional experience and the miracle of the here and now. Speaking first to the theme of self-reliance, I find that Zen and Emerson correspond in their insistence that the strictures of the past be set aside; that self-reliance, properly understood, is a dependence upon the deity within one; and that the "existential leap" (Suzuki quoting Kierkegaard) or "the courage to be" will be rewarded by the emergence of one's new being, which is in Zen the Enlightenment of *satori* and in Emerson the serenity that comes with the realization of one's existing in "the Aboriginal Self" or in "the lap of immense intelligence." Suzuki, by referring to the limitations of the Christian view, demonstrates that the accumulated knowledge of one's tradition must be thrown off before *satori* or "seeing into one's nature" is realized:

Christians take God and his light as things irrevocable, imperatively imposed upon them, and start their work of salvation under these limitations. Their "knowledge" always clings to them, they cannot shake this shackle off; they become victims of logic and rationality. Logic and rationality are all very well, Buddhists say, but the real spiritual abode, according to Buddhists, is found only where logic and rationality have not yet made their start.¹⁵

The tenor of this paragraph is much like the contentions of Emerson in "The American Scholar" or the "Divinity School Address" that men have become enslaved to books, to past scholarship or to formal credenda when they actually "can read God directly," trust their own spontaneous thoughts, and realize the incarnation of God in each of them instead of in one (Christ) alone. We shall see later that a fundamental difference exists here, since Zen goes beyond cognition per se and of any period, even beyond one's present rational insights, whereas Emerson protests mainly against the canonization of thought falsely hallowed by age but encourages faith in the individual *intellect*; but for the time being it is enough to note that the key to self-reliance, in both systems, is a con-

¹⁵ Suzuki, p. 71.

centration upon one's inherent powers instead of upon an alien framework of thought.

I have already pointed to the divine basis of self-reliance in discussing the Zen and Emersonian ideas of the one and the many. God is in all things and constitutes all things, but he reaches a unique stage of immanence in man, because man is the only creature who is conscious of him. Suzuki illustrates the singularity of man's position by comparing his Zen existence to the Zen life of a dog—a drastic analogy for the Eastern mind. The dog harbors the divine within itself but has no self-awareness and therefore cannot awaken to the Buddha-nature that inhabits it.

It is man alone that can live by Zen as well as live Zen. To live Zen is not enough; we must live by it, which means that we must have the consciousness of living it, although this consciousness is beyond what we generally understand by it. The latter is relative and psychological while the consciousness of living Zen is something qualitatively different from it; it marks the limit of development which the human mind can achieve; it almost approaches divine consciousness.¹⁶

Emerson would—and does—say essentially the same thing, especially in some of the later sermons preached toward the end of his Second Church period. Nature for him, infused as it is by deity, is a mute witness of the God it contains, but it remains for man, in whom intellect (corresponding here to Suzuki's self-awareness) resides to interpret the deity manifested therein. His emphasis, however, is on the realization of and resultant action upon the divinity within one. This is the theme of "Self-Reliance":

What is the aboriginal Self, on which a universal reliance may be grounded? . . . the sense of being which in calm hours rises, we know not how, in the soul, is not diverse from things, from space, from light, from time, from man, but one with them and proceeds obviously from the same source whence their life and being also proceed. . . . We lie in the lap of immense intelligence, which makes us receivers of its truth and organs of its activity."¹⁷

For Emerson, as for the Zen Buddhist, the consciousness of divinity immanent in man and in the world about him forms the real foundation of self-trust.

The final element of self-reliance, in which self-reliance realizes itself, is the existential faith present both in Zen and in Emersonian Transcendentalism and leading in each instance to the transformation of the

¹⁶ Suzuki, p. 12.

¹⁷ *Works*, II, 63-64.

individual consciousness into a new stage of being (or, in existential terminology, into "being" itself). Since this process centers upon the second area instrumental in the Zen and Emersonian systems of overcoming nonbeing, namely, around the intuitional experience, I will discuss it in connection with that idea.

In Zen, the intellect, while functioning as the factor in the human constitution whereby man can live consciously *by* Zen, is not allowed to dominate man's existence but is made to serve the total personality until that personality unites with the superconsciousness through *satori*. In an endeavor analogous to the function of the Old Testament law as the schoolmaster leading to Christ, the Zen intellect is buffeted, confused and forced to such absurd exaggerations of its own nature that the individual is finally led to admit the helplessness of rationality in solving the dilemma of life (which, in Zen, would be the impossibility of reaching Nirvana through logic) and to look for some sort of nonrational aid. That aid is found in the intuition. Suzuki writes in great detail regarding intuition and its relation to the *satori* experience. He describes the *satori*, or the Enlightenment of the Zen believer, as an act in which one transcends conceptualization and faces reality directly without even the mediation of the structuring mind. Properly speaking, this is not intuition or even the work of some faculty in man called the intuition, because intuition implies that there is a two-ness of being and that one must employ the intuitive process to participate in unity. Suzuki insists that "There have never been two from the very first. It was the human act of knowing that God divided himself and came to be conscious of himself as not God and yet God. . . . Here we cannot talk about intuition or identification; there is only an absolute state of self-identity."¹⁸ He attempts to make the idea clear to the Western mentality by comparing the experience to the non-dialectical encounter of Kierkegaard with reality, but here, I believe, he out-existentializes the Dane. Kierkegaard, in reaction to the artificial logic of Hegel, certainly meant to modify the preoccupation with the epistemological process (a heritage of Kant) in favor of the demands of ontology, but I do not think that he tried to achieve the identity of knowing and being that is the essence of Suzuki's *satori*; he simply wished to bring the human intellect to the point where it could be grasped by the supreme otherness of God. Suzuki, on the other hand, goes on to define *satori* as "dynamic intuition," and "dynamic" here is the key term:

Satori is intuition dynamically conceived. When you move with a moving object, when you are identified with it, and yet when you are not

¹⁸ Suzuki, pp. 50-51

moving at all, a certain state of consciousness—super-consciousness—prevails, which is *satori*.¹⁹

Intuition for the Zen Buddhist, then, is not a process or a faculty. It is an experience, *the* experience that identifies man consciously with God.

How does Emerson's concept of intuition compare with this? First, it seems that Emerson's concept of God-as-Mind surpassed his idea of God-as-Unity to the extent that he could not ever really bring himself to abandon intellect as the basic component of reality. He learned his doctrine of intuition, misunderstood though it was, from Kant through Coleridge, and came to attribute thereby the ordinary exercises of the mind to the faculty of Understanding and the "super-thoughts" (in Kant simply the *a priori* structure of the mind) to what he called Reason. It is this Reason which Emerson equates with intuition. Significantly, however, the Reason never supersedes conceptualization. The ideas or feelings it intuits, too high for the Understanding, are finally thoughts in the mind of God; divine revelation is really only the knowledge that any man can have by allowing the deity within him to express itself. Intuition for Emerson, therefore, is not extrarationality, as in Zen; it is super-rationality: a difference of degree, not of quality. Nevertheless, Emerson travels in the same direction as Zen in employing something greater than the normal reasoning powers in trying to experience reality, and whatever the ultimate essence of reality, he undergoes an experience akin to the mysticism of Zen in meeting it. It is immediate and instantaneous, like the Sudden Enlightenment of *satori*; it is stimulated by profound contemplation of nature and sensory objects, at least somewhat like the *samadhi* (total contemplation) of Zen; it includes an acute, sharpened consciousness of being which is similar to the dynamic intuition state of Zen; and it leaves one with the peace and serenity of nearness to deity approaching the conscious assumption of the Buddha-nature in Zen. These characteristics, components of the mystical experience, are repeatedly mentioned by Emerson in his writings from the Transcendental period. Thus, in his well-known description of the forest experience in the 1836 *Nature*, he writes:

In the woods, we return to reason and faith. . . . Standing on the bare ground,—my head bathed by the blithe air and uplifted into infinite space,—all mean egotism vanishes. I become a transparent eyeball; I am nothing; I see all; the currents of the Universal Being circulate through me; I am part or parcel of God.²⁰

And in "Self-Reliance," he gives a slightly more intellectualized account:

¹⁹ Suzuki, p. 87.

²⁰ *Works*, I, 10.

And now at last the highest truth on this subject [self-reliance] remains unsaid; probably cannot be said; for all that we say is the far-off remembering of the intuition. . . . The soul raised over passion beholds identity and eternal causation, perceives the self-existence of Truth and Right, and calms itself with knowing that all things go well.²¹

Intuition, therefore, for Zen and Emerson alike is the means of obtaining spiritual satisfaction where the usual powers of intellect do not suffice.

Lastly, in helping man cope with his problems of existence, both Zen and Emerson emphasize the miracle of the here and now. It was on precisely this point, in fact, that Zen broke with traditional Buddhism. Zen does not wish to achieve a Nirvana that will remove the individual from the fullness of life around him, nor does it teach the believer to look forward to a space-and-time transcending state of nothingness (traditional Nirvana) which frees one from *karma* and *samsara* (the alternation of birth and death). Instead, it encourages the individual to achieve a Nirvana in the present through *satori*. "Enlightenment," Suzuki says, "consists in spiritually elucidating facts of experience and not in denying or abnegating them." He goes on to explain the significance of the active Zen life by contrasting it with the Christian view:

What distinguishes Christianity from Buddhism, in one respect at least and in the deepest way, is in their way of interpreting miracles. With Buddhists, especially with Zen followers, their life is a series of miracles. They do not perform them at a certain specified place and in a certain specified time, as Christ did. . . . Christians cannot go any further than these deeds of Christ; they cannot transform their whole life into one grand miracle.²²

Zen overcomes the need to transcend the strictures of a time-and-space limited existence not only through the constant consciousness of the wonder of life but through another means as well. Through *satori*, the conscious participation in the complete unity with deity, the Zen follower is released from the prison of relativity. Suzuki explains the emancipation by referring to eternity in relation to *satori*:

Each moment of living marks the steps of eternity. To take hold of eternity, therefore, consciousness must be awakened just at the very moment when eternity lifts its feet to step into time. This moment is what is known as the "absolute present" or "eternal now". It is an absolute point of time where there is no past left behind, no future waiting ahead. Satori stands at this point, where potentialities are about to

²¹ *Works*, II, 68-69.

²² Suzuki, p. 49.

actualize themselves. Satori does not come out of death; it is at the very moment of actualization.²³

Zen thus replaces the void of the traditional Nirvana with absolute being and the believer becomes filled with the immediate whole instead of striving for the nonexistence beyond *samsara*.

Emerson refers likewise both to the miracle of immediate life and to the significance of the present. The main point of his argument in the famous miracle controversy of 1838 with Andrews Norton and other Unitarians, in fact, was that the Unitarian-Christian view limited unnecessarily the concept of the miraculous to a historical time and place. He expressed his view quite unequivocally in the "Divinity School Address," in which he interpreted Jesus' attitude toward the wondrous in terms of his own view:

He [Christ] spoke of miracles; for he felt that man's life was a miracle, and all that man doth, and he knew that this daily miracle shines as the character ascends. But the word Miracle, as pronounced by Christian churches, gives a false impression: it is Monster. It is not one with the blowing clover and the falling rain.²⁴

The indictment of Christianity by Zen and Emerson on this point is identical and has the same basis: all of nature, of life, is pervaded with deity and must therefore partake of the miraculous, the supernatural. But Emerson's view corresponds to the attitude of Zen also in his lack of concern regarding the possibility or nature of an afterlife and in concentrating rather upon the present (see, for example, his essay on "Immortality"). The emphasis is inherent in his rejection of the past and in his refusal to speculate upon the future. More than this, while his thought on the freedom from the relativity of time and space may not be as sophisticated as Suzuki's, he nonetheless is thinking obviously along the same lines. In his struggle to fit the idea of fate into his picture of unified existence, he emerges with a solution that is essentially the same as that of Zen: that through identifying oneself with deity, one can overcome time-and-spaceness (birth-and-death in Zen) and live in the infinite present. A journal entry from 1859 reveals an amazing similarity with Zen doctrine on this point and deserves to be quoted in detail:

Our doctrine must begin with the necessary and eternal, and discriminate Fate from the necessary; there is no limitation about the Eternal. Thought, Will, is co-eternal with the world; and, as soon as intellect is awaked in any man, it shares so far of the eternity,—is of the maker, not of the made. But Fate is the name we give to the action

²³ Suzuki, pp. 54-55.

²⁴ *Works*, I, 129.

of that one eternal, all various necessity on the brute myriads, whether in things, animals, or in men in whom the intellect pore is not yet opened. . . . The great day in the man is the birth of perception, which instantly throws him on the party of the Eternal. He sees what must be. . . . To be then becomes the infinite good. . . .²⁵

If one substitutes *karma* or *samsara* for *Fate*, *Buddha-nature* for *the necessary*, and *satori* for *intellect* in this quotation, it could just as well come from a Zen source. As it is, Emerson in his own right provides a means of overcoming nonbeing that is in perfect alignment with his concept of God-as-Mind and with his concern for developing the total personality through encounter with the superrationality of deity.

There are other important parallels between Zen and Emerson that might be examined. In the area of soteriology, for example, one finds that each system has certain world-saving tendencies, resulting from the concept of unified existence, which give the enlightened individual a distinct responsibility toward his fellows but which simultaneously produce a quietism grounded upon the belief that the God in all will work in the creatures he inhabits.²⁶ From the standpoint of aesthetics, there appear so many similarities in the use of symbols and presentational language to express reality that a discussion of the subject would call for a separate study. I believe, however, that I have presented enough correspondences to indicate the essential relationship of the two philosophies. It remains now to point out a few of the basic differences and then to comment upon the implications of such a study for an understanding of American culture.

Two of the main differences have already been hinted at. First, there is a diversity of attitude and emphasis in metaphysical speculation. Zen does not care to define the nature of reality beyond stating that God is in all and in each. It is reluctant to discuss ontology because discussion can lead only to intellectualization and therefore away from the central *satori* experience. Emerson, even when stressing intuition, remains anchored in intellect because his God—and reality itself—is essentially Mind, so that he is persistently curious.²⁷ This difference becomes

²⁵ *The Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, eds. Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes (Boston and New York, 1909-14), IX, 216-17.

²⁶ As against the preoccupation with individual salvation in the orthodox systems from which Zen and Transcendentalism emerged. In traditional Buddhism, the achievement of Nirvana as Nothingness was strictly a personal affair. In Calvinism, the doctrine of predestination led to an overriding concern for the condition of one's own soul.

²⁷ Late in his career, Emerson could still declare, "I believe the mind is the creator of the world, and is ever creating;—that at last matter is dead Mind; that mind makes the senses it sees with; that the genius of man is a continuation of the power that made him and that has not done making him." (From "Natural History of Intellect") *Works*, XII, 17.

especially marked in the efforts of each system to cope with existence and to overcome the nonbeing of conventional life. Zen turns ultimately antimind while Emerson places more and more of his faith in intellect. The distinction is particularly evident in the Zen *koan*. The *koan* is the purposeful attempt of the Zen master to confound the logical workings of the mind of his pupil and to precipitate thereby the redeeming flash of insight, the Enlightenment of *satori*. Emerson, in contrast, considers any obstructions to the intellect as the result of man's separation from the divine mind which must be overcome by deeper concentration or by the contemplation of nature which will produce the new facts necessary to a further comprehension of life. The intuitional experience of Zen brings about immediate, lasting identity with being. The intuitional experience of Emerson, at best a superrational activity, is an incessant becoming, with the occasional intermittent achievement of unity but never the realization of the ultimate identity. It is precisely at this point, in fact, that the practical difference emerges. Zen is apparently a system that provides a satisfying, workable answer to life for its converts. Emerson, in spite of his lifelong search for the total experience of peace, of truth or of God, never really arrived. His period of Transcendentalism, from which most of the materials for comparison have been taken, is only a chapter in the record of his search and represents a direction which he abandoned or at least modified when the mystical experiences did not last and when the permanent experience of unity through the methods it provided was not forthcoming. This is not to say that his life or even his method was a failure. It does mean, however, that Emerson was finally unlike Zen in that his life and method remained necessarily unfinished business, and in that his later acquiescence, described so well by Whicher in *Freedom and Fate*, was not, as in Zen, the great Enlightenment that made him one with being but the admission that natural forces were too great for the individual ego. They could not be commanded, often not comprehended, but only accepted as semisecrets in the mind of God that had to be studied to find further truth. And thus, while Zen exults in the daily Nirvana, Emerson went back to his "one fact a year," to adding more dots to the arc of the circle: usually serene, but still always the seeker.²⁸

²⁸ Nor did he ever really abandon completely his trust in intuition. Somewhat older and wiser in the essay on "Experience," he can still write, "What help from thought? Life is not dialectics. . . . The great gifts are not got by analysis. Everything good is on the highway. The middle region of our being is the temperate zone. We may climb into the thin and cold realm of pure geometry and lifeless science, or sink into that of sensation. Between these extremes is the equator of life, of thought, of spirit, of poetry,—a narrow belt." *Works*, III, 58, 62.

What do Zen and Emerson mean for each other? And above all, what do they mean together for modern American civilization? Looking first at the value of Zen for understanding Emerson, one could say that Zen indicates a way that Emerson might naturally have taken at one stage of his career. Most of the elements of Zen were already present in his system: the drive toward unity, the concern for the present, the love of nature, reverence for life, faith in oneself and a passion for totality. Beyond these, it is beginning to appear as though he was also temperamentally ready for a belief in something like Zen. The persistent stereotype of Emerson as the calm ethereal seer, the thinker and inspirer of higher thoughts alone, is gradually fading out and he is emerging instead (through the publication of the new, uncensored Journals and through critical analyses such as those of Strauch and Whicher) as the man of normal human emotions, biases, doubts and fears—as a man, in fact, in whom those inner doubts and fears, as his psychological reaction to the formal arguments of an imported idealism or native Puritanism, led him for a good decade of his life to look for salvation in the super-rational. Had it been the extrarational instead, the direction of American intellectual development might have been altered.

Viewing the relationship from another angle, one sees grounds for advising the Western followers of Zen to take a long, hard look at Emerson. In him they may find, in native dress but just as attractive, much of what seems to be the exotic new truth from the East. Members of the bearded set in the Greenwich Village coffee houses have long recognized Whitman as a brother in the faith and have quoted his poetry as the expression of American rebellion but also, simultaneously, as the product of inherent American genius. Now they would do well to go back to Whitman's teacher and inspirer and catch the spirit of the original rebellion and genius as it fought its way to artistic and philosophic coherence through the strictures of the just-as-inherent American orthodoxy and conservative common sense. Or for the frustrated intellectual drawn to Zen less by the iconoclastic impulse than by the desire to find a meditative peace, Emerson can act as the Virgil who, himself confined to a noble existence in the limbo of the unsatisfied mind, will guide the believer at least to the purgatorio of *koan*, from whence he can find his way to the paradiso of *satori*.

The statements indicate the tenor of my final analysis. There is apparently something missing in modern American thought: something that Emerson had—or almost had—and lost and something that Zen has to offer. Ames makes two statements in his article bearing upon this missing element. He says first that

Americans can learn from Zen what some of their own teachers have taught them: to trust themselves, to be at home in their world, and to have confidence that they can solve their problems, without worrying about theological questions and metaphysical puzzles.²⁹

And two pages further he states:

The secret of the fascination of Zen lies in its combination of the intellectual and the intuitive, or, rather, in its intellectual justification of the intuitive.³⁰

I am not sure that Ames makes his point. The question that still remains is: "What is the intuition?" It is the problem that causes the fundamental difference between Zen and Emerson; it is the problem that troubled Emerson throughout his life; it is one of the main problems that has troubled American thought ever since the age of Emerson. Emerson became the victim of the nineteenth-century scientific trend with its accompanying current of skepticism and its philosophic embodiment in the new positivism. In spite of his "cosmic optimism," he received little comfort in the later years of his life through the realization that the intellect he had championed was moving further away from a comprehension of the mind of God and that the evolutionary process as it applied to the development of mind was not filling in the dots in the arc of the circle but was beginning instead to deny the existence of the circle at all or at least the possibility of ever learning its boundaries. William James, himself a student of Emerson, destroyed whatever super-intellectual elements remained in the Emersonian concept of intuition by identifying it as part of the psychological process, subject to scientific examination and definition. During the ensuing long, lean years of positivistic dominance in American thought, the notion of intuition was either ignored altogether or treated as an outmoded epistemological curiosity, in line with the de-emphasis of metaphysics as a whole. Now that the principle of relativity has been employed to revitalize metaphysical interest (through the writings of Whitehead, for example), intuition is again coming into its own. Hence the climate is favorable for renewed sympathetic interest in Emerson as it is for the growth of Zen. The crux of the problem now for Zen is in how it will relate itself to American culture: whether or not it can make "its intellectual justification of the intuitive" really palatable to the Western mind. Emerson has already found a modern interpreter in Paul Tillich, whose divine Logos as the God above the God of theism unites intuition and mind in the Christian existential act of faith, and whose total theological-philosophical

²⁹ Ames, p. 27.

³⁰ Ames, p. 29.

sophical-cultural system provides the most natural Western answer to Emerson's search. Whether Zen can find its own Western paraclete or whether it can convince the American mentality through the force and integrity of its unique Oriental nature may determine the quality and degree of success it will enjoy in this country. In any instance, students of Emerson will watch Zen for new insights it may provide on understanding their subject, while followers of Zen should profit from a study of one who shared much of their spirit without ever discovering their form.



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Rabindranath Tagore in America

NO MAJOR COUNTRY LIES FARTHER FROM AMERICAN SHORES THAN INDIA, YET long before the jet airplane brought the two nations within a day's journey of each other, poets and pundits were forging links of understanding between them. The writings of Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman and of the Sanskritists Hopkins, Lanman and Whitney, helped instill in nineteenth-century Americans a respect for India's cultural heritage. Before the century closed, missionaries from India began to arrive to preach modern interpretations of Hinduism inspired partly by Western writings on the great Indian classics. In 1883 the Brahmo Samaj leader P. C. Mozoomdar lectured in many American cities, and in 1893 both he and the famous Swami Vivekananda earned the applause of the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago, and were eagerly heard by many smaller groups interested in Indian religious thought.¹

Two decades later came the greatest Indian visitor of them all, the Bengali poet-philosopher, Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941). Often protesting against America's shortcomings (like many a European traveler to our shores), he yet came to the United States again and again—in 1912-13, 1916-17, 1920-21, 1929 and 1930. The seventeen months spent during these five different stays was the longest aggregate of time that he passed in any country outside of India, with the sole exception of England. Tagore's repeated confrontations with his American public—from the lecture platforms, at public and private luncheons and banquet dinners, through newspaper and magazine interviews, and in his dozens of articles and books—all exposed an unprecedented number of Americans to Indian thought and culture, and to its leading modern exponent. On his part, Tagore carried back with him to India many ideas and impressions from the United States, and consistently advocated closer relationships between the Easternmost and Westernmost branches of the Indo-European family. His visits to this country between fifty and thirty

¹ See P. C. Mozoomdar, *Sketches of a Tour Round the World* (Calcutta: Navavidhan, 1940); P. C. Mozoomdar, *Lectures in America and Other Papers* (Calcutta: Navavidhan, 1955); and Marie Louise Burke, *Swami Vivekananda In America, New Discoveries* (Calcutta: Advaita Ashrama, 1958).

years ago thus constitute an important chapter in the history of Indo-American relations.²

Appropriately enough, Tagore's first awareness of America came to him through literature. He was about twelve years old when he read with his father's help *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*. "He thought it would read like a story-book and be both entertaining and instructive," Tagore says of his father. "But he found out his mistake soon after we began it. Benjamin Franklin was much too business-like a person. The narrowness of his calculated morality disgusted my father."³ Tagore himself was later to denounce the calculated morality he found in the America of the nineteen-tens and twenties. As his lifelong passion for poetry grew stronger, he was attracted to the writings of Emerson and Whitman. "I love your Emerson," he once told an American journalist. "In his work one finds much that is of India."⁴ And Whitman's poems also, he felt, were "deeply imbued with Eastern ideas and feelings."⁵ In this as in other cases, he liked American culture best where it most nearly approximated Indian culture.

Tagore showed no real interest in America until he was forty-four and faced the problem of where to send his son Rathindranath to college. His patriotic pride prevented him from choosing England, especially while he was playing a leading role in the 1905 nationalist agitation against the partition of his native Bengal. Germany, France and Japan all presented the problem of a foreign language. Finally he settled on the U.S.A.—an English-speaking country where young Bengalis had already been able to work their way through very good colleges. The University of Illinois was well known for its school of agriculture, and Rathindranath found his way there in 1906.⁶

Rathindranath returned to Bengal in 1909, and his accounts of life in the United States, as well as the implements and seeds he brought back

² Among the abundant source materials available, four collections have been of special value in preparing this article: the clippings from American newspapers on file at Visva-Bharati Rabindra-Sadana, Santiniketan, India; the excerpts from American periodicals and from the *New York Times* compiled by Prafulla C. Mukerji, Executive Secretary of the Tagore Centenary Committee in America; the letters from Tagore to William Rothenstein, in the Houghton Library at Harvard University; and the letters from Tagore to Mrs. William Vaughn Moody and to Harriet Monroe in the Special Collections of the University of Chicago Libraries. I am grateful to the curators of these collections, to Mr. Mukerji, and to my research assistant, Mrs. Margaret H. Case, for their cooperation and assistance.

³ Rabindranath Tagore, *Reminiscences* (London: Macmillan Co., 1917), p. 90.

⁴ Bailey Millard, "Rabindranath Tagore Discovers America," *The Bookman* (New York), XLIV (November 1916), 247.

⁵ Joyce Kilmer's interview with Tagore, *New York Times*, October 29, 1916, V: 13.

⁶ Rathindranath Tagore, *On the Edges of Time* (Calcutta: Orient Longmans, 1958), pp. 74-80.

with him, must have aroused his father's interest in this faraway land. When in 1912 Tagore needed to travel abroad to be treated for piles, it was not difficult for his son to persuade him to continue his voyage westward from England, and to spend the winter in Urbana, where Rathindranath could resume his agricultural studies. Tagore was also attracted by the chance that his illness might be cured by homeopathic medicine, which was then very popular in the Midwest.⁷

His first reactions on landing in New York were critical. He disliked the attitude of the customs officials and was annoyed by an inquisitive reporter. "Though it is too early for me to pronounce any opinion on this country," he wrote to his English friend William Rothenstein, "I must say I do not like it. America, like an unripe fruit, has not got its proper flavour yet. It has a sharp and acid taste." He soon took the train westward, and found the plains of Illinois much more to his liking. "The country round is flat and open, which has a great attraction for me, reminding me of our own scenery."⁸

The months which followed were probably the happiest of all those Tagore spent in the U.S.A. He lived naturally and quietly in a house in a small university town, not in the large cities which later were to hold such a malignant fascination for him. We may wonder if the daily sight of a university in the midst of the Midwestern plains inspired him to dream of founding his own university on the plains of Bengal—a plan which he put into effect in 1921.⁹

An even grander vision than this was forming in Tagore's mind at about this time—the thought that he might be the instrument through which the spiritual resources of India would be brought to the people of the West. Such an idea was not entirely new to Indian minds, as the American lecture tours of Swami Vivekananda and P. C. Mozoomdar had already shown. Tagore himself had been writing of the complementary character of spiritual "Eastern" civilization and material Western civilization ever since 1877.¹⁰

⁷ Author's interview with Prabhatkumar Mukhopadhyay at Santiniketan, June 11, 1960.

⁸ Letter from Rabindranath Tagore to William Rothenstein, October 31, 1912; Tagore to Rothenstein, n.d. [autumn, 1912].

⁹ For Tagore's Bengali letters from Urbana, see Rabindranath Thakur, *Chithipatra* (Letters), IV (Calcutta: Visvabharati, B.S. 1350 [1943-44]), Nos. 4, 13, 15; V (Calcutta, Visvabharati, B.S. 1352 [1945-46]), Nos. 2, 3. See also the reminiscences of his Urbana friend, (Mrs.) Mayce F. Seymour, "That Golden Time," *Visvabharati Quarterly*, XXV (Summer 1959), 1-15.

¹⁰ See Edward Thompson, *Rabindranath Tagore, Poet and Dramatist* (2d ed.; London: Oxford University Press, 1948), p. 30. Tagore's essay, "Bangalir asha o nairashva." "The Hope and Despair of the Bengalis," was published, unsigned, in *Bharati* (Calcutta, B.S. Magh 1284 [1877-78]), pp. 304-10. See also Stephen N. Hay, "The Origins of Tagore's Message to the World," *Quest*, Special Issue, "Tagore and his Land" (May 1961), pp. 50-54.

During his stay in Urbana in 1912, the missionary consciousness which had been gestating in Tagore's mind for so many years found expression. His career as a public lecturer in English began when the local Unitarian minister, the Rev. Mr. Vail, invited him to speak on religious experience to a Sunday evening group interested in comparative religions. The fifty-one year old poet-philosopher made such an impression that he was asked to talk again on subsequent Sunday evenings. It is not strange that his ideas should have struck a responsive chord among American Unitarians, for he derived them from the monotheistic teachings of the Brahmo Samaj ("the Society of God"), whose founder Rammohun Roy both influenced and was influenced by the nascent Unitarian movement in England and the United States in the 1820s and 1830s.¹¹

Despite his success, the Indian poet was reluctant to give up the secluded life he had grown to love. "American people have an unhealthy appetite for sugar candy and for lectures on any subject and from anybody," he wrote Rothenstein. "I am afraid they have spotted me,—I am being stalked." Four weeks later he reported that he was warding off invitations to Chicago, and protested: "I have not come to discover America or to be discovered by Americans."¹² However, his son informed a reporter from a Chicago newspaper that "Mr. Tagore has come out from his work in India because of his belief that he has a mission in bringing a message to the western world."¹³ In point of fact, the poet did accept speaking engagements, not only at the University of Chicago, but also at Harvard University and at Rochester, New York. Many of these lectures were collected for publication the following year as *Sadhana*.¹⁴

By this time, Tagore's English translations of his Bengali poetry had already attracted the notice of his literary friends in London, and had excited Ezra Pound, then a young expatriate there. Pound wrote breathlessly to Harriet Monroe, editor of the new Chicago magazine *Poetry*, "This is THE Scoop. Reserve space in next number for Tagore. . . . He has sung Bengal into a nation, and his English version of his poems is very wonderful." Elsewhere Pound described his personal encounter with the Indian poet. "When I leave Mr. Tagore I feel exactly as if I were a

¹¹ See Adrienne Moore, *Rammohun Roy and America* (Calcutta: Satis Chandra Chakravarti, 1942), and Satis Chandra Chakravarti, ed., *The Father of Modern India, Commemoration Volume of the Rammohun Roy Centenary Celebrations, 1933* (Calcutta: Rammohun Roy Centenary Committee, 1935).

¹² Tagore to Rothenstein, December 2, 1912; Tagore to Rothenstein, December 30, 1912.

¹³ Unidentified newspaper clipping in the Visva-Bharati Rabindra-Sadana archives, apparently published in a Chicago newspaper on January 25, 1913.

¹⁴ Prabhatkumar Mukhopadhyay, *Rabindrajibani*, 4 vols. (Calcutta: Visvabharati granthalay, B.S. 1340-63 [1933-56], II, 311; Rabindranath Tagore, *Sadhana, the Realization of Life* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1913).

barbarian clothed in skins, and carrying a stone war-club. . . ."¹⁵ Pound's enthusiasm quickly waned, however, for he wrote Miss Monroe six months later, "As a religious teacher he is superfluous. We've got Lao Tse. And his philosophy hasn't much in it for a man who has 'felt the pangs' or been pestered with Western civilization."¹⁶

Harriet Monroe not only printed the six Tagore poems sent her by Pound, but invited their author to visit Chicago and introduced him to the wealthy widow of the American poet William Vaughn Moody. The friendship which immediately sprang up between Tagore and Mrs. Moody runs like a golden thread through all his visits to America. The two had much in common. Both were dynamic individualists, of about the same age. Tagore was a widower, and, like Mrs. Moody, bore his bereavement stoically. She loved to entertain (and Tagore was only the first in a long line of distinguished poets to whom she extended her hospitality; Vachel Lindsay, Robert Frost, John Masefield, Edwin Arlington Robinson and Carl Sandburg were among her other guests), and he appreciated the care of an understanding woman. Mrs. Moody's biographer tells us that "the Indian seer had aroused in her an almost idolatrous reverence," and that "in her friendship with Tagore she felt that she had achieved nothing short of a Himalayan summit" in her life. "The poet, prophet, our master," she called him in a letter to his protégé Mukul Dey.¹⁷

Mrs. Moody showed her devotion to her "master" by accompanying him and his son and daughter-in-law to New York and settling them in her Washington Square apartment, and then escorting the poet to Cambridge for his lectures at Harvard, where he found his audiences most receptive. Writing to his friend Rothenstein at this culminating point in his first American visit, Tagore was optimistic about the future of the United States: "The people in this country are hearty in their kindness but there is a rudeness in their touch, it is vigorous but not careful. . . . Somehow, I have an impression that America has a great mission in the history of Western civilization, for it is rich enough not to concern itself in the greedy exploitation of weaker nations. Its hands are free and perhaps it will hold up the torch of freedom before the world."¹⁸

¹⁵ Letter from Ezra Pound to Harriet Monroe, October 1912, in the Special Collections of the University of Chicago Libraries; Ezra Pound, "Rabindranath Tagore," *Fortnightly Review*, XCIX (March 1, 1913), 575.

¹⁶ *The Letters of Ezra Pound, 1907-1941*, ed. D. D. Paige (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1950), p. 19.

¹⁷ Olivia H. Dunbar, *A House in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), pp. 107, 121, 146.

¹⁸ Author's interview with Rathindranath Tagore at Santiniketan, January 21, 1960; Tagore to Rothenstein, February 14, 1913.

After another visit to Chicago and Urbana he sailed for London, but Mrs. Moody soon learned that he was in distress. The excitement over his newly-published *Gitanjali*, or "Song Offerings," brought him a sudden and uncontrollable popularity. He wrote to Harriet Monroe: "I am distracted. I am up to my neck in the bog of social success. . . . Where is Mrs. Moody to rescue me from this disaster? Memories of my Chicago days come to me in flashes—they were happy days to me—full of quiet friendliness and leisure."¹⁹

On hearing of the poet's problem, Mrs. Moody quickly discovered that she was needed at the London branch of the catering concern she had founded, the Home Delicacies Association. As soon as she reached London she made her spacious apartment available to the Tagores (in the same building, coincidentally, with that of the novelist Henry James). As he journeyed homeward, Tagore expressed in various letters to Mrs. Moody his appreciation of her kindness: "I cannot tell you how I miss your loving care which has been one of the rarest good fortunes I have met with in the West." "Your sympathy will be a source of strength for me in all my works and aspirations." "I feel that my life has been launched on a great voyage, laden with love and hope and good wishes from dear friends."²⁰

The great voyage of his life had indeed begun. As a consequence of the impression produced on Europeans both by *Gitanjali* and by its author, Tagore was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in November, 1913. This honor assured him of the large and respectful audiences he was to attract on his lecture tours abroad in the two decades that followed. But it also upset the tranquil pace of life to which he had become accustomed. As he wrote to Mrs. Moody, he felt like an oyster which had just been pried out of its shell: "The rude touch of the curious world is all over me. I am pining for the shade of obscurity. . . . Why do I not have a word of sympathy from you in my time of distress?"²¹ For all his discomfort, he saw in the award a heartening sign that his ideals had been granted world-wide recognition, for he wrote to Harriet Monroe that it was hardly a feather in his cap, judged by its weight. "But still I must bear it proudly, rejoicing in the fact that the East and the West ever touch each other like twin gems in the circlet of humanity, that they had met long before Kipling was born and will meet long after his name is forgotten."²²

¹⁹ Letter from Rabindranath Tagore to Harriet Monroe, May 23, 1913.

²⁰ Dunbar, pp. 97, 98-99, 99. Tagore dedicated to Mrs. Moody his English translation of his play *Chitra* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1914), and to another Chicago friend, Edwin H. Lewis, his book of essays *Creative Unity* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1922).

²¹ Dunbar, p. 105.

²² Tagore to Harriet Monroe, December 31, 1913.

American literary critics were surprised by the Nobel award, and some greeted it with reservations. "Our case isn't desperate," wrote one columnist in the *New York Times*, noting that even though Tagore had been chosen above all the writers of the West, he was nevertheless of Aryan extraction and had received Western education. "Perhaps it is easier to be sulky over the giving of the Nobel Prize for Literature to a Hindu for what, after all, are only and quite obviously translations," the columnist conceded, "than it would be to name an Occidental writer who deserved it really as well. . . ." The *New York Tribune* responded more positively in its editorial: "The most gratifying result of the Nobel award is the fact that it will attract renewed attention to the treasure trove of Hindu literature that awaits the consideration of the general reader. . . ." The *Philadelphia Public Ledger* saw the award as a sign that "the races of the earth are ever drawing closer together, growing ever more ready to recognize and acclaim service, wherever the servitor and brother, far or near." The weekly *Outlook* also interpreted the unprecedented honor in much the same way as Tagore himself had done: "The award will interpret the East to the West as the East has never before been interpreted. It thus becomes a historic event, a turning-point in the understanding of one hemisphere by the other."²³

The outbreak of war in Europe the following summer cast a long, dark shadow over Tagore's "circlet of humanity" and strengthened his feeling that the world greatly needed his spiritual message. The way to Europe being closed, he sailed in May, 1916 for Japan, and after a disappointing response to his lectures there against the evils of nationalism, came on to the United States to repeat this solemn warning to more receptive audiences.²⁴

Sir Rabindranath Tagore, as he was then known (in 1919 he renounced the knighthood conferred on him in 1914), created a minor sensation in the many cities he visited during his four-month lecture tour in America. Like Charles Evans Hughes, the Republican candidate for president in that election year, he possessed a strikingly handsome face framed by a photogenic gray beard. Reporters called him "the wise man from the East," and one compared him both to a Greek god and to Walt Whitman. He appealed especially to the ladies, and sometimes moved them to tears with his recitations.²⁵

²³ *New York Times*, November 15, 1913, p. 10; *New York Tribune*, November 14, 1913; *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, November 16, 1913; *Outlook*, CV (November 29, 1913), 689.

²⁴ Tagore was shocked by the nationalist fervor he found in Japan, and wrote there "at white heat" the lectures against nationalism he later delivered in the United States. See his *Letters to a Friend*, ed. C. F. Andrews (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1928), p. 69.

²⁵ *Seattle Post Intelligence*, quoted in "Literatus" [Amal Home], "Rabindranath Tagore in America," *Modern Review*, XXI, Nos. 4, 5, 6 (April, May, June 1917),

"The Cult of Nationalism," the principal lecture in Tagore's repertory during his 1916 tour, condemned the soul-stifling discipline and the savage greed of the modern nation-state. "When this engine of organization begins to attain a vast size, and those who are mechanics are made into parts of the machine, then the personal man is eliminated to a phantom. . . ." "Not merely subject races," he warned, "but you who live under the delusion that you are free, are every day sacrificing your freedom and humanity to the fetich of nationalism, living in the dense poisonous atmosphere of world-wide suspicion and greed and panic." Was it inevitable, he asked, "that machine must be pitted against machine, nation against nation, in an endless bull-fight of politics?" With the war in Europe, "the death-throes of the nation have begun," the poet predicted. When it was all over, the West would have need of the simple virtues of India and the other "no-nations of the world," who would bring their "sacred water" of worship "to sweeten the history of man into purity."²⁶

These prophetic strictures fell on attentive ears, for the United States in the autumn of 1916 was still a neutral nation, and Woodrow Wilson was campaigning for re-election on the slogan, "He kept us out of war." Not long since, Henry Ford had sent his "Peace Ship" to Europe in a naïve attempt to mediate among the warring powers. Many Americans were still hoping that some such efforts would succeed in ending the unprecedented bloodshed. Mrs. Moody, with whom he naturally stayed while lecturing in Chicago, spoke for many of her countrymen when she wrote:

His manner of delivery and the fervor with which he presents his ideas give him a kind of domination over his hearers that you would imagine Joan of Arc would have. I have been feeling that only a prophet walking through the various involved countries of Europe and speaking a divine word could avail to break up the war. I never had thought of Mr. Tagore in this connection, but when I saw what he was able to do I thought that he might be able to do even this great thing.²⁷

Tagore scored his greatest success in San Francisco, one of the first stops on his coast-to-coast tour. "The cult of Tagore," wrote the San Francisco *Examiner*, "which has stirred the intellectual world as the thoughts of no other contemporaneous writer have done, has taken San Francisco by storm."²⁸ In Southern California, next on his itinerary, he

417-23, 549-53, 659-66; *ibid.*, May 1917, p. 549. New York *Evening Post*, November 22, 1916.

²⁶ Rabindranath Tagore, "Nationalism in the West," *Atlantic Monthly*, CXIX (March 1917), 290, 294, 296, 300, 301.

²⁷ Dunbar, p. 132.

²⁸ Quoted in Literatus, *Modern Review*, XXI, 552.

was delighted by the harmony of man and nature, and especially by the beauty of the women, of whom he remarked, "It is a pleasure simply to watch them." The fragrant groves of orange trees so intoxicated him that one day he spent hours just sitting in meditation among them. "This is a beautiful country," he told the reporters who were always dogging his heels. "I believe it has a great future." His mood was decidedly optimistic. "America is unhampered and free to experiment for the progress of humanity," he declared. "Of course she will make mistakes, but out of these series of mistakes she will come to some higher synthesis of truth and be able to hold up the banner of Civilization. She is the best exponent of Western ideals of humanity."²⁹

The poet's progress across the country was almost triumphal. Salt Lake City, Des Moines, Chicago, Indianapolis, Detroit, Cleveland, New York and Boston welcomed him in turn. The president of Yale University presented him with the Yale Bicentennial medal and remarked: "We welcome you as one of the great brotherhood of seekers for light and truth, we honor you as one to whom it has been given to help thousands—yea, millions—in that search."³⁰ Audiences filled to overflowing the halls and theaters where he spoke against the evils of nationalism, "at about seven hundred dollars per scold," as one commentator put it, referring to the lecture fee he was asking in order to earn money for the support of the school for boys he had founded at Santiniketan ("the place of peace"), his rural retreat in Bengal.³¹

A sampling of the hundreds of published comments on his lectures will suffice to show how favorably his ideas were received by many. "His indignation burns. His wrath sears. . . . How paltry are the things we tolerate. How dirty. It is refreshing to meet this manly man of an outside world very near to us and more valuable, by far, than it is near," wrote one newspaper.³² An undergraduate at the State University of Iowa said, "I thought that the Hindus were a bunch of people who needed to be taught; but now comes a Hindu who can really teach us Americans. For the love of Mike! Doesn't that beat all!"³³ And the *Detroit Free Press* praised his lecture on nationalism:

. . . with masculine force he stripped modern civilization until it stood naked and grotesque before the shocked mental vision. What an

²⁹ Los Angeles *Examiner*, October 7, 9, 11, 1916; Portland *Telegram*, September 26, 1916.

³⁰ *Yale Daily News*, December 7, 1916.

³¹ Quoted from a Cleveland, Ohio, paper in *Literatus*, *Modern Review*, XXI, 663.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 422, quoting a "famous" but unidentified newspaper. Lengthy excerpts from interviews granted by Tagore to American journalists in 1916 are given in Maitraye Devi, *The Great Wanderer* (Calcutta: Grantham, 1961), pp. 37-85.

³³ Sudhindra Bose "Sir Rabindranath Tagore at the State University of Iowa," *Modern Review*, XXI, No. 2 (February 1917), 220.

indictment of the pretensions of the British Government! What an arraignment of nations and of powers! What a plea for mankind! . . . the most profound analysis of life and of the mechanism of commerce, of organized society and of Government, that any modern ears have heard. The Rousseaus, the Jeffersons, the Karl Marxes, the Bryces and the Wilsons seem superficial in the presence of this swarthy analyst. . . .⁸⁴

The anti-political emphasis in Tagore's critique of nationalism roused other writers to scorn. "We are curious to know," wrote the *Tacoma News-Ledger*, "what kind of community life that would be, which Tagore would regard as ideal because of its being unfettered by the trammels of organization that nationalism entails." If we must return to the "regime of pantheistic meditation in the primitive woods," continued the *News-Ledger*, then "there was never a more absurd sociological vagary. . . ." Several editorials saw a causal relationship between Tagore's opposition to nationalism and the colonial status of his homeland. "Resignation is an excellent virtue," wrote the *San Francisco Call and Post*, "but it is the virtue of age—not of youth." The *Salt Lake City Tribune* asked, "Is the torpor of Tibet preferable to the clash of forces and passions in the United States or Europe?" The *Minneapolis Journal*, already impatient with the pacifism of Bryan and the abstract humanitarianism of Wilson, editorialized: "Nationalism is today the greatest actual force in the world. . . . We in America . . . are compelled to cultivate an intense nationalism. Woe to us if we do not. . . . India has no nationalism, and she is conquered."⁸⁵

It was on the Eastern seaboard that sentiment was most strongly in favor of America's entry into the European war, and Tagore's anti-nationalism and anti-militarism evoked greater opposition in that region of the country than elsewhere. The *Columbus, Ohio Dispatch* observed on November 29, 1916, "If one may judge by the expressions of the Eastern newspapers Sir Rabindranath Tagore, the Hindu poet, is not wholly pleasing his audiences in that section of the country." One critic accused him of being "in essence everything that ancient India, philosophically and religiously, was not," and contrasted the austere and militant spirit shown in the *Bhagavad Gita* with the "puddling in sentiment" he found in Tagore's "saccharine" verses. The *Providence Bulletin* chose to poke fun at one passage in his lecture on nationalism: "Rabindranath Tagore expresses the opinion that we Americans get our souls from steam

⁸⁴ *Detroit Free Press*, November 12, 1916. Quoted in *Literatus, Modern Review*, XXI, 662.

⁸⁵ *Tacoma News-Ledger*, October 8, 1916; *San Francisco Call and Post*, October 10, 1916; *Salt Lake City Tribune*, October 15, 1916; *Minneapolis Journal*, November 2, 1916.

boilers. . . . an East Indian like Tagore has to be satisfied with a second-hand soul that formerly occupied a rabbit or a cabbage." ³⁶

Notwithstanding his large and enthusiastic audiences in New Haven and New York (his second lecture in Carnegie Hall on December 12 drew such a crowd that there was standing-room only), Tagore abruptly decided to cancel the remainder of his lecture tour, which was to have terminated in April, 1917. In several interviews published in early December he expressed his feelings. "I am out of place here, I know, and I may be judging you harshly," he told one reporter. "I felt I must come to bring the message of the East. . . . This is my one happiness in America—the thought that this country can be the meeting place of the two [the East and the West]. . . ." He complained to another reporter that poets in America did not receive the same respect which was accorded them in Japan. "Here in America, on Fifth Avenue, I am a laughing stock! . . . The very women turn to look at me and laugh!" he said smilingly, acknowledging that these reactions might have had something to do with the long gown he habitually wore. He told a third interviewer of his dislike for Manhattan's skyscrapers: "These houses are not for human habitation. . . . There is no grace, no beauty, just bulk." ³⁷

It was apparently the stress of constant travel required by his many speaking engagements which troubled the Bengali poet-philosopher most of all. "I have not felt like a human being," he exclaimed, "I have felt like a bale of cotton being transported from town to town." ³⁸ One more train trip, from New York to Chicago and thence to San Francisco, was necessary before he could sail back to India. On January 17, 1917, he wrote to Rothenstein, "At last I am going home. My steamer sails today. [In the] last three months my world of space and time was completely dislocated—My universe was shattered into bits dancing in a whirlpool." ³⁹

In contrast to his pleasant, unhurried visit four years earlier, this truncated second trip ended in disappointment for Tagore. In promising to give so many lectures in so many cities, he had taken upon himself a greater burden than he was prepared to bear. His schedule left him little time to cultivate friendships with individual Americans other than those he had met on his first visit. To be sure, his lecture tour enabled him to bring his message to thousands of people who had hitherto known him only as an odd-sounding name. But a lecturer's contact with his

³⁶ *Columbus Dispatch*, November 29, 1916; Paul E. More, "Rabindranath Tagore," *The Nation*, CIII (November 30, 1916), 506-7; *Providence Bulletin*, December 8, 1916.

³⁷ Gertrude Stevenson's interview with Tagore, *Boston Journal*, December 2, 1916; Joseph Collomb's interview with Tagore, *New York Evening Post*, December 2, 1916; *Literatus, Modern Review*, XXI, 423.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Tagore to Rothenstein, January 17, 1917.

listeners is an impersonal one, and a poet—even a prophet—eventually tires of hearing himself repeat the same phrases to a monotonous succession of eager audiences. His frame of mind was also less receptive to fresh insights and experiences, for with his attacks on modern nationalism he was trying to convert the American public to his own point of view, rather than seeking to understand theirs. Indeed, in his 1916 lectures, Tagore seemed to expect Americans to change the political basis of their society into something resembling the religious basis of Hindu society.

One positive result of Tagore's second visit to the United States was the high regard he gained for President Woodrow Wilson. In March, 1917, he cabled his American publishers, the Macmillan Company, to ask if he could dedicate his new book, *Nationalism*, to Wilson. When Macmillan wrote to the President, Wilson referred the matter to his friend and adviser Colonel House, and House replied on April 6, 1917 (the very day Congress declared war on Germany) that Sir William Wiseman, Britain's special liaison agent in the United States, advised against granting this permission, as Tagore had "got tangled up in some way" with the Indian revolutionaries in the United States who were conspiring with Germany to overthrow British rule in India.⁴⁰

In actual fact, Tagore had had nothing to do with the Indo-German conspiracy. When he first arrived in San Francisco the Indian revolutionaries had not only picketed his hotel but had assaulted one of his Indian sympathizers.⁴¹ Nevertheless, when some of the Indian revolutionaries were brought to trial in a federal court in 1918, his name was again implicated. One of the documents presented as evidence, a letter from an Indian in Washington, D. C., to a German agent in Amsterdam, asserted that Tagore came to the U. S. "at our suggestion," and implied that he had tried to enlist support for the conspiracy from Count Okuma and others during his stay in Japan.⁴² At another point in the trial a telegram from an Indian living in New York to one in San Francisco was introduced as evidence of approval given to Tagore's speeches on national questions by Indian revolutionaries. The counsel for the defense objected: "Tagore is not one of the defendants?" and the prosecuting attorney replied facetiously, "No, he is not. We overlooked him in our haste."⁴³

⁴⁰ George P. Brett, President, Macmillan Co. to President Wilson, March 9, 1917; memo from Colonel House to President Wilson, April 6, 1917. I am grateful to Howard B. Gottlieb, Librarian of Historical Manuscripts, Yale University, for finding this material in the House collection there.

⁴¹ *San Francisco Call and Post*, October 5, 1916.

⁴² *New York Times*, February 28, 1917, p. 3.

⁴³ Volume 20, 1711 (U. S. Exhibit 140) in the trial record, enclosed with a letter from LaRue Brown, Assistant Attorney General, to Leland Harrison, Counselor of the Department of State, September 25, 1918 (State Department Index No. 862.20211/1464.)

A newspaper report of the trial reached Tagore in Santiniketan several months later, and he immediately fired off a telegram to President Wilson:

Newspapers received concerning conspiracy trial San Francisco wherein prosecution counsel implicated me. I claim from you and your country protection against such lying calumny.⁴⁴

He followed the telegram with a letter denouncing in fiercest terms the evils of political deceit and violence:

Though I feel certain that my friends in America and my readers there who have studied my writings at all carefully can never believe such an audacious piece of fabrication, yet the indignity of my name being dragged into the mire of such calumny has given me great pain. It is needless to tell you that I do not believe in patriotism which can ride roughshod over higher ideals of humanity, and I consider it to be an act of impiety against one's own country when any service is offered to her which is loaded with secret lies and dishonest deeds of violence. I have been outspoken enough in my utterances when my country needed them, and I have taken upon myself the risk of telling unwelcome truths to my own countrymen, as well as, to the rulers of my country. But I despise those tortuous methods adopted whether by some Government or other groups of individuals, in which the devil is taken into partnership in the name of duty. I have received great kindness from the hands of your countrymen, and I entertain great admiration for yourself who are not afraid of incurring the charge of anachronism for introducing idealism in the domain of politics, and therefore I owe it to myself and to you and your people to make this avowal of my faith and to assure your countrymen that their hospitality was not bestowed upon one who was ready to accept it while wallowing in the sub-soil sewerage of treason.⁴⁵

The Department of State's failure to reply to Tagore's telegram and letter is an instructive case study of the way in which bureaucratic inefficiency can be compounded by wartime exigencies.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Cable received in Washington May 13, 1918 (State Department Index No. 862.20211/1306).

⁴⁵ Letter from Rabindranath Tagore to President Wilson, May 9, 1918 (State Department Index No. 862.20211/1401).

⁴⁶ The telegram was received on May 13, 1918, but no action was taken until the letter arrived on July 31, 1918. On August 3 Leland Harrison wrote Charles Storey of the Department of Justice enclosing a copy of the letter and asking for his "opinion as to how the letter should be answered." Storey replied on August 9 suggesting that the prosecuting attorney be asked to submit a transcript of those parts of the trial where Tagore's name was mentioned. Harrison, in his letter of August 14, agreed that this should be done. LaRue Brown, the Assistant Attorney General, wrote Harrison on September 6 stating that he was enclosing photographic copies of those parts of the trial record, and paraphrased a statement from the prosecuting attorney that his

In a letter to his friend Mrs. Moody, the poet disclosed that he had already purchased his steamer ticket and had packed his bags in preparation for a third visit to the U. S. A., but then had changed his plans when the newspaper report reached him. "Evidently documents can be manufactured in the devil's own factory to support any charge whatever," he continued, attributing the false accusation to war-time hysteria. "This unnatural state of things, prolific of monstrosities in all forms of untruth and injustice, cannot last forever. Therefore I still entertain hope of one day finding my way to your table, and enjoying a generous portion of your ice cream and your warmhearted friendliness."⁴⁷

With the end of the war a few months later, the barriers to international travel and traffic in ideas were lifted, and Tagore set out for the West once more in the spring of 1920. After a stay in England and France, he arrived in New York City in October, hoping to raise as much as five million dollars through direct contributions to a new academic enterprise, the Visva-Bharati, or International University, which he was planning to inaugurate at Santiniketan.⁴⁸

Unfortunately, Tagore badly miscalculated the time for his fund-raising efforts. The idealism which in 1916 had launched the country into war was largely spent by the war's end. The crushing defeat of the incumbent Democrats in the election of 1920 signaled the demise of

remarks were "intended to be facetious and should not have been recorded by the reporter." Brown went on to reprove Harrison for communicating with Storey instead of with the Attorney General, thus creating "the danger of difficulty arising from papers going astray in the File Room." (State Department Index No. 862,20211/1448.) Brown was apparently so perturbed at Harrison's failure to follow prescribed channels that he forgot to enclose the transcript. Harrison, perhaps piqued at Brown's rebuke, decided to give Brown a taste of his own medicine, and wrote the Department of State's Diplomatic Bureau asking them to remind Brown to send the papers. This was done on September 19 by William Phillips, the Assistant Secretary of State, in a letter to the Attorney General. Brown, again somewhat absent-mindedly, addressed his reply to the Secretary of State, omitting to add (as he had done in his similarly-addressed letter of September 6), "*Attention of Mr. Leland Harrison.*" The correspondence between the Justice and State Departments ended here, apparently because the Secretary of State's office did not know for whom the transcript of the trial was intended. Brown's covering letter does not seem to have reached Harrison, and after one official had penciled "So" on it and two others had added check marks, it was marked "File" and on October 29 was so disposed of. In any case, Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire had asked for an armistice on October 4, 1918, and from that time onward the highest officers of the State Department had turned their full attention to the all-important problem of ending the war in Europe. (A copy of those portions of the trial transcript which mentioned Tagore is in the files of the Department of State, together with related correspondence. I am grateful to G. Bernard Noble, Director of the Historical Office, Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State, Washington, D. C., for finding this material.)

⁴⁷ Dunbar, pp. 155, 156.

⁴⁸ Mukhopadhyay, III, 50; author's interview with Rathindranath Tagore at Santiniketan, January 21, 1960.

Wilsonian idealism and the triumphant entry of an era of high living and plain thinking—the Harding era. Tagore was no longer the exotic novelty he had been in 1916; the fickle public had already turned to new fads, preferring bobbed hair to long gray beards, and short flapper skirts to flowing Oriental robes.

Even though he was not so much sought after for lecture engagements as in 1916, he had appreciative audiences, especially at women's clubs. His lectures, later collected in the volume *Creative Unity*, did not differ essentially in content from those of his two previous visits. In fact, almost all of Tagore's American addresses can be subsumed under one or two main themes. There was first his prophetic warning against the mechanical and soul-destroying forces of modern industrialism and nationalism, sounded in 1913 in his speech on "Race Conflict" at a meeting of the National Federation of Religious Liberals at Rochester, as well as in his 1916 lectures on nationalism. In 1920 and 1921 his talks on "East and West," "The Modern Age" and "The Nation" were devoted to this theme.⁴⁹ The positive side of Tagore's message to America pointed out an alternative path, the path to individual liberation and self-realization through creativity, love, beauty, harmony with nature and union with the divine spirit in the universe. In his lectures on *Sadhana* in 1912-13, on *Personality* in 1916-17, and on *Creative Unity* in 1920-21 the Indian poet, like a prophet of ancient Israel, urged Americans to follow this higher path.

There is no doubt that his emphasis on the dignity of the individual and the free development of his highest potentialities struck a responsive chord in American hearts. "I do not put my faith in any new institution," he said in 1920, "but in the individuals all over the world who think clearly, feel nobly, and act rightly, thus becoming the channels of moral truth."⁵⁰ His stress on the uplifting of human life through true religiousness particularly attracted many individual admirers, and their letters to him show us better than newspaper editorials the devotion he inspired in ordinary Americans. A widow wrote, "Your 'Sadhana' was especially helpful to me after the death of my husband on the battle fields of France in 1918." A secretary wrote, "I am just a plain ordinary American girl working for my living. . . . In the world beyond I hope sometime I may see your face and listen to your voice and until then your poetry will help to feed our very souls." One woman told how she was reading

⁴⁹ Rabindranath Tagore, "Race Conflict," *Modern Review*, XIII (April 1913), 423-26; Rabindranath Tagore, "Nationalism in the West," "Nationalism in India," *Nationalism* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1917), pp. 11-61, 117-54; Tagore, *Creative Unity*, pp. 91-112, 113-30, 141-54.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

Gitanjali aloud to a semi-invalid in her house. "You—the prophet of a new age to come," exclaimed another, "—I greet you with love!" Another admirer wrote, "God's gift came to you, that you might express his love."⁵¹ And one small boy (now a dean at Columbia University), when he entered Mrs. Moody's living room and saw the tall, bearded man dressed in long robes, at once ran to him, climbed into his lap, looked up at his face, and said, "You are God, aren't you?"⁵²

Responding to such individuals, Tagore said, "I find in America a wonderful hunger and aspiration. The hunger is genuine and is, I believe, a reaction to the pursuit of wealth that has characterized your industrial life."⁵³ Yet at other times he despaired of Americans' ability to become spiritually free:

The idea of freedom, which the people in this country have, is the imaginary freedom of a fly shut up in a glass case whose walls are invisible. They are surrounded by an impregnable globe of unreality to which they cling and believe that they are in solid possession of the sky. . . . This deludes them with a freedom that is of the eye, while immuring them in a confinement that is of the spirit. . . . Our real freedom is in the world of our own creation, where our mind can work unhindered and our soul finds its throne from which to govern its own dominion.⁵⁴

Writing to a Christian friend in India, Tagore described the Christmas party to which he was invited near New York. "But where is the spirit of Christmas in human hearts?" he asks.

The men and women are feeding themselves with extra dishes and laughing extra loud. But there is not the least touch of the eternal in the heart of their merriment, no luminous serenity of joy, no depth of devotion. How immensely different from the religious festivals of our country! These Western people have made their money but killed their poetry of life. . . . How to convince them of the utter vanity of their pursuits! They do not have the time to realize that they are not happy.⁵⁵

The *Newark News* in 1930 printed an amusing editorial in reply to Tagore's charge that Americans were unhappy people:

⁵¹ Excerpts from letters to Tagore in the archives at Visva-Bharati Rabindra-Sadana, Santiniketan. I am grateful to Visva-Bharati Rabindra-Sadana for access to these letters, and for permission to quote from the unpublished Tagore letters cited elsewhere in this article.

⁵² Letter to the author from Dean John A. B. Faggi, January 10, 1961.

⁵³ Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, November 7, 1920.

⁵⁴ Rabindranath Tagore to C. F. Andrews, cited in Tagore, "East to West," *Atlantic Monthly*, CXXXIX (June 1927), 734.

⁵⁵ Tagore, *Letters to a Friend*, pp. 112-13.

Did Mr. Tagore ever stop to join a crowd which was watching men hoist a safe or put in a plate-glass window? If he did or mingled with a thoughtful group observing a total stranger search for engine trouble in his car, he was in the midst of happy men. It is hard in fact to imagine where Mr. Tagore got his wrong ideas about us. He obviously never saw the happy, smiling faces of American throngs making their way workward and homeward with their eyes full of the elbows of people they never met before. He cannot have looked in on the United States Senate while a merry filibuster was on. Where indeed has Mr. Tagore been? The inevitable conclusion is he has been attending banquets ever since he came to America, listening to toastmasters and afterdinner speakers.⁵⁶

Tagore's irritation probably stemmed from his failure to impress the sophisticated New Yorkers in whose city he spent most of his time on this visit. He stayed far too long in the nation's financial capital, waiting for opportunities to call on prospective donors to Visva-Bharati. One galling experience was typical: after a month's delay, he was able to speak to a meeting of the Junior League about his school and university. Before a discussion of ways and means to help this work could be started, a lady stood up and made a long appeal for contributions to Herbert Hoover's European Relief Committee. No more was said about Tagore's fund.⁵⁷

A successful lecture tour in Texas refreshed his spirits temporarily, for he loved the wide open spaces and sunny climate, so reminiscent of India's. He wrote back to Santiniketan. "All these days my soul had been thirsting for the draught of sunshine poured from the beaker of infinite space. The sky has embraced me, and the warmth of its caress thrills me with joy."⁵⁸

His mood as he prepared to return to India was again pessimistic. He wrote from New York to an English friend, "I am suffering from an utter disgust for raising funds. I cannot tell you what an agony of longing I am feeling to go back to my own quiet life and wash my mind clear of all traces of ambition for helping the East and West in etc., etc., etc. These phrases have lost their taste for me; I am carrying them like a mother whose child has died in her womb."⁵⁹

On his return to India, Tagore faced bitter criticism from his own people for his coolness toward the Gandhi-led Non-cooperation Movement, but he remained true to his principles and retired in silence to

⁵⁶ Newark News, December 7, 1930, quoted in A. Aronson, *Rabindranath Through Western Eyes* (Allahabad: Kitabistan, 1943), p. 32 n.

⁵⁷ Mukhopadhyay, III, 49.

⁵⁸ Tagore, *Letters to a Friend*, pp. 124-25.

⁵⁹ "Letters to W. W. Pearson," *Visvabharati Quarterly*, IX (August-October 1943), 173.

Santiniketan, where he devoted himself to building up his Visva-Bharati university as a center where Eastern and Western cultures could meet. Funds from America enabled a Cornell-trained Englishman, Leonard Elmhirst, and an American, Miss Gretchen Green, to open a rural reconstruction center nearby at a village he renamed Sriniketan, "the place of prosperity." Two other Americans, Dr. Harry Timbres and the Rev. B. W. Tucker, later joined in this work.⁶⁰

Tagore's wanderlust soon led him out on more lecture tours. In 1924-25 he visited China, Japan, Europe and Argentina, and in 1926 traveled for eight months in Eastern and Western Europe. A reporter in Bucharest asked him if he planned to visit the United States as well. Rather abruptly he replied in the negative.⁶¹ The editor of *The Atlantic Monthly*, who had met the poet in 1913 when he had spent the evening with Josiah Royce, James Houghton Wood and other Harvard professors of philosophy, wrote to ask him for a candid message which might clarify his refusal to come to America again.⁶²

Tagore took Ellery Sedgwick at his word, and sent him a long and forthright statement in reply. His answer, in effect, was that he did not trust a political and economic system which appealed in its electioneering and its advertising more to the emotional than to the rational element in man. He stood frankly in favor of an aristocratic, rather than a democratic society:

. . . while aristocracy strenuously cultivates self-respect, often at the cost of material profit, and guards a high standard of culture against deterioration, undiluted democracy has a tendency to glide down to the lazy level of the average, for all its striving is to add to its rights, not to build up a high tower of excellence.⁶³

George Washington had long before noted, less pessimistically, the paradox of popular government when he wrote to Lafayette, "It is one of the evils of democratical governments, that the people, not always seeing and frequently misled, must often feel before they can act right." Alexis de Tocqueville, another astute observer of the American scene, came even closer to the mark when he declared, "A state of equality is perhaps less elevated, but it is more just; and its justice constitutes its greatness and its beauty."⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Author's interview with Leonard K. Elmhirst at Totnes, Devon, June 30, 1956; Gretchen Green, *The Whole World and Company* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1936).

⁶¹ *New York Times*, November 22, 1926, p. 6.

⁶² Ellery Sedgwick, editor's note, *Atlantic Monthly*, CXXXIX, 729.

⁶³ Tagore, *Atlantic Monthly*, CXXXIX, 730.

⁶⁴ Letter to Lafayette, May 10, 1786. In John C. Fitzpatrick, *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799*, XXVIII (Washington,

Tagore and Mrs. Moody happened to be in London at the same time in 1926, and she tried her best to persuade her old friend to change his mind about visiting America. He remained adamant. Regretfully she observed in writing to an acquaintance:

I don't know whether you feel as I do, but to me it always seems that Robi Babu's [a Bengali form of Tagore's name] absolute severance from his exterior environment unfits him for getting the real quality of American life or from knowing the deeper truth about his friends and our outstanding leaders, although his own magnificent initiative is of course invaluable.⁶⁵

Coming as it does from his closest American friend, Mrs. Moody's criticism deserves to be taken seriously. "Absolute severance from his exterior environment" does not fairly describe Tagore's extraordinary sensitivity to the world of nature, but it does seem to apply to his lack of interest in the daily concerns of the individual American—the worker, the business man, even the intellectual. Taking him at his word, we must classify Tagore as an aristocrat, with an aristocrat's concern for cultural refinement, and his disdain for the grubby world of politics and commerce. This aloofness was perhaps modeled on the English ideal of the wellborn gentleman, perhaps derived from the Brahmin tradition with its own conception of *noblesse*, perhaps at bottom the defensive posture of a somewhat shy person.

Aristocratic distance and a love of travel may go well together, however, as Tagore's many foreign tours demonstrate. Thus in 1929 he readily accepted an invitation to lecture at the conference of the Canadian National Council of Education, at Victoria, British Columbia. By the time the conference was over, invitations had reached him from Harvard, Columbia and other American universities, and he decided to make a fourth visit to the United States. Unfortunately he lost his passport in Vancouver, and the U. S. Consul to whom he applied for a visa treated him disrespectfully by keeping him waiting for more than half an hour, and then curtly beckoning him into his office. The poet was further affronted by the questions asked: Was he able to pay his passage home? Did he realize the penalty for overstaying the time allowed by his visa? On reaching Los Angeles, the first stop on his lecture tour, he felt "something in the air—a cultivated air of suspicion and general incivility towards Asiatics." He concluded from these incidents that the laws passed

D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1938), 421; Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, tr. Henry Reeve, ed. Henry Steele Commager (London: Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 597.

⁶⁵ Dunbar, p. 227.

in 1924 (and since repealed) excluding Asian immigration were being interpreted in a manner insulting to the people of Asia, and decided to protest against this treatment by sailing back to India on the next Japanese freighter crossing the Pacific.⁶⁶

The incident is significant because it marked the encounter of Asia's most honored poet with the most tragic aspect of American life: public and private policies of racial discrimination. When he sensed that he was being admitted to this country on sufferance, Tagore exploded in justifiable anger. He must have felt that America was betraying his own highest hopes for her future, for he had already declared on his arrival in 1916: "America is the only nation engaged in solving the problems of race intimacy. Its mission is to raise civilization by permitting all races entry and widening the ideal of humanity." He recognized, however, that the reality was far from his ideals, for even at that date he observed, "Perhaps your treatment of Asiatics is one of the darkest sides of your national life."⁶⁷ His basic attitude was nevertheless optimistic:

. . . This America is a wonder worker. Something new, something unique is going on here in the process of humanity. . . . Here is [are] to be solved the problems of the human race, national, political, religious. Here will come the nationality of man.⁶⁸

In 1930 Tagore made his last voyage to the West, and for the first time visited the Soviet Union. During his two weeks in Moscow, the Soviet authorities made every effort to impress him with their system, and he was most enthusiastic about their educational work. As he sailed from Europe to begin his fifth and last visit to the United States, his favorable comments on Soviet Russia, as well as his critical comments on the Soviet use of terror (comments never printed in the Soviet Union itself) drew the attention of the American press to his imminent arrival. One New York paper applauded him for his "courage to beard the lion in his den, as it were, regardless of the possible consequences of thus affronting the unscrupulous, hard boiled, revengeful Dictator Stalin."⁶⁹

Whether because of the deplorable passport incident of 1929, or because

⁶⁶ *Visvabharati Quarterly*, VII (April-July, 1929), 117, 153-54; author's interview with A. K. Chanda at Calcutta, July 8, 1960. See also Maitraye Devi, pp. 191-95.

⁶⁷ Bridgeport (Conn.) *Standard*, October 4, 1916; New York *Evening Post*, November 20, 1916, quoted in Literatus, *Modern Review*, XXI, 663.

⁶⁸ Los Angeles *Times*, September 19, 1916.

⁶⁹ *North Side News*, November 30, 1930. Tagore's criticisms, made to a reporter from *Izvestiya* on September 25, 1930, were transcribed by his secretary and later released to the world press. They have recently been reprinted in *Letters from Russia* (Calcutta, Visvabharati, 1960), pp. 212-16, a translation of Tagore's *Rashiyar chithi* (Calcutta: Visvabharati granthalay, B. S. 1338 [1931]). *Izvestiya*, September 26, 1930, reported Tagore's last speech and his departure from Moscow, but made no mention of the interview.

of the official welcome given him by the Soviet Government, leading Americans now became aware for the first time of the political significance of Tagore's visits to the United States. As a result, a ceremonial aspect was introduced into this last visit which had not previously been present. The State Department made special efforts to insure that "every courtesy" be extended him on his arrival, and the British ambassador arranged to bring Tagore to the White House for a call on President Hoover during the poet's brief stay in Washington. In New York City, Henry Morgenthau headed a special Tagore Reception Committee which also included former President Calvin Coolidge. This Committee arranged a formal banquet at the Hotel Biltmore for five hundred dignitaries, and the then Governor of New York, Franklin D. Roosevelt, was among those present. Sinclair Lewis, a recent recipient of the Nobel Prize for Literature, was introduced to the Indian Nobel Laureate during the banquet.⁷⁰

Following Morgenthau's after-dinner introduction, Tagore began, "I wish I were stronger and I wish I were younger when I come to greet you—the great people of this earth." He then struck a more critical note: "The age belongs to the West and humanity must be grateful to you for your science. But you have exploited those who are helpless and humiliated those who are unfortunate with this gift. A great portion of the world suffers from your civilization." He then pleaded for greater understanding between the United States and India: "Columbus set out to find the passage to India and found the American Continent. Now the West should continue the journey and complete the voyage to India."⁷¹ To emphasize this final point he recited from Walt Whitman's "Passage to India."

A few days later every seat in Carnegie Hall was occupied and hundreds lined the walls to hear the poet speak in the same vein: "You fight against evil, and that is a great thing. I often think that you should come to help us fight all those difficulties, those material evils, from which we suffer." In exchange, he suggested, India could offer to the West a truer understanding of the Christian religion: "The babe who was born centuries ago, brought exaltation to man. Not machinery, not associations, not organizations, but a human babe, and people were amazed. And when all the machinery will be rusted, he will live."⁷²

The lobbies and staircases of the Hotel Ritz-Carlton were filled on December 7 with would-be listeners to his address on the prophet Zoro-

⁷⁰ Letter to the author from G. Bernard Noble, March 20, 1961; *New York Times*, November 30, 1930, I:2.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, November 26, 1930, November 30, 1930, X:2.

⁷² "About 4,000 persons were in the hall and thousands were turned away," according to the *New York Times*, December 2, 1930, p. 28. The text of the address is in the *Modern Review*, L (July 1931), 46-48.

aster, and police had to be called in to close the doors so the lecture could begin. Helen Keller shared the platform with him that evening, and she told the eager audience that "Tagore was the supreme prophet in a movement that would result in a world-wide awakening of the brotherhood of all nations."⁷³ A week later he appeared with Ruth St. Denis in a dance and poetry recital at the Broadway Theatre. Will Durant introduced the poet and conveyed to him a tribute of appreciation from American admirers of his work. Tagore asked that the proceeds from the performance be given to the Mayor's unemployment relief fund.

This was his last evening in the United States, but he neither forgot, nor was forgotten by his American friends in the remaining eleven years of his life. On the occasion of his seventieth birthday the following year an American Tagore Association was formed and many Americans sent him special messages. Will Durant addressed him as "Reverend Master," and wrote, "We feel that we have been cleansed and ennobled by meeting you. . . . Something of the ancient idealism of the East has been poured into our blood by the wine and music of your verse, by the example and majesty of your life." Sinclair Lewis hailed him as "a great soul of an incomparably great nation." Theodore Dreiser sent him a Tagorean prose-poem. Jane Addams, whom he had met in Chicago in 1921, described him as "at once a poet, a philosopher, a humanitarian, an educator," and saluted him "with gratitude, with admiration, with fellowship and affection."⁷⁴

Tagore replied to these messages with a message of his own, expressing his confidence that this country would outgrow its adolescent shortcomings, would share its scientific achievements with all the world's people, and would create a new civilization capable of overcoming the narrow parochialism which still held Europe in its grip.⁷⁵

The same mood of confidence in America's future suffused his final message to this country. In June, 1940, shortly after the fall of Paris to Hitler's armies, he cabled to Franklin D. Roosevelt, now President of the United States this plea, as of weakness to strength:

Today we stand in awe before the fearfully destructive force that so suddenly has swept the world. Every moment I deplore the smallness of our means and the feebleness of our voice, for India is so utterly inadequate to stem the tide of evil that has menaced the permanence of civilization.

⁷³ New York *American*, December 3, 1930.

⁷⁴ *The Golden Book of Tagore*, ed. Ramananda Chatterjee (Calcutta: Golden Book Committee, 1931), pp. 75, 138, 19.

⁷⁵ "Amerikar prati kabir bani," ("The poet's message to America"), *Bichitra* (Calcutta, B. S. 1338 [1931-32]), pp. 289-91. Portions of this message are reproduced in the *New York Times*, May 7, 1931, p. 26.

In mentioning "civilization" Tagore obviously had in mind neither Western civilization nor Indian civilization, but human civilization, for he continued:

All our individual political problems today are merged into one supreme world of politics which I believe is seeking help in the United States as the last refuge of spiritual man, and these few lines of mine merely convey my hope, even if unnecessary, that the United States will not fail in her mission to stand against the universal disaster that appears so imminent.⁷⁶

This remarkable message seems to indicate that a significant change had taken place in Tagore's attitude toward politics in the 1930s, for in it he recognizes that "spiritual man" cannot remain completely unpolitical, but must eventually seek refuge in a political order which guarantees personal and religious liberty to the individual. This attitude contrasts markedly with that in his earlier lectures on "Nationalism." Perhaps the changing world situation helped to bring about this transformation in his outlook, for in 1916 he had attached so little importance to the conflict in Europe that he wanted the United States to remain aloof from it, whereas in 1940 he felt the danger to civilization posed by Axis aggression so acute that he urged President Roosevelt to "stand against it," presumably by entering the war. In 1941, a few months after Tagore's death at the age of eighty, the United States threw its weight into the war which destroyed the Axis powers.

Looking back over the whole range of the Indian poet's encounters with America, one is struck by the variety of motives which brought him to these shores. Love of travel for its own sake doubtless motivated all of Tagore's foreign tours to some degree, and it seems to have been the dominant impulse behind his first American visit. During his stay, however, his desire to share his vision of the spiritual life found a response among the university communities to whom he lectured. On his second visit, his notoriety as a Nobel Prize-winner cast him more definitely in the role of "the wise man from the East," while his own revulsion against the war in Europe intensified his desire to bring a message of peace from India. In 1920-21 he combined this prophetic role with attempts to raise money for his educational work in India. His purposes in 1929 never became clear, but he did succeed in demonstrating his dislike of the anti-Asian bias in American immigration laws. In 1930, the three earlier motives all seemed to be present: love of travel, the hope of raising

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, June 16, 1940, I:32.

funds⁷⁷ and the desire to link India and America in a cooperative exchange of material and spiritual values.

In contrast to his motives, Tagore's attitudes toward American society and culture showed less tendency to change from visit to visit, and from the very first embraced both negative and positive reactions. He compared America to an unripe fruit, accused its citizens of worshipping the fetish of nationalism, regretted their attachment to mundane pursuits, despaired of their being truly happy and free, and deplored their racial prejudices and legal restrictions against Asian immigrants. On the other hand, he repeatedly voiced his great expectations for America's future. In 1913 he wrote of its "great mission in the history of Western civilization," and the possibility that "it will hold up the torch of freedom before the world." In 1916 he declared it "the best exponent of Western ideals of humanity," a country which would solve "the problems of the human race, national, political, religious." In 1920 he spoke of the "wonderful hunger and aspiration" for higher things he found in individual Americans, and in 1930 praised them collectively as "the great people of this earth." His final message in 1940 christened the United States as "the last refuge of spiritual man."

One outstanding characteristic of Tagore's attitude toward the United States was his persistence in attempting to bring it into closer touch with India. Each country, each civilization, he felt, had need of the other. The response to his lectures and books indicated to him a hunger in America for the Indian emphasis on an inner liberation through which the individual personality realizes its identity with all other beings. His knowledge of India told him that his own countrymen needed a firmer control over the material conditions of human life, and had much to learn from Western science, technology and social organization. Tagore's grand hope was that closer relations between India and America would enable each country to supply from its own surplus the ingredient most lacking in the civilization of the other.⁷⁸

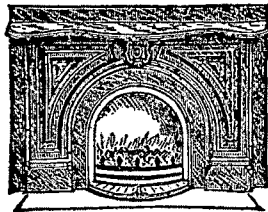
Is this noble vision of international cooperation really practicable? Perhaps only time can tell. In a sense, the various programs of American technical assistance and economic aid to India today may be regarded as the delayed realization of Tagore's own expectations of material help for his educational and village reconstruction projects. Concurrently, the steady growth of American interest in the religious ideas of ancient and modern India is a present-day expression of a trend to which Tagore greatly contributed by his writings, and by his personal appearances as a lecturer in this country.

⁷⁷ See Thakur, *Chithipatra*, II, 96, 106, for references to his attempts to meet John D. Rockefeller and other millionaires.

⁷⁸ See especially Tagore, "East and West," *Creative Unity*, pp. 99, 103, 110-12.

How does Tagore compare with the better known European travelers who have criticized our national life? The contrast is instructive. He leaves us with an impression of distance, of detachment, and his criticism and praise seem concentrated, not on the peculiar institutions, the manners, or even the principles governing American political and economic life, but on an abstract and incorporeal essence. As an Indian, he saw this country from a quite different perspective than that of Toqueville, Martineau, Dickens, the Trollopes, Matthew Arnold or Bryce, who also took our measure. Tagore was after all the first critic to come to us from a civilization in which American culture had no root. This very fact perhaps explains his serene unconcern for the mundane features of American life. He instinctively searched for eternal meanings behind the transient appearances assailing his senses. He cast himself in the role of prophet, the seer whose mission it was to urge Americans toward, and also to warn them against, what they might become in the future.

To measure Tagore merely by his lectures and comments in this country, however, would be to lose sight of his greater importance as a creative artist and thinker. If Bishnu Dey was right in his recent B.B.C. commentary, Tagore undertook all his foreign tours largely from a need to break out of the confining parochialism of an India possessed for the time by an uncharacteristic xenophobia. Partly to justify and pay for these excursions, he diverted his energies into redoing his poems and his ideas into English for foreign consumption, aware as he was that neither could be fully appreciated in these diluted forms. To know the essential Tagore, therefore, we must study his writings in their original Bengali, and his ideas in the context of the remarkable modern renaissance of Hindu thought. We might then look back on Tagore's passage to America, and America's discovery of India through him, as opening the way to the gradual achievement of his vision: a single civilization and culture in which the great minds of each nation will be directly accessible to all men.



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Henry B. Brewster (1850-1908): An Introduction

THE SUMMER 1958 ISSUE OF *Modern Fiction Studies* CONTAINED AN ARTICLE entitled "Who Was Gilbert Osmond?", in which R. W. Stallman attempted to demonstrate that the villain of Henry James's *The Portrait of a Lady* was modeled on a certain expatriate American author and philosopher named Henry B. Brewster, a friend of James's who was residing in Florence at the time the novel was written. In the Summer 1960 issue of the same journal, Leon Edel refuted that argument by citing a letter from James to his brother William dated March 9, 1890, in which the novelist stated that he first met Brewster during the winter of 1889-90, nine years after the appearance of *The Portrait*. Apart from Stallman's unflattering identification and Edel's refutation, Brewster's name is virtually unknown on this side of the Atlantic. This is not surprising since, except for a limited edition of one volume by Heinemann in 1931, all of Brewster's books have been out of print and nearly unavailable for some fifty years. His name is slightly better known in England, due partly to the 1931 edition, but more to references in various autobiographical writings of people who knew and survived him, particularly the three-volume memoirs of his closest friend and onetime mistress, the composer and feminist leader Dame Ethel Smyth. But in all these writings, as in the two *Modern Fiction Studies* articles, attention is generally confined to Brewster the man at the expense of Brewster the writer. Yet, in addition to being an interesting man, Brewster was a gifted literary artist, an adroit and often highly original philosophical thinker and a letter writer of such energy, talent and intellectual strength that Henry James himself is reported to have called him "the last of the great epistolarists."¹ Under the supervision of his grandson, Henry C. Brewster of Florence, an editing enterprise is currently underway designed to

¹ Ethel Smyth, *As Time Went On* (London, 1936), p. 20; and Ernest Newman, Introduction to Smyth's *Impressions that Remained* (New York, 1946), p. xiv, n.

prepare Brewster's extant correspondence for publication;² and the London publishing house of Routledge and Kegan Paul is planning publication of a new one-volume edition of his three philosophical books in English, as soon as sufficient interest is generated in Brewster to warrant such an edition. Fulfillment of these enterprises could well rescue Brewster the writer from an undeserved oblivion. The present sketch is aimed at aiding in that rescue operation, as well as at doing greater justice to Brewster the man than is done in keeping his name alive chiefly by virtue of a mistaken identification with Gilbert Osmond.

In addition to their intrinsic interest, Brewster's books and letters can tell us a great deal about the age and cultural environment in which they were written. He lived from 1850 to 1908, mainly in France, Italy and England; spoke and wrote English and French with equal fluency; could converse comfortably in Italian and German; and in his later years acquired a good command of ancient and modern Greek. During the last two decades of his life he was acquainted with members of many of the international literary, musical and artistic circles of western Europe; and though an American citizen, to those who knew him he came to typify the late-nineteenth-century international man, bound to no one race or culture, but mingling in his character features of all the races and cultures among which he lived. So impressive was this mixture that James wrote of him in later years as the man who "remains for me, with his accomplishment, his distinction, his extraordinary play of mind, . . . the clearest case of 'cosmopolitan' culture I was to have known"³—a description closely paralleled by recollective passages in the writing of other friends like Maurice Baring, Mrs. Winthrop Chanler, Edouard Rod and especially Ethel Smyth.⁴

But if to his contemporaries Brewster typified *fin de siècle* European cosmopolitanism, he also typified one of the significant American movements of the time—the post-Civil War exodus of artists and writers to the Old World that Van Wyck Brooks has labeled the "new colonialism."⁵ In the strict sense, the term "expatriate" may not be entirely accurate. For

² In the Spring 1957 issue of *Botteghe Oscure*, Henry C. Brewster published fourteen letters from James to his grandfather written during the last decade of the nineteenth century, and preceded the letters with an essay "Henry James and the Gallo-American," part of which was devoted to a short account of Henry B. Brewster's life. Many of the primary materials cited here were made available by Henry C. Brewster.

³ *Notes of a Son and Brother* (New York, 1914), p. 409.

⁴ Baring, *The Puppet Show of Memory* (Boston, 1922), pp. 251-53 *et circa*; Mrs. Chanler, *Roman Spring: Memoirs* (Boston, 1934), p. 281; Smyth, *Impressions that Remained, As Time Went On and What Happened Next* (London, 1940), *passim*. References to Rod's recollections are from an untitled and unpublished essay among Brewster's papers dated December 1909.

⁵ *New England: Indian Summer* (Garden City, 1944), p. 145.

Brewster was raised not in America but in France, his mother was English, and his father, though born in New England, left his homeland for good nearly twenty years before his son's birth. Like those two other European-born American artists of the time—the painter John Singer Sargent and the author Francis Marion Crawford, both of whom he knew well—Brewster grew up in an environment far removed from the American Civil War. His childhood and adolescence were spent mainly in the milieu of the Second French Empire, and it was not until he was nearly eighteen that he first saw the country of which he was a citizen; that visit, of less than nine months, was followed by only two others, one lasting some ten months and the other less than seven. His formal education was conducted in French at a Paris Lycée until, in his sixteenth year, he went to Dresden for what proved his last year of schooling. He married a German woman, made his only permanent residences after marriage in Italy, and saw both his children eventually acquire European citizenship—his daughter British and his son Italian.

Against these facts, however, stand others which establish Brewster as very much an American product. For one thing, he was strongly conscious all his life of being a direct descendant of the Elder William Brewster of Plymouth Colony and of having among his immediate ancestors two Yankee clergymen and a Minute Man in the American Revolution. His father, a dental surgeon who moved to Europe in order to earn a fortune practicing his profession first at the Russian court and, after the mid-1840s, in and around the French courts of Louis Philippe and Louis Napoleon, retained his New England character and beliefs to a very marked degree, and reared his children in the social and religious traditions of early nineteenth-century New England. From all the evidence in the family correspondence and in Brewster's own later reminiscences, the family seems to have been a stronghold of sober Yankee virtue and Calvinist piety amid the worldly surroundings of the French court. Much of Brewster's early reading was in American literature, philosophy and history, and his adolescent enthusiasms, fostered in large part by his patriotic father, ran constantly toward things American. During his first visit to the United States, he came close to settling there and investing in the sugar trade with his older brother and an American uncle; and only a severe reaction against the vulgarity and narrow commercial mentality of those Americans with whom he was obliged to deal drove him out of the enterprise and back to France. Yet even after this and other disillusioning experiences, Brewster never renounced his American citizenship, and continued all his life to refer to himself as an American, despite the increasingly negative attitudes he developed toward his nationality.

It is the nature of his reaction, set against his upbringing and early interests, that makes Brewster as vivid a prototype of the expatriate mentality as any contemporary American who actually forsook the United States to live out his life abroad. Indeed, Brewster's rejection of what he came to consider the American state of mind and the American way of life—always associated with the two forces he most abhorred, Calvinism and commercialism—underlies even some of the most abstract ideas in his writing. Along with an inherited fortune that made it unnecessary for him ever to earn his living, the rejection also underlies his cosmopolitanism. For once Brewster decided to be an expatriate, he was a dedicated one; and the fact that he persisted in calling himself American long after he had lost all sense of cultural and religious kinship with his ancestors, had the effect of underscoring his deliberate deracination.⁶ The mature Brewster, who, as Edouard Rod remarked, "*n'eut pas de patrie, pas de carrière, on pourrait presque dire pas de langue,*" represented something far different from those earlier American expatriates whom Henry Adams once called—including himself above all in the designation—"Improvised Europeans."⁷ Brewster's deracination, prepared as it was by the European experience of his youth, was rendered all the more authentic by his having no limiting commitment to either country, career or even a single original language.

Yet the urbane "*cosmopolite*" and "*homme du monde*" whom Rod and other later commentators describe, and who did in fact happen to resemble Gilbert Osmond in certain features of his social manner and physical appearance (such as his beautiful blond beard), was really the Brewster of the period from about 1890 to his death in 1908, and not the Brewster who was living in Florence in the late 1870s, when James was there conceiving and writing *The Portrait*. Indeed, all reports of Brewster's character at this stage in his life, as well as all the surviving letters of the period, show a young man whom James, if he *had* met him then, might well have considered the antithesis of Osmond. In 1873, after the death of both his parents, Brewster had married Julia von Stockhausen, daughter of the onetime Hanoverian minister to France, at whose home he had lived during his student year in Dresden. Julia was eleven years his senior, and a woman of intense convictions, one of which was

⁶ In a letter to Ethel Smyth dated January 30, 1902, Brewster remarked that a recent letter from Mrs. Winthrop Chanler had informed him that she was "making propaganda" for his books in America, and was "quite exhilarated at her success." Brewster then commented: "Here is a deep question: may not a man be a prophet in his own country if he was born and bred elsewhere? Strange if the only people who would listen to him were those he had walked away from."

⁷ Letter to Henry James, November 18, 1903, quoted in *Discovery of Europe: The Story of American Experience in the Old World*, ed. Philip Rahv (Boston, 1947), pp. 354-55.

that her twenty-three-year-old husband had the makings of a great philosopher. Under this conviction—which Brewster's premarital correspondence with Julia shows him to have shared—the couple moved to Florence in 1874 and spent some nine years in close seclusion and serious study, while subsisting on a generous inheritance from Brewster's father. In their home, an old palace on the Via dei Bardi, they amassed a large collection of philosophical and theological books extensively annotated in both his and Julia's handwritings. The few people who managed to penetrate their ivory tower during these years found Brewster a bookish, introverted and "extremely shy" young man, who could converse eloquently on abstract philosophical subjects but was otherwise only "companionable" in small groups where he was "sure he was liked."⁸ They also found that, in the hermetic life that he and Julia had chosen, intellectual and aesthetic cultivation was not a pose, as with the dilettante Osmond, but a veritable *raison d'être*.

Then, a major turning point occurred in Brewster's life with the beginning of a love-affair between him and Ethel Smyth in the spring of 1884, a year and a half after the young Englishwoman first became acquainted with the Brewsters. The story of the next two years is much too complicated to be narrated here, but it is all absorbingly told in a voluminous three-way correspondence in which Brewster described and defended, and Julia and Miss Smyth repeatedly rejected, a complex scheme for a *ménage à trois*. By the end of 1885, Brewster's often marvelously impersonal and intensely naïve arguments against what he termed the "atavism" of monogamous laws and traditions, had been soundly defeated by the very personal resistances of both women, and he found himself not with two women but with none—separated from Julia by written agreement and estranged from Ethel Smyth by the Englishwoman's revulsion at the idea of adultery. There followed nearly four years of extreme solitude—first in America, from January to November of 1886, then mostly in Paris, and then again in America from April to November of 1889—during which Brewster produced his first two books: an elaborate metaphysical dialogue published in 1887 by Williams and Northgate of London under the title *The Theories of Anarchy and of Law*; and the fictional last meditations of a prisoner in solitary confinement, accompanied by a metaphysical debate among four fictional readers of those meditations, published by the same firm in 1891 under the title *The Prison*.

By late 1889, a partial reconciliation with Julia had taken place, and for the next six years Brewster lived part of every year with her and

⁸ Smyth, *Impressions that Remained*, p. 312.

their two children, first in Florence and, after December 1891, in their new home in Rome. At approximately the same time, a reconciliation also took place with Ethel Smyth, and the renewed friendship soon became the focus of Brewster's activities and the chief formative element in a new way of life that was to set off the last nineteen years as a separate part of his biography. With the fruits of his years of philosophical study and self-examination now embodied in two complete books, he decided it was time to exert a strenuous effort toward breaking out of his isolation and seeking a place in the social world he had spent much of his previous life avoiding. The transformation did not occur all at once, nor did he ever divest himself entirely of an addiction to solitude. Yet if a single letter could be cited to mark the start of Brewster's career as cosmopolite, it might be the one he wrote Julia from London on December 20, 1889, in which he remarked: "*J'ai fait ma rentrée dans la vie normale. . . . Quand je songe que Buffon a écrit: la plus noble conquête que l'homme ait jamais faite est celle du cheval, je me dis qu'évidemment il n'a pas été élevé comme moi sans quoi il aurait écrit: la plus noble conquête que l'homme ait jamais faite est d'apprendre à se lier avec son semblable.*"

Among the "*semblables*" in London and Paris who formed a sort of nucleus which was to expand into an impressive entourage representative of western European cosmopolitan society, were: Brewster's one-time sovereign the Empress Eugénie; the critic-publisher Edmund Gosse; the conductor George Henschel; the painter John Singer Sargent; and the writers Maurice Baring, Edouard Rod, Viola Paget ("Vernon Lee") and Henry James. Through these people he shortly became acquainted with Walter Pater, Thomas Hardy, Oscar Wilde and other prominent English men of letters, as well as continental literary and artistic celebrities like Rodin, Remy de Gourmont and Gabriele D'Annunzio. Until Julia's death, Brewster's busy social activities were conducted primarily as a guest in others' households, but after that he became himself one of the celebrated hosts of cosmopolitan society. Again Ethel Smyth figured largely in most of his social activity, and though her musical career and growing feminist beliefs caused her to refuse repeated offers of marriage, she seems, shortly after Julia's death, to have become an occasional mistress of Brewster's as well as his closest friend. Toward the end of 1896, Brewster moved from the Roman Palazzo Marignoli, where he had lived off and on with Julia after 1891, to more spacious quarters in the Palazzo Antici-Mattei, which he was to occupy for the remainder of his life. There, whenever he was not away on one of his frequent trips to Geneva, Paris, London and elsewhere, he was a focal member of the international social world of turn-of-the-century Rome.

Guest-lists at his popular luncheon and dinner parties included, besides old standbys like James, Henschel, Sargent, Vernon Lee, Rod and Baring, such names as Ibsen, Cosima Wagner, D'Annunzio, the F. Marion Crawford, the Winthrop Chanlers, Edith Wharton, Duse, Paderewski and prominent members of the Italian and French nobility.

Meanwhile, in 1895, Brewster had published his third and last English book, *The Statuette and the Background*, containing a long philosophical essay and an epistolary dialogue on art and reality; and in 1901 he completed his first French book, the philosophical prose-poem *L'Ame Païenne*, serialized in the *Mercur de France* in 1901 and brought out in book form the following year. This was followed by two full-length verse dramas in French: *Les Naufrageurs*, the libretto for an opera of Ethel Smyth's, completed in 1904, and based on legends of an eighteenth-century community of devoutly religious professional shipwreckers on the coast of Cornwall; and *Buondelmonte*, a five-act tragedy about the origins of the Guelf-Ghibelline feud in medieval Florence, completed but not yet revised for publication at the time of Brewster's death. The two dramas, plus a selection of French lyric poems that Brewster composed during the last few years of his life, were published posthumously in a single volume, with an introduction by his son Christopher, in 1911. Besides his five published volumes and his many hundreds of letters, Brewster also left behind a large assortment of unpublished writings in English, including a full-length prose-tragedy "Astray," an unfinished novel "Portia," the draft of a long untitled philosophical meditation, and a great many loose jottings ranging from half a page to thirty pages of manuscript. Despite the extremely active social life he led in his last nineteen years, then, he continued to be a fairly productive author to the end; and though the volume of his published work is comparatively small, when the letters and unpublished manuscripts are added to the five books, they comprise a life's work of considerable size and variety.

In his own time, Brewster's work was appreciated chiefly by a small circle, composed of his friends and such strangers as were introduced to his books by those friends. Of his published works, only *L'Ame Païenne* fared well enough with the reading public to achieve a second printing. In America his writings were completely unrecognized, and in Italy the sole book to receive any critical notice was again *L'Ame Païenne*, after an Italian translation had appeared in the year of Brewster's death. During the first twenty-three years after his death, his name survived only in the memoirs of others; then, in 1931, a brief resurgence of interest occurred when a performance by the London Symphony of Ethel Smyth's musical setting of lyric passages from *The Prison* led to

Heinemann's republication of the book, with an introductory memoir by the composer. The edition received scant critical notice,⁹ and the copies were soon bought out of circulation by Brewster's surviving friends, their friends and some curious general readers. Among the latter group was at least one man who has since achieved wide reputation, and who thought enough of the book to write about it at some length in a book of his own. This was the Jesuit theologian M.C. D'Arcy who, in *Mirage and Truth* (1935), devoted thirty-eight pages to an analysis of the thought in *The Prison*, calling it, in spite of what the author considered the inadequacy of secular solutions to man's religious and moral problems, "as wise and noble an effort to think out some supreme form of happiness as can be found in modern literature."¹⁰ Five years earlier, another English author whose name is now recognized in its own right, the philosopher and sociologist John MacMurray, had still higher praise for Brewster's work. While a professor at the University of London, he read a copy of *The Theories of Anarchy and of Law* lent him by his friend Ethel Smyth, and, excited by the book's originality, asked Dame Ethel for copies of Brewster's two other English volumes. The letter he wrote her afterwards is reproduced in its entirety in the introductory memoir to the 1931 edition of *The Prison*, but a few excerpts may be quoted again here to illustrate what is surely the most enthusiastic appraisal Brewster's books have ever received from someone who did not know him personally:

I have read many books—far too many. But only two or three of them since I left my boyhood behind have stirred me as this book [*Anarchy and Law*] did. I turned to the cover to read the author's name, but it awakened no overtones in my memory. I guessed that he must be some young writer whose genius had not yet caught the ear of preoccupied journalists. Then on the title page I found a date which certified that the book was written before I was born. It would be a wild understatement to say that I was astonished. . . . How could any man think and write such things in the eighties of the last century? . . .

Now that I have read "The Prison" and "The Statuette and the Background," and re-read "Anarchy and Law" in quietness, my mind is still full of the same delighted astonishment. Here is artistry with a varied range of music at its command. But there is more than these, more even than the marriage of the two. There is vision and prophecy. . . .¹¹

⁹ *TLS* printed a review on February 26, 1931, entitled "A Pagan Soul," which was nearly all concerned with Brewster's personality and was in large part a restatement of the main points in Ethel Smyth's introduction.

¹⁰ *Mirage and Truth* (London, 1935), p. 83.

¹¹ "A Memoir of the Author," *The Prison* (London, 1931), pp. 19-21.

Despite enthusiasms like these, however, and despite MacMurray's concluding appeal for immediate republication of all three English volumes, interest in Brewster declined again after the 1931 edition of *The Prison* and has remained in decline ever since.

Since none of Brewster's published writings are now available to more than a minute reading public, any extensive critical commentary would have to be weighted with a heavy ballast of summary, paraphrase and quotation, such as is impossible in an introductory sketch of this length. All that can be attempted here, then, is an indication of a few of Brewster's characteristic ideas and techniques, and of a few ways in which his three English books justify MacMurray's "astonishment" that "any man could think and write such things" when Brewster thought and wrote them.

Much of the thought in the three books is clearly eclectic, drawn from Brewster's wide reading in philosophy and theology and betraying that reading even when the writing is—as it usually is—studiously devoid of specific references; and the value of large portions of the dialogues lies principally in the fine play of mind and literary adroitness with which Brewster counterpoints one concept against another in a kind of ideological symphony. In *The Theories of Anarchy and of Law*, for instance, one of the protagonists, Ralph—whom Brewster labeled in a letter to Julia a "*progressiste*"—represents an ideology directly indebted to Leibnitz' rationalistic optimism and its extensions in the eighteenth-century doctrine of benevolism and the nineteenth-century doctrine of progress, especially as it led to utilitarian social philosophies.¹² Ralph's chief opponent, Harold (a "*nihiliste*"), on the other hand, reveals Brewster's absorption in the philosophy of one of the idols of his late teens and early twenties, Schopenhauer, and of his successor Nietzsche. Their opposition is, then, the standard opposition between metaphysical optimism and pessimism. Yet throughout the dialogue they are often strangely united on the central issue, since each acknowledges the existence of some objectively recognizable "law" of life, though Ralph sees conformity to that law, and Harold rebellion against it, as the aim of human endeavor. Conversely, the positions of Wilfrid (a "*sceptique*") and Lothaire (a "*mystique*") are, despite obvious differences, allied in rejecting any such belief in a single principle of existence, and both therefore stand metaphysically on the side of "anarchy" against that of "law." Yet the starting point of Wilfrid's ideology is a standard argu-

¹² Annotated copies of the writings of Leibnitz, Locke, Shaftsbury and John Stuart Mill, to mention a few of the philosophers whose views Ralph echoes, have been preserved in Brewster's personal library, as have annotated copies of the works of other philosophers cited here as sources for the ideas in his books.

ment of Humean epistemology which asserts that no certain knowledge is possible beyond that of particular facts, since all connections between facts are constructions of the mind rather than demonstrable external realities; whereas the starting point of Lothaire's ideology is a series of metaphysical paradoxes which reflect Brewster's reading in Oriental scriptures, Swedenborg and one of the most closely annotated works in his library, Robert Alfred Vaughan's *Hours With the Mystics* (1865). Wilfrid's empirical bias, then, allies him with the utilitarian Ralph, while Lothaire's mystical intuitivism allies him with the nihilist Harold. The fabric of the entire dialogue is complicated and enriched by just such cross-relations among the four major ideological themes, with the result that each is constantly modifying and, one might say, modulating the others in the polyphonic interplay which gives the dialogue its form.

But if many of the ideas used in this interplay are eclectic, several also reveal Brewster's originality and are striking for their foreshadowings of later philosophical achievements. However dependent Wilfrid's views are on Humean skepticism, for example, the specific turn he gives them—by which "speech" itself, as the human means of "fashioning" and "forming" isolated sense data, becomes a "primary" reality—points ahead to the characteristically twentieth-century philosophical emphasis on semantics and linguistics. Passages like the following may have been among those that led Professor MacMurray to think, in 1930, that *Anarchy and Law* was a recently written book:

. . . disconnected utterances conveying information owe their strength to a previous work of some of our senses, simple or combined, which they translate into words. Connected utterances bearing strength with them owe that strength to the fact that they embody, instead of translating, a primary reality. They express nothing, they *are* something. They form part of the stock and riches of the world, even as the organic forms. . . .

For this reason I decline to look upon philosophy as a work of the mind in the same sense as our knowledge may be said to be, and . . . propose to call it a work of speech, setting speech up as one of the primary ingredients of the universe that creates all synthetic thinking, and therewith a good part of the world in which we move. (pp. 19-20)

Similarly, Wilfrid's frequent insistence on the commanding role played by the unconscious in forming our religious and philosophical attitudes anticipates Bergson, William James¹³ and the science of modern

¹³ Wilfrid's remarks invite direct comparison with several passages in James's *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York, 1902), especially pp. 232-35, 242-43 and 511-15.

psychology. So, too, though many of Lothaire's ideas can be traced to sources in traditional mystical literature, others—such as his view of divinity as a subjective human creation which assumes ontological reality by virtue of its very strength as a creation; and his constant emphasis on relation rather than transcendent essence as the abode of spiritual meanings—further anticipate James¹⁴ and bear significant resemblances to modern religious existentialist thought, especially that of Martin Buber. Finally, the dominant theme of the book—the contrast between pagan polytheism and Hebraic monotheism as fundamental human states of mind from which derive even such social institutions as polygamy and monogamy¹⁵—may recall Matthew Arnold's famous chapter on Hebraism and Hellenism in *Culture and Anarchy*, but is developed far beyond Arnold's distinction; and in Wilfrid's and Lothaire's final arguments in behalf of a polytheistic theology as the only tenable counterpart of the complex and ever-altering nature of human experience, Brewster looks ahead to Santayana and again to William James.¹⁶

In the case of only one of the later philosophers mentioned here, is there any likelihood that Brewster was himself an influence; but in that case the likelihood is strong enough to warrant specific textual comparisons. The collection of books from the private library of William James in Harvard's Houghton Library contains a copy of *Anarchy and Law*, well underlined and annotated in several places in James's handwriting. The book is inscribed by Brewster to Henry James with the date "Xmas 1889." In March 1890, the novelist sent it on to his brother, with a letter describing Brewster as "a very 'fine mind' " and an "*esprit bien distingué*," and remarking that the book "strikes me—I have read it—as rather exquisite and remarkable."¹⁷ We have no record of William James's response to the book other than his underlinings and annotations; but the fact that several of his marginal comments read "prag" would suggest that the similarities between James's theory of pragmatism and various ideas propounded by Brewster's four debaters were more than coincidences.¹⁸ James received his copy of *Anarchy and Law* some

¹⁴ See *Varieties*, pp. 498-507; *Pragmatism* (New York, 1907), pp. 286-88; and *A Pluralistic Universe* (New York, 1909), pp. 317-18. Cf. also Brewster's letter to Ethel Smyth dated March 27, 1891, quoted below.

¹⁵ Since *Anarchy and Law* was written when Brewster was still deeply involved in his scheme for a *ménage à trois*, it reflects, in places, the views expressed in his 1884-85 letters to Julia and Ethel Smyth. There, as in *Anarchy and Law*, monogamy is seen as a social doctrine inseparable from the metaphysics of monotheism, and polygamy as a doctrine inseparable from the metaphysics of polytheism.

¹⁶ See *Varieties*, pp. 525-27; *Pragmatism*, pp. 293-301; and *Pluralistic Universe*, pp. 277-300 *et passim*.

¹⁷ Quoted in Edel, "Who Was Gilbert Osmond?", *MFS*, VI-2 (Summer 1960), p. 164.

¹⁸ Near the end of the book, next to Wilfrid's final assertion of his view that philo-

twelve years after he had read Charles Peirce's essay "How to Make our Ideas Clear" in the *Popular Science Monthly*—the event which he himself acknowledged as the starting point in the development of his pragmatic theory. But it was not until some eight years after he received Brewster's book that he first offered a systematic exposition of the theory in his famous lecture "Philosophical Conceptions and Practical Results," and it was not until 1907 that he published his full-length treatise *Pragmatism*. Hence, though at the time he was probably reading *Anarchy and Law* James was undoubtedly far along in his development of pragmatism, between then and its final formulation there was ample time for him to incorporate, consciously or unconsciously, kindred ideas and elaborations of his own basic concepts which he had recognized in Brewster's book and commented on enthusiastically. Moreover, the views expressed by Wilfrid and Lothaire on the origin and nature of religious beliefs, as well as the anti-rationalistic and anti-monistic arguments of Brewster's two "anarchists," recur not only in *Pragmatism* but also throughout *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902) and *A Pluralistic Universe* (1909). Admittedly, there were many other sources for the ideas in these books, and it is conceivable that, when he read *Anarchy and Law*, James found nothing there that he had not already thought of himself; but the more probable implication is that Brewster's book did contribute, perhaps more significantly than James realized, to the final shape which several of his central philosophical doctrines took. Even if it were possible to prove, however, that *Anarchy and Law* exerted no such direct influence on James, the fact that, antedating *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, *Pragmatism* and *A Pluralistic Universe* by fifteen, twenty and twenty-two years respectively, Brewster's first book anticipated those three works in so many places, testifies to the originality and foresight of Brewster's thought in 1887.

So with *The Prison*, in which the four characters (a "supernaturalist," a "neo-Christian maiden," a "positivist" and a "wise man") who study and debate the fictional manuscript of the doomed prisoner, develop further the views of the four protagonists in *Anarchy and Law*. Their ideologies often come from Brewster's reading, but their more memorable insights come from the same independent thought that anticipated twentieth-

sophical theories are "deeds of speech" that "go toward forming" a truth of their own making out of the flux of sense impressions, James wrote "prag. NB." The passage he chose to "note well" might be compared with such a one as the following from *Pragmatism*: "Our nouns and adjectives are all humanized heirlooms, and in the theories we build them into, the inner order and arrangement is wholly dictated by human considerations. . . . altho the stubborn fact remains that there is a sensible flux, what is *true of it* seems from first to last to be largely a matter of our own creation." (pp. 254-55)

century philosophical doctrines in *Anarchy and Law*. One representative instance is Gerald's (the "wise man's") observation that only our perception of and relation to other selves gives each of us a definite notion of his own, since "A person who has no chance of saying *you*, must finish by attaching a very vague meaning to the word *I*"—an observation which Martin Buber was later to make in quite similar terms in his *I and Thou*, and which was to become the starting point for all Buber's subsequent views on the nature of man and God.¹⁹ Yet not the metaphysical debate itself but the text of the imaginary manuscript, is the really remarkable element in *The Prison*. Its stream-of-consciousness structure and highly lyrical and rhetorical prose style, set off against the direct discursive manner of the debaters' comments which interrupt it, provide the central tonal contrast in the book's elaborate polyphonic scheme. The prisoner has composed his meditations while in solitary confinement awaiting execution for a crime he did not commit. What the allegations against him are we are never told, but the fact that he is innocent ceases to matter once he has forgiven his accusers early in the book and resigned himself to imminent death. Associations with Kafka or with Camus' *L'Etranger* are inevitable, and these are enhanced by the prisoner's own admission that his "outward fate" is an appropriate symbol of his inward condition, since the prison he is in is actually one he was born with and has "secreted unconsciously" all his life by his failure to achieve communion with his fellow men. Though innocent of the specific crime he has been convicted of, he remains guilty of the general crime of self-imposed spiritual isolation, and as soon as he has confessed this he is ready to accept his sentence as though it were the penalty for that crime alone. Thus, as Brewster pointed out in a letter to Ethel Smyth dated December 3, 1890, the title of the book could be translated "The Self, The Ego."²⁰

The burden of the prisoner's meditations is a search for identity—an attempt, by means of concentrated introspection, to arrive at a definition of himself, and through it some final view of the relation between human life and eternity. By the end, however, he has shaken off one by one all

¹⁹ Buber and other modern religious existentialists, especially Tillich, are also called to mind by passages like the following from a speech of the "supernaturalist" Clive: ". . . a thorough doubt conditions itself; it conditions the desecrator and measures his tether. Who, then, is left to say of the range beyond that it is not sacred? The faith which shall stand must be dragged from the vitals of doubt."

²⁰ Several passages in the prisoner's manuscript, including a long confessional which begins "I was a stranger in the land even as a child," have clear autobiographical associations that bear out this interpretation of the title; and the prisoner's recurrent remorse over his lifelong alienation from mankind has its counterpart in the remorse that drove Brewster to try liberating his own ego from its prison by plunging into "*la vie normale*" soon after the book was completed.

rational views on the subject, and concentrated all thought on certain random intuitions of the divine that he has experienced in his solitude. More important still, he has shaken off his initial craving for a single principle of continuity to fit those intuitions together and prevent the recurrence of doubt when they have faded. For he has come to believe that, since all experiences of communion with the supernatural involve what one of the debaters terms a "retreat from the foreground" of self, if he should seek to retain one of those experiences and "mingle it again with my substance by egress from which it was divine, it forthwith loses its divinity." Therefore it must not be retained, but allowed to pass on as soon as its force is spent to other individuals "waiting in desolation, as I waited." The prisoner's original quest for identity is, then, finally superseded by a quest for escape from identity; and his original quest for a principle of unity in both the individual and the cosmos is superseded by a joyous acceptance of the arbitrary and transient ecstatic vision as the ultimate principle that binds a man to other men and to eternity:

I am as one to whom a child has been born, God by the mystery and delight of his birth, man as soon as born. I may adore his advent; I may not adore him. I may not pin my worship to the cloak of any Saviour. Who are our Saviours? . . . They stroll amid the human throng, indifferent to whom and what they touch, and whatever they have touched is eternal. This hour that is with me now will endure forever; it has always been. Others have felt just what I now feel, and to the end of time someone will be there in whom it will thrill with the self-same unvarying thrill. It will not be buried with me. It has fallen on me like a drop of the fabulous river whose waters made men invulnerable, and by so much of me as it has touched do I escape destruction. By that much I am everyone. (pp. 107-9)²¹

Hence his final view of immortality would deny individual survival and make man the master over death solely by virtue of his participation in the total "plenitude" of existence, into which the individual is merged in that supreme expression of love which sacrifices the self; all men are, then, immortal, because death is itself the ultimate expression of that love:

Not I, but the pure elements liberated by rapture from the tangle of me, this is what will last. What then? Then I am a fragment and the

²¹ Cf. Santayana, *Winds of Doctrine* (New York, 1913): ". . . No doubt the spirit and energy of the world is what is acting in us, as the sea is what rises in every little wave; but it passes through us; and, cry out as we may, it will move on. Our privilege is to have perceived it as it moved." (p. 199)

entire is in the many. Then, too, I am made for a work of love that shall contribute outside and around me the unity which I renounce within. In the same measure in which I crumble into indestructible atoms, I must grow into the human communion. (pp. 123-24)

There is a good deal more to *The Prison* than this, but the elements emphasized here—the rejection of rationalism and monism; the extension of *fin de siècle* aestheticism into an ultimate religious assertion; and what might be called the “spiritual communism”—are those most typical of Brewster’s thought, recurring as they do in various forms and under various metaphors in parts of *The Statuette and the Background*, throughout *L’Ame Païenne*, and even in certain key speeches in his two French dramas and his late French lyric poems. Among his friends, *The Prison* was always Brewster’s most esteemed book, and as a literary performance it is, with the possible exception of the fine verse libretto *Les Naufrageurs*, his most impressive single work. As a philosophical performance, it has been praised by Father D’Arcy as a “remarkable but too little known book” containing “almost all that can be said on the side of those who look for some ideal beyond that of orthodox theism.” What the Jesuit theologian most admired, besides the excellent characterization of the prisoner, was the integrity of Brewster’s approach, his refusal to permit his character any “conscious scamping of difficulties” or “conscious belittling of values”; and, above all else, the originality of the book’s conception and of many of the ideas it expresses.²²

One more citation will have to suffice as evidence of Brewster’s intellectual originality and prescience: his discussion of the nature of myth in Chapters Four through Nine of the long informal essay “The Background” which makes up the second half of the volume *The Statuette and the Background*. The discussion begins with an assertion that Christianity, like all world religions, first evolved through a communal operation of the myth-making faculty—not a particularly new idea, since several earlier nineteenth-century anthropological historians with whose work Brewster was familiar—notably David Friedrich Strauss in his *Leben Jesu* (Leipzig, 1835) and Ernest Renan in his *Vie de Jésus* (Paris, 1863)—had given detailed study to New Testament narratives as mythical accretions on a naturalistic factual base.²³ But the definition of myth to

²² *Mirage and Truth*, pp. 38-76.

²³ As early as February 28, 1871, when he was twenty, Brewster had praised Renan’s *Vie de Jésus* in a letter to Julia as “le plus délicieux poème qu’on ait écrit depuis longtemps.” Similar tributes occur in later letters, and when Renan died in 1892 Brewster mourned his passing as follows: “Renan’s death is the loss of a friend to me. I rejoiced to see him honoured. I think he is the only man to whom I owe the debt of intellectual gratitude one owes one’s master.” (Letter to Ethel Smyth dated October 9, 1892)

which the assertion leads is a good deal more original: "the expressions, comely or grotesque, of collective desires," formed beneath the rational strata of the human mind, in a stratum which holds us "substantially continuous with the pre-rational."²⁴ Hence the fundamental similarity of all world myths, which function not as "symbols" in the conscious, rationally conceived sense, but as "messengers who speak by gesture . . . intermediary forms of life, in which thought is action, and sensation melts into reality." In thus defining the myth-making faculty as "pre-rational," and identifying it with desires common to all men because part of a continuous psychological inheritance, Brewster was presenting the germs of an idea which, two decades later, C. G. Jung was to develop into a full-scale hypothesis of the "collective unconscious" as the source of mythical archetypes.

Brewster's extant letters—the great majority of them written to Ethel Smyth—concern themselves with a wide range of subjects and almost invariably make good reading. Typical of both the style and attitude of his many philosophical letters is this passage from a letter to Miss Smyth dated March 27, 1891:

. . . Take for instance the idea of God. To the question: "does he exist?" I answer probably not; I dont know and I dont care. The affirmation of his existence is a judgement and if we are going to deal with judgements I mean to be as cautious as a Scotchman is with pounds and shillings. I wish to be as hard as flint and will only lend on good security. But our love for him (I mean God not the Scotchman) is no judgement at all; it is our burning sense of the insufficiency of all judgements.

And if I am told that I cannot love that which does not exist I lift my eyebrows in surprise and answer with the query: are you sure that we can ever love anything that *does* exist;—that the existing part of a thing or a person is not the part which leaves us and everybody indifferent;—and that to love does not mean to create? . . .

The letters also have much to say that is interesting about the milieu in which they were written and the people whom Brewster knew. To choose

²⁴ Cf. James, *Varieties*: ". . . whatever it may be on its *farther* side, the 'more' with which in religious experience we feel ourselves connected is on its *hither* side the sub-conscious continuation of our conscious life . . . we have in the fact that the conscious person is continuous with a wider self through which saving experiences come, a positive content of religious experience. . . ." (pp. 512, 515) There is no evidence that William James was acquainted with *The Statuette and the Background* or with any of Brewster's writings besides *Anarchy and Law*. But in view of Henry James's interest in the book (see "Fourteen Letters," *Botteghe Oscure* XIX, pp. 186-190), it is not improbable that the novelist might have introduced his brother to *The Statuette and the Background* as well as to *Anarchy and Law*.

one example from among his character sketches of friends, here is a passage from a letter to Miss Smyth dated June 1, 1907, which might well fascinate any biographer of Henry James:

. . . Henry James dined with me last night. I had an impression of great goodness and kindness, almost tenderness; of an immense bienveillance and yet of fastidious discrimination; something delicate and strong morally. But the fumbling for words is worse than ever; you know how patient I am; well sometimes I could have screamed. Surely this must be nervousness; it is not possible that he should talk thus with the people that he sees daily! And he has the puffy vegetarian look; and the spring, the flash of steel, has gone. You must pay a heavy price to be so good. He spoke with sympathy of Mary as a flower of success and happiness; he alluded to Phyllis and was saddened, he mentioned Nina Davidson and had to turn away from the subject as too painful; he inquired with interest, real interest, about you and the Wreckers;²⁵ wanted to understand everything, vibrated, responded. All joys, sorrows, hopes, trials and strivings find a prompt and delicate echo in him. He is going to send me his book on America. Oh how I wish I could be as good as that! without salivating, without vegetables. . . .

For all of his intellectual affinity with William James, Brewster was in most ways a very different sort of man from Henry, despite their quite warm friendship from 1889 on. But to another compatriot, Henry Adams, both his life story and his characteristic literary and philosophical concerns bore a great many close resemblances. Though there is no evidence that the two men ever met, or ever read each others' published works, this introductory sketch may aptly conclude with a few remarks about the striking parallels, and equally striking contrasts, between Brewster and Adams. Both were descended from important colonial New England families, and both in their maturity experienced a strong reaction against their Puritan background and contemporary American civilization. Both turned to Europe, and especially to France,²⁶ for cultural sustenance and an antidote to the oppressive austerity of the American past and the oppressive vulgarity of the American present. Both inherited wealth and, perhaps as a result of this, developed decided aristocratic leanings, becoming suspicious of democracy, the middle class and the doctrine of progress. Temperamentally inclined to nostalgia, both looked to past civilizations—one pagan and the other medieval—as representations of

²⁵ *Les Naufrageurs* had been produced in Leipzig in 1906, and was shortly to be produced in Prague. In both cities the opera was a failure; but an English version performed in London shortly after Brewster's death was quite successful. (See Smyth, *What Happened Next*, p. 308.)

²⁶ Though he had settled in Italy, Brewster remained a confirmed Francophile.

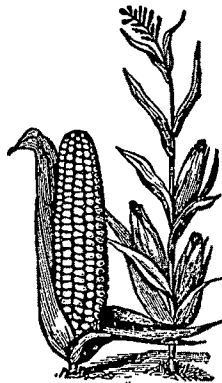
a way of life deplorably absent from the contemporary scene. Both were acquainted with many of the leading literary personages of their time, and yet both often tended to draw about their own literary activities a certain ironic and even self-effacing reticence. Above all, the work of both men centered in large part on a common theme: the accelerating movement in western thought from unity to multiplicity, and the religious and social consequences of that movement in their age and the age to come.

At this point, however, the parallel turns into a sharp contrast. For whereas Adams found chiefly a cause for despair in the breakdown of traditional ideas of unity, Brewster found in it a happy corroboration of his own views. Adams' outlook on the future was bleak, based as it was on the hypothesis that the ever-increasing trend toward multiplicity was leading toward a condition of chaos; Brewster's, on the other hand, might almost be called optimistic, since it was based on the idea that the trend could result in the eventual liberation of human thought from its bondage to dogma and the monistic fallacy, which are presented throughout his work as deterrents to a full realization of man's potential. Despite his advocacy of a cyclical view of history in *L'Ame Païenne*, Brewster was really something of a "*progressiste*," like the character Ralph in *Anarchy and Law* who gets the worst of most arguments; for at the same time as he looked back to the polytheism of pagan civilization as the embodiment of his metaphysical and moral ideal, he also looked ahead, in certain prophesying passages in *Anarchy and Law*, *The Prison* and *L'Ame Païenne*, to the new pagan polytheism of the future as a re-creation of that ideal. Adams for his part anticipated no such re-creation of his own ideal—the religious, intellectual, artistic and moral unity symbolized by the great medieval French cathedrals; to his mind, history was moving headlong in the other direction, and showed no signs of either reversing itself or arriving circularly back at the place where the movement had begun. The closest he could come to a positive vision of the future was to remark: "The movement from unity into multiplicity, between 1200 and 1900, was unbroken in sequence, and rapid in acceleration. Prolonged one generation longer, it would require a new social mind. . . . Thus far, since five or ten thousand years, the mind had successfully reacted, and nothing yet proved that it would fail to react—but it would need to jump."²⁷ Yet even this "new social mind" which Adams conceded might be formed out of man's imperious need for a sense of unity, was a far cry from the one Brewster often foresaw growing out of the ultimate destruction of that need, and the ultimate embracing

²⁷ *The Education of Henry Adams* (Boston, 1918), p. 498.

of metaphysical "anarchy" as the most tenable *and* beneficent of philosophical views.

Of the two men, Adams was probably the more generally learned, and probably the more incisive analyst of his and the coming age's problems. As a man invested with a good deal of public responsibility himself, he also had a better grounding for his abstract views in actual political and social issues of the time, than had the leisured and uninvolved Brewster. For all his personal disengagement, however, Brewster was in his own way something of a prophet too; and, considering the influence which at least one of his books probably had on William James, he may be said to have achieved the wish he once expressed to Ethel Smyth (see footnote 6)—that of being "a prophet in his own country" though "born and bred elsewhere" and long expatriated. Except for the probable influence on James, Brewster's direct effect on later thought was negligible if not non-existent; yet, as this introductory essay has tried to show, enough of his writing anticipated, even where it could not influence, major literary and philosophical achievements of the past half-century to establish him as a writer impressively ahead of his time and worth reconsidering in our own.



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America as "Asylum": A Dual Image

WHEN THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES PASSED THE LAW RESTRICTING immigration to 150,000 persons each year it officially brought to an end an already waning conception of America as asylum for the oppressed and homeless of the Old World. The year was 1924, just one hundred and fifty years after the asylum theme had been promulgated in a pseudonymous leader in the *Pennsylvania Journal*. Immigration policy would henceforth be selective and restrictive rather than indiscriminate and casual. One image of America had disappeared; the lines of Emma Lazarus on the Statue of Liberty—perhaps the best articulation of this image—were no longer relevant:

Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed, to me.

In 1776 Thomas Paine, in *Common Sense*, had defined the future role of the New World as "the *asylum* for the persecuted lovers of civil and religious liberty from every part of Europe."¹ Paine thereby publicized America as a place where the immigrant could be born again and be freed from the oppressions that had plagued him in the Old World. Further, he implied that not only was it the privilege of the refugee to come here but also it was the responsibility of America to receive him. This single line of Paine had such forceful implications among political liberals here and elsewhere that it became for half a century almost proverbial in use. As a matter of fact, some scholars of American immigration have adopted the word *asylum* to designate that particular theory of unrestricted immigration which seeks to open the United States to all

¹ *The Works of Thomas Paine* (Philadelphia, 1797), I, 20. Throughout this paper I have italicized *asylum* wherever it has appeared in a quotation.

those seeking refuge from political or religious (rather than economic) oppression abroad.² The idea of abandoning the Old World for the New was not, of course, original with Paine, but the term *asylum* in reference to America seems not to have been used before the 1770s. The frequency of its use—as well as the misunderstandings resulting from its misuse—proves that it had a tremendous impact upon the public imagination.

At the outset, it should be noted that Thomas Paine publicized the asylum concept—he did not originate it. The credit for it must go to Charles Lee, the anti-monarchical English officer who later became second-in-command of the Colonial armies. As early as 1766, after a trip through eastern Europe, Lee was following protest movements in America with increasing excitement. Having found Europe “one continued desert” and having seen only universal death and famine, he foresaw in the New World the single beacon of hope for humanity. To his sister Lee wrote in that year:

May God prosper the Americans in their resolution, that there may be one *Asylum* at least on the earth for men, who prefer their natural rights to the fantastical prerogative of a foolish perverted head because it wears a Crown.³

This letter, while not published during the author's lifetime, nevertheless anticipates his widely reprinted editorial in the *Pennsylvania Journal* for June 29, 1774. Fearing that abrogations of human liberty in France and England would infect America as well, Lee announced his theory of America as the last asylum of liberty some two years before Paine's *Common Sense*:

The generous and liberal of all nations turn their eyes to this continent as the last *asylum* of liberty, which . . . has been rooted out from the other hemisphere. . . . Here, if their machinations prevail, not only the substance but the name and every vestige of liberty will be obliterated from the face of the globe.⁴

There is one significant difference between the *asylum* of Paine and Lee: while Paine considers “liberty” as a quality inherent in people, Lee is

² See, for example, Maldwyn Allen Jones, *American Immigration* (Chicago, 1960), pp. 79-80.

³ *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1871* (New York, 1872), p. 43.

⁴ Quoted in John Richard Alden, *General Charles Lee: Traitor or Patriot* (Baton Rouge, 1951), p. 54. That Paine read this editorial upon his arrival in Philadelphia five months later is likely. Such an incendiary document would have been difficult to miss. Further, on at least one occasion Paine conversed with Lee and is known to have admired his political views (Alden, p. 107).

concerned with liberty merely as an abstraction. Subsequent writers who used the asylum theme borrowed from Paine's work—widely reprinted in America and in Europe—not from Lee's.

During the 1780s the asylum idea underwent a change of emphasis. Since political independence was an accomplished fact, there was no need for its use as a point in the rationalization of self-government. It was now necessary to populate the barren interiors of North America and to attract immigration from Europe. Jean de Crèvecoeur used Paine's catchword as a means of justifying national feeling among those new arrivals who were not yet assimilated into American life and as a means of drawing potential immigrants from Europe:

In this great American *asylum*, the poor of Europe have by some means met together, and in consequence of various causes; to what purpose should they ask one another what countrymen they are?⁵

Paine and Crèvecoeur were primarily responsible for the publicizing of the asylum idea in France, where it was especially a dominant image of America. Two abortive attempts by French visionaries to establish colonies in the United States in the decades following—Asylum, Pennsylvania, a royalist venture, and Champ d'Asile in Texas—show how deeply the asylum idea penetrated the French mind.⁶

Two years after Crèvecoeur's work, John Filson implored "the unfortunate of the earth" to seek a new life in the wilderness of North America. In the central portions of "the extensive American empire" nature overrules antiquated forms of government "so long prostituted to the most criminal purposes, [and] establishes an *asylum* . . . for the distressed of mankind."⁷ Filson, who returned to the dichotomy of Rousseau—noble nature and ignoble society—further defined the asylum idea by insisting upon the obligations America has in receiving "as friends, as brothers" the unfortunate and the dispossessed of Europe. During this decade the asylum theme first was introduced into American fiction in several stories of some cultural, but no literary, interest.⁸

⁵ *Letters from an American Farmer* (London, 1782), p. 49.

⁶ See Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration 1607-1806* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941), pp. 63 and 92.

⁷ *The Discovery, Settlement, and Present State of Kentucke* (Wilmington, Del., 1784), p. 108.

⁸ Perhaps the earliest is "The Triumph of Nature," in which two European lovers prepare to escape to the United States in order to seek "an *asylum* against tyranny" and "some *asylum* where providence may protect them from persecutors." (*American Magazine*, I [August 1788], 659 and 661.) The author of "Joseph and Sophia" writes of the immigrant to South Carolina who finds that ". . . the Almighty author of the Universe has bounteously reserved this western world as a happy *asylum* to the distressed of Europe." (*New York Magazine*, III [January 1792], 36.)

During the National Period, when the United States came under attack by European detractors, American writers supported the asylum idea as one of the strongest arguments for distinctive Americanism. Rather than being ashamed of our policy of admitting all persons to our shores, this would be a source of pride. Irving was troubled, however, by what he regarded as an increasing antipathy on the part of Americans toward foreigners of any kind. He feared that the irascibility of English writers on America would seriously endanger our tolerance of Europeans generally and our own sense of cohesiveness as a nation:

Opening, too, as we do, an *asylum* for strangers from every portion of the earth, we should receive all with impartiality. It should be our pride to exhibit an example of one nation, at least destitute of national antipathies. . . .⁹

It is clear that Irving felt pride in viewing the cosmopolitan nature of the American people. The English, however, viewed it in two ways. Most English travelers looked with scorn upon a nation composed largely of runaways from Europe or direct descendants of them. The American "asylum" was the subject for innumerable obvious puns. On the other hand, some of them, like Henry B. Fearon, contended that the asylum idea was a hoax without real grounds for support. America was not really as friendly to immigrants as it pretended to be. Fearon quoted the speech of a disenchanted immigrant who made sarcastic reference to "this 'asylum for the oppressed of all nations.'" The speaker had expected to find "exemption from that religious persecution and civil tyranny, whose inexorable reign had forced us from our native country," but in America he had found a tyranny "much less tolerable than that from which we fled."¹⁰ Strong notes of cynicism and xenophobia were now being heard, and they would increase in the decades to follow.

Vociferous criticism of the asylum idea resulted from several causes. It was claimed that European countries were unloading their paupers and their criminals upon us and were restricting the emigration of their better classes of people. Cries that America had been converted into a "penal colony" began to be heard in political campaigns and in legislative sessions. Perhaps it was more significant that in the larger cities ethnic groups like "Young Ireland" threatened to assume control at the polls. But there was still sufficient faith in the ability of the country to absorb all Europeans who wished to come to America so that no drastic measures were taken to restrict their immigration. There also seemed to

⁹ "English Writers on America," *The Works of Washington Irving* (New York, 1853), II, 74.

¹⁰ *Sketches of America* (2d ed.; London, 1818), p. 349.

be a residue of the older political idealism that had instituted the asylum idea in the eighteenth century. Thus even avowedly xenophobic writers were reluctant to turn the tides of immigration backward; but they did suggest that first-generation Americans not be permitted to vote. Samuel Whelpley re-defined the asylum idea to admit refugees but to keep them in a subservient position: "Let foreigners find in this country an *asylum* of rest, an escape from oppression . . . but let them be exonerated from the toils of government."¹¹ Somewhat stronger on the same subject was Joseph R. Fry, whose thesis was that immigrants could never become Americans: "We do not deny that the alien should find an *asylum* in our country, but we deny that he ought to claim the right of regulating our affairs. . . . We are willing he should enjoy every right but that of government."¹²

Opposed to these proposals for the limitation of rights that should be granted to immigrants were the arguments of liberals like Parke Godwin, William Cullen Bryant and Samuel G. Goodrich. For them an abrogation of the asylum idea would be tantamount to a betrayal of the first impulse that led man to the New World—the hope of building his life anew without the oppressions of a stratified and static society, as in Europe. In 1825 Bryant, in a review of Catherine Sedgwick's *Redwood*, restated the thesis of Thomas Paine:

Our country is the *asylum* of the persecuted preachers of new religions, and the teachers of political doctrines which Europe will not endure; a sanctuary for dethroned princes, and the consorts of slain emperors.¹³

And in the heat of the outcry against the Irish during the 1840s Goodrich made an eloquent plea for the friendly reception of all foreigners:

Our hills, and valleys, and rivers, stretch from ocean to ocean, belting the entire continent of the New World; and over this rich and boundless domain, Providence has poured the atmosphere of liberty. Let these poor sufferers come and breathe it freely. Let our country be the *asylum* for the oppressed of all lands.¹⁴

But the decades of the 1840s and 1850s witnessed a decline in the power of the last-asylum theme to hold the public imagination. The first national convention of the Native American Party met in Philadelphia on July 4, 1845 with the open intention of defending America against

¹¹ *A Compend of History from the Earliest Times* (8th ed.; Boston, 1825), II, 204.

¹² "Emigration of Foreigners," *Western Monthly Magazine*, V (1836), 745.

¹³ Quoted in William Cullen Bryant, *Representative Selections*, ed. Tremaine McDowell (New York, 1935), p. 183.

¹⁴ *Ireland and the Irish* (Boston, 1841), p. 112.

"encroachments of foreign influence." Their statement of principles, while admitting that formerly immigrants were drawn from the best classes of foreign population, condemned the present class of foreigners seeking asylum in the New World. Further, it warned that America had become "the lazar house and penal colony of Europe."¹⁵ "America for Americans" was now being heard more often than "America as asylum."

The disenchantment of American intellectuals with respect to the asylum idea increased after the Civil War. The phrase is seldom found except in a skeptical context. Francis Parkman, for example, used it in the preface to the fourth edition of *The Oregon Trail* in 1872:

We knew that a few fanatical outcasts were groping their way across the plains to seek an *asylum* from gentile persecution, but we did not imagine that the polygamous hordes of Mormon would rear a swarming Jerusalem in the bosom of solitude itself. . . . Had we foreseen it, perhaps some perverse regrets might have tempered the ardor of our rejoicing.¹⁶

Parkman reflects a sense of loss in having witnessed the populating of the vast regions of the West; he is little concerned with the asylum concept that had been announced by Paine a century before. Better a vacant wilderness than swarming cities "among the haunts of the grizzly bear." It was at least consistent that the book which dramatized the penetration of Americans to the Pacific should be the same book which reflected the demise of Paine's thesis. A full circle of an American image had been completed. The ideological distance between Parkman and the Congress of 1924 was inconsiderable. The reverberations of the eighteenth-century liberals were eventually silenced by conservatives of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In tracing the evolution of the asylum image, one finds it almost exclusively the property of the middle colonies. Historians of American immigration are incorrect when they link it with the earlier settlement of New England.¹⁷ In New England immigration policy was always more rigorous and selective. Beginning as early as the 1630s foreigners were carefully scrutinized and many were shipped back to Europe as persons "unmeet to inhabit there."¹⁸ The governors could place anyone on a month's probation, and undesirables could be whipped and expelled from the plantation. The New England colonist was not, in the strictest

¹⁵ Quoted in *Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem*, ed. Edith Abbott (Chicago, 1926), p. 747.

¹⁶ *The Oregon Trail* (7th ed.; Boston, 1880), pp. vii-viii.

¹⁷ See Jones, pp. 79-80.

¹⁸ Hansen, p. 32.

sense, a refugee from anything. He was a member of an elect body laboring in a nation ordained by God. Propagandists of New England like William Stoughton, Thomas Johnson and John Adams justified their colonies by reference to Divine Providence. The asylum idea, on the other hand, had nothing to do with ordination by God; it was framed by considerations of political and economic, not religious, refuge. The heart of the asylum image is to be found in the pragmatic and rationalistic thought of the Middle Colonies during the latter half of the eighteenth century. There it was at first an idealistic conception of what America ought to be in relation to Europe. Finally it became a term of near-abuse during the great rise in population of American cities in the era of "Know-Nothingism." In the present century echoes of it are faintly heard during periods of political terrorism abroad, but only faintly.



Notes

The New Philosophy Satirized in American Fiction

OF all the methods, speeches, sermons, articles, tracts and verse used by English conservatives to combat the theories of William Godwin and his followers, not the least significant was the novel. Godwin himself, as well as Mary Wollstonecraft, Thomas Holcroft, Mary Hays and others, had shown how effective the novel could be as a propaganda instrument. Taking a hint from this, genuine conservatives, alarmed at the spread of radicalism and the French Revolution, and opportunists who sought to sell their writings by participating in a popular trend seized upon the novel as one means of attacking the New Philosophy (the name given to a loosely-joined complex of liberal political and philosophical concepts) and its proponents, mainly Godwin.¹ More numerous in quantity than one might suspect and of course varying greatly in quality, the anti-Godwin novels constitute a minor chapter in the history of the English novel. As a type² they exhibit most of the forms of the eighteenth-century satirical novel, ranging from straight parodies, such as the anonymous *St. Godwin* (1800) based on Godwin's *St. Leon* (1799); to imitations of *Don Quixote*, such as Charles Lucas' *The Infernal Quixote* (1801); to general satires, such as Elizabeth Hamilton's *Memoirs of Modern Philosophers* (1800). This kind of novel, directed against the New Philosophy in general and Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft in particular, reached its peak both in number and bitterness around the turn of the century but continued to appear frequently as late as the second decade of the nineteenth century.³

¹ See B. Sprague Allen, "The Reaction against William Godwin," *MP*, XVI (September 1918), 57-75. See also Edith Birkhead, *The Tale of Terror* (New York, 1921), p. 116; Archibald B. Shepperson, *The Novel in Motley* (Cambridge, 1936), *passim*; Montague Summers, *The Gothic Quest* (London, [1938]), p. 401; and Joyce M. S. Tompkins, *The History of the Popular Novel in England, 1770-1800* (London, 1932), pp. 296-328.

² In some other novels, anti-Godwinism is not the main subject, but occurs as merely one item of satire among many others or occurs in what is otherwise a conventional novel.

³ For example, Godwin appears as Mr. Mandeville, a philosopher whose private life is much at odds with his theories, in the anonymous *Prodigious!!! or, Childe Paddie in London* (London, 1818), III, 66-76. As a popular target Godwin has been replaced however by Byron, who is represented here (I, 165-75) as Lord Woeful.

The New Philosophy was well known in America where the ideas of Godwin exerted an influence on men of affairs such as Jefferson. Godwin's influence has also been noted on such figures as James Ogilvie, Orestes Brownson, William Ellery Channing and Bronson Alcott.⁴ The principal impact of Godwin in American literature is of course to be seen in the writings of Charles Brockden Brown, but a number of lesser imitators are known. For example, William Dunlap mentioned in his diary for 1797 a plan, never carried out, to write a Godwinian novel and likewise in 1798 stated a plan for another such novel to be entitled "Charles Thompson," including the opening paragraphs for it. Dunlap adapted *Caleb Williams* into a drama *The Man of Fortitude*, performed in New York on June 7, 1797, and published there in 1807.⁵ In similar fashion, John Daly Burk used part of *St. Leon* for his play *Bethlem Gabor*, printed at Petersburg, Virginia, in 1807 after having been performed earlier in that state.⁶ A lesser degree of influence by Godwin has also been observed on Poe, Simms and Hawthorne.⁷ Probably the only example of this kind of influence in American poetry is a poem written by William Martin Johnson in 1796 relating to *Caleb Williams*.⁸

The hostile reaction in America to the New Philosophy was largely expressed in speeches, sermons, articles and reviews. The satire against it was almost entirely confined to verse, which was extensive. The Hartford Wits, both in their individual poems and joint productions such as *The Political Green House* (1799), included the New Philosophers among the targets of their Federalistic wrath.⁹ Federalists in general traced all the faults of the Jeffersonians—atheism, faction, egalitarianism, etc.—to the French philosophers and Godwin, who was always regarded as a Jacobin by the Federalists. Typical of such verse satires was Thomas Fessenden's *Democracy Unveiled, or Tyranny Stripped of the Garb of Patriotism* (Boston, 1805). Fessenden traces the development of Jacobinism, beginning in France with Rousseau, the Encyclopedists and the Revolution; represented in England by Godwin; and spread in America by Jefferson and his supporters. He warns that unless the demagogues and democrats are stopped they will destroy all law and liberty in America.¹⁰

⁴ Osborne Earle, "The Reputation and Influence of William Godwin in America" (Doctor's thesis Harvard 1938), pp. 123-211.

⁵ Earle, pp. 212-35.

⁶ Earle, pp. 236-57.

⁷ Earle, pp. 258-75, 360-418.

⁸ Earle, pp. 437-38.

⁹ See Carl Holliday, *The Wit and Humor of Colonial Days (1607-1800)* (Philadelphia, 1912), pp. 233-45.

¹⁰ Cited by George L. Roth, "Verse Satire on 'Faction,' 1790-1815," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XVII (October 1960), 477-79.

The main reason that almost all of this kind of satire was expressed in verse is that the concise nature of poetry made it easy to include poems in newspapers and pamphlets. This provided a more available and immediate form of publication than the novel would offer. Then too the novel was still held in very low esteem in America by the conservative-minded readers to which such satire was addressed. The writers of it themselves would naturally have turned first to the more traditional form of satire—verse.

It is true that there were occasional bits of such satire expressed in prose in American magazines. An example would be the statement by a contributor in the *New York Magazine* (1797), which deals humorously with the effects of Godwin's doctrine of perfectibility on his wife. He observes, "I have little doubt that she looks forward with earnest hope to that happy day when the furniture of a house shall arrive at perfection, when wainscot shall be impregnable to dust, when plate shall shine in perpetual brightness, and the voice of scourers shall be heard no more."¹¹ Such references as this, of course, were not substantial enough to have much of an effect as satire.

In American fiction there is only one example, and that a very weak one, of the kind of satirical novel which was used in England against the New Philosophy. This is the *Letters of Shahcoolen, a Hindu Philosopher, Residing in Philadelphia; to His Friend El Hassan, an Inhabitant of Delhi* (1802).¹² The work, published anonymously, has until recently been attributed to Samuel L. Knapp, but is now known to be the work of Benjamin Silliman (1779-1864).¹³ This early effort of his is noteworthy because it not only is a spirited attack on the New Philosophy but also purports to show the dire effects of these doctrines in America.¹⁴ It is also significant because it shows that Silliman saw, however dimly, the possibilities of the novel of ideas as a weapon of satire in America while most of his countrymen were still using verse.

¹¹ Cited by Herbert R. Brown, *The Sentimental Novel in America 1789-1860* (Durham, N. C., 1940), p. 153.

¹² Boston. Page references to this work will hereafter be indicated by parentheses in the text. The letters were first published individually in the *New York Commercial Advertiser* in 1801 and were reprinted anonymously in other Federalist newspapers.

¹³ At the time of the publication of the *Letters*, Silliman was a tutor at Yale College and a law student with strong Federalist views. He is best known for his work in science, having served as professor of chemistry and natural history at Yale and as the editor of *The American Journal of Science*. For this identification of Silliman as the author, as well as for an account of his career and a general analysis of the *Letters*, see Ben H. McClary, Introduction to *Letters of Shahcoolen* (1802). By Benjamin Silliman (Gainesville, Fla., 1962).

¹⁴ The *Letters of Shahcoolen* touches on other subjects such as Hindu literature and on American poetry and poets, but the New Philosophy is its main concern.

Silliman possibly modeled his title and general scheme in the *Letters of Shahcoolen* after the English anti-Godwinian *Letters of a Hindu Rajah* (1797) of Elizabeth Hamilton. Although the convention of the foreigner writing home was common enough, a literary man of conservative tastes, such as Silliman was, probably would have known about a popular novel of this kind. Novels directed against the New Philosophy such as *Memoirs of Modern Philosophers* (1800) and George Walker's *The Vagabond* (1799) were successful enough in England to go through three editions within three years¹⁵ so that it is likely that Silliman would have encountered them in America. While he does not cite any of these novels specifically, he echoes their general tone and viewpoint.

Speaking through Shahcoolen, Silliman expresses genuine alarm at the growth of the New Philosophy in America. He notes that the "new Philosophy has spread, in a greater or less degree, over the whole of civilized Europe, and it is *inculcated*, and believed by multitudes in America." (p. 14) Concerning the popularity of the New Philosophy in America, he goes on to say that it "is the ruling topic of discussion; it is perpetually contested and advocated, by the learned and the great; while the lowest classes of society . . . implicitly believe the dogmas, which they are taught." (p. 19)

Silliman catalogues all of the developments in America which as a conservative he dislikes. He observes that the Bible is the subject of ridicule and "blasphemous levity," that priests are "loaded with obloquy and contempt," that churches are used for "profane occasions," that the national leaders are "the jest of every vulgar tongue." (pp. 15-17) Silliman puts his finger on the source of this trouble.

I AM told that the state of things which I have described, is imputed in part, to the influence of the new philosophy. It is the spirit of this philosophy to reduce all things to one common level; to pull down the Gods from their thrones, and to trample the kings of the earth in the dust. It interferes in every concern of public, and of private life; and aims at a total change in every department of society. (pp. 17-19)

In general, he equates the New Philosophy with political liberalism and the Jeffersonian party with which he evidently had little sympathy.¹⁶

Silliman makes little direct mention of Godwin, nor, as might be expected, does he deal with Tom Paine. The American novelist Mrs. Tenney mentions Paine in her *Female Quixotism* (1801) but none of

¹⁵ Allen, p. 64.

¹⁶ Silliman studied law under Simeon Baldwin and David Daggett, "probably the two most active opponents of Jeffersonian Republicanism in Connecticut." McClary, p. v.

the English radical thinkers. She speaks of one of her characters, a Mr. M., as having corrupt principles "owing to a book he is very fond of, writ by one Tom Paine, who I am sure deserves the gallows for leading men astray from their wives and families." Her villainous Wheaton follows the concepts of "Jacobinism, atheism and illuminatism," but he has picked up these ideas from residence in France. She laments through one of her characters that such "pernicious sentiments, the growth of other climes, have found their way to this once happy country, so justly celebrated for the domestic felicity of its inhabitants."¹⁷ Verse satire of Paine, of course, goes back to the Revolution when such Loyalists as James Rivington and Jonathan Odell¹⁸ bitterly attacked him.

Silliman traces in considerable detail the effect of the New Philosophy on the women of America. While the lapse of morals is not as complete as in France, where "a spirit of refined voluptuousness" is cherished, he thinks that it is extensive. (pp. 39-40) According to Silliman, American women in 1802 are in a dangerous state, being given over to card playing, theater going and novel reading, especially in that dissipated city Philadelphia. (pp. 40-59) Their dresses are low cut, "adhesive" and transparent. (p. 41) He lays much of this at Mary Wollstonecraft's door, especially the fashionable use of profanity. He relates that the American woman may "*curse* her fate at the card table, *damn* the soul of her partner for his inattention to the game, *swear* that *this* was the most unlucky incident of her life and grace every exclamation, by an impious appeal to her GOD." (p. 45) American women, Silliman says, to a "partial degree" follow Mary Wollstonecraft's recommendation for athletic exercise. He recounts from his experience a girl who can vault from the ground into the saddle and a lady of Salem¹⁹ who "initiates young virgins" into the sport of ice skating. He comments wryly that "One would suppose, that the narrow apparel of fashionable females, would greatly impede the exertions of the fair one's *energies*. . . ." (p. 47) Repeatedly he laments the "attempt to substitute that robustness of character," which he believes Mary Wollstonecraft inculcates, "in the place of that delightful tenderness, which adorns every female action, which enlivens prosperity, and smooths the pillow of grief." (p. 48)

Silliman is not optimistic that the New Philosophy and its effects will soon disappear in America. At the close of his book, he has his Hindu philosopher engage in a debate with a new philosopher, whom Silliman calls the Philadelphia philosopher.²⁰ This latter says of the present state

¹⁷ Mrs. Tabitha (Gilman) Tenney, 1841 ed., III, 206-7.

¹⁸ See Holliday, pp. 112-13, 133-34.

¹⁹ A Mrs. Abigail Rogers, falsely accused of this. McClary, p. xiii.

²⁰ Perhaps William Bartram, the naturalist. McClary, p. viii.

of things, " 'REPUBLICANISM [which is the same thing as the New Philosophy according to Shahcoolen] has made a glorious progress in America. A philosopher and philanthropist [Jefferson] is in the chair of supreme magistracy, and the minions of monarchy and aristocracy are skulking into private life.' " (p. 139) He demands even more progress. " 'BUT what . . . signifies this, so long as a distempered and unnatural state of civilization, continues to corrupt the original innocence, and cramp the natural freedom of man? I sigh for the primitive state of nature and confidently trust, that this century will see it restored.' " (p. 139) Shahcoolen counters with such arguments as that the Indians, far from being noble, are often savages in the worst sense. And although Silliman gives his Philadelphia philosopher the skill of a Philadelphia lawyer, he naturally allows his mouthpiece Shahcoolen to have the last word on every point. Nevertheless here and throughout the book, it is obvious that he considers the New Philosophy to be a serious and continuing menace to America.

Silliman's work lacks the detached humor of most of the English anti-Godwinian productions. His tone of greater urgency was probably caused by the circumstance that Republicanism was in power in America whereas in England such a victory was merely a possibility, even if regarded as an imminent one. In general terms, however, the *Letters* reveal a striking similarity of outlook between the American and British conservatives of that period.²¹

EMERSON ROBERT LOOMIS, *University of Alabama*

A Swedish View in 1826 of American Character

CARL AUGUST GOSSELMAN (1800-43) was a Swedish naval officer who accompanied an expedition to Colombia in 1825 and 1826 and subsequently published a widely read travel account of his experiences, *Resa i Colombia aaren 1825 och 1826*, 2 vols. (Stockholm, 1828. 3rd ed., 1864). Before returning to Sweden, Gosselman spent the autumn of 1826 in the United States. He visited New York City, traveled on the Hudson River and the Erie Canal, admired Niagara Falls and finally took in Washington,

²¹ The research for this article was made possible by a summer grant from the University of Alabama Research Committee.

D. C. before returning to New York and departing for Sweden on January 1, 1827. Some years later he published an account of his American journey, *Resa i Norra Amerika*, 2 vols. (Nyköping, 1835), in which, in chapter xiv of Vol. II, pp. 286-94, he attempts to analyze the American character by comparing Jonathan Yankee with John Bull. The comparison, in my translation, follows.

John Bull and Jonathan Yankee

Everyone knows that Jonathan is a descendant of John Bull, and even more closely related to the Old Man than the latter will admit. That he was not an "older son" is that much more certain since many maintain that he was only a natural child. However this may be, he has been considerably corrupted and for valid reasons. He left his father's house, where he had not enjoyed any special sense of well-being, while still young and subsequently never returned, but rather took up residence far from his home. Father John, who to some degree had shown the whipper-snapper to the door, took him back in his good graces and noted with pleasure that things were going well for him, particularly since it did not affect his own purse or his other sons' share of the inheritance. He helped Jonathan both with word and deed, but when the boy had finally become old enough not to need any guardian a lot of disputes arose between them. It finally went so far that Jonathan spoke out his mind and threw off all filial obedience and did not want to have anything more to do with the Old Man whom he now openly called a stepfather. The separation did not take place without abuse and quarreling, and Jonathan finally pounded the table so hard that the Old Man found him in earnest, and since then father and son have not met.

They do not suit each other particularly well. Jonathan has been corrupted both bodily and spiritually, as much to his advantage as to his disadvantage due to the freer and more self-willed life he has lived so long. The old Squire, who has always been and still affects to be the complete gentleman, is characterized by a noble bearing, which together with his remarkable fastidiousness in dress lend to his tall, in recent years somewhat corpulent, figure a certain dignity if not distinction. Jonathan has to be sure papa's tall and sturdy size, but not his way of moving about: he walks with bended knees, leans his whole body forward and swings his arms—all of which, according to his own assertion, comes from hard work, for he is not afraid to dig in, but is actually only self-indulgence, which is clearly seen in his apparel. This does not always fit his figure well and seems often to have been thrown on in a hurry without generally being brushed, all of which Jonathan will not dispute for he maintains

that he has other things to do than dress himself well and can use his money in better ways than paying a wastrel of a valet whom he could never tolerate in his father's house.

In the big household of the old Squire, where everything is done properly, two other persons are salaried with whom Jonathan in his youth could never get along and who were largely the cause of his leaving home. These were the House Chaplain and the Tutor. Jonathan still maintains his aversion for the former's self-importance and great pretensions and himself maintains neither chaplain nor family preacher but goes to church when and where he can. Hereby he has not lost in godliness but gained in tolerance and freedom from prejudice and is, in this case, both wiser and more loveable than his honorable father. His antagonism for the tutor disappeared as soon as he got away from the pedant's precincts, and since then Jonathan has been deeply sorry that he did not more diligently make use of his lessons and less often deserve the rod. He is in fact too clever not to realize how useful the sciences would be even on his newly cultivated farms, and he is seeking, as much as his other activities permit, to correct this mistake. He is constantly borrowing books from the great family library and though the Squire is careful with his well bound volumes, Jonathan gets them by hook or crook and has them copied immediately. Thus, Jonathan certainly does not possess any higher knowledge but is, on the other hand, much better off in the useful subjects than many others.

This negligent upbringing as well as contacts with lower-class people, who were Jonathan's only company in his isolated country place, have had a great influence on his behavior. He is somewhat too direct, somewhat less than polite to strangers of some social standing, although hospitable to all. He can, for example, never learn to bow or dance and is, in general, not a very pleasant person to associate with socially. He is certainly very inclined to brag and praises himself more than others; he does not understand the first simple rules in the art of social grace. He is not well-mannered with ladies, although he thinks he is. His politeness toward the gentle sex is the same as his father's fear of God; in order not to be troubled by it one gets it over with at once. John Bull concentrates his religious piety in the keeping of the Sabbath, during which he hermetically seals himself off from the affairs and pleasures of the world. Jonathan falls all over himself to give the place of honor to every female individual he meets, but that's the long and short of it. He leaves her there alone and is pleased to have got away so cheaply. Jonathan has, in addition, some bad habits which are not suitable for the company of ladies; he not only takes snuff, as papa taught him, but also smokes and chews

tobacco, which the Old Man, on the other hand, cannot stand. Furthermore, there's a difference in diet between father and son, as a result of which the former is solemn whereas the latter laughs. The Squire never consumes spirits before dinner, which he eats late in the day, but is, on the other hand, not afraid of getting drunk at home in the evening. Jonathan is not at all a slave to any old customs; he both eats and drinks when and where he can and wants to, and if he feels like it, he can take one or two snorts in the middle of the morning.

On the other hand, Jonathan has gained a good deal by having come out into the world among strange people so early. He has no prejudices and no vanity, unusual energy and much cleverness. He is thrifty and economical, seldom embarrassed and never loses his head. When he first took possession of his great plantations, he did not have any special help from others; he had to rely therefore on his own skill and has therefore exercised his natural perspicacity and hardiness. He is, therefore, a kind of, as he himself calls it, "Jack of all trades," capable of everything. He is peaceful by inclination and does not fight except when he is attacked, but then he is dangerous to dispute with for he has good weapons and knows how to use them. He is industrious and understands better how to accumulate money than how to use it up with taste. He cannot, at the same time, be called stingy, he is even generous toward the poor, but he cannot stand idlers. As soon as any beggar appears, he gives him something to do, and if he won't work he shows him to the door immediately. If the poor chap becomes offensive, he seizes him, to be sure, but not to hang him, as his father does, but rather to force the scoundrel to do the work he had formerly offered him. He is more tolerant than others and never argues about matters of religion but lets everyone believe what he wants to; at the same time, he doesn't like lazy priests or fat monks. He is moral in his habits and domestic as much as his outside tasks and the many duties of his big property permit; these call him nonetheless from his home and he is consequently often seen roaming about his possessions.

He looks after most things himself and cannot stand any highly paid inspector or farm-manager whom he maintains live off the farmers. There is also a big difference between his father's housekeeping and Jonathan's. John Bull, Esq., is proud of his title and lives like a respectable lord, has a quantity of important and unimportant servants, all well fed and paid, yet there are also poor people on the big estate whose rents are high. Jonathan does not care about being called anything but plain Mr. Yankee, lives like a poor country squire and loves prosperous farmers as much as he hates splendid servants. The old Squire has in addition the rather

strange vanity of, for better or worse, getting himself involved in his neighbors' disputes, and considering it his duty, without request, to set things right everywhere—which has cost him many a penny. The Old Man also is up to his ears in debt. Jonathan does not give a damn about the squabbles of the world as long as *he* can sit in peace; loves work more than fights, and has therefore paid off his planting loan and redeemed the mortgages, although he had but empty hands to start with. He is, in one word, solvent and is not troubled by creditors, while his papa John has enough to do to maintain his dignity on the encumbered and entailed estate.

What has helped Jonathan's circumstances a good deal is his wise internal economy. He has, in fact, a very frugal wife. She married of her own free will against the wishes of her father; made a so-called mesalliance but lives, as she herself insists, the happiest life in the world. His wife is not of "family" although she has had relatives who, in former times, were very powerful. She is to the utmost bourgeois and domestic like a true Phoenix among the other wealthy wives; she is satisfied with a little household money and demands no pin money at all. She hates all luxury, dresses very simply, and has the fixed idea of showing her feminine charms less with airs and parties than with her own big brood of children. The children are certainly healthy and sturdy plants, but a guest at a family dinner is not likely to be plagued by a swarm of more saucy, conceited and undisciplined kids than these. Both papa and mama praise, however, their intelligence and will talk at great length about how clever they are and of how much good they have already had of them, while the unmanageable young ones make a terrible racket with the plates and knives—which would be unforgivable if there were other domestics to serve. The children, namely, take turns waiting on the table and therefore take many unnecessary steps back and forth in the room. While doing this they usually pull on "uncle's" shirt and ask him stupid questions, wondering if he gets such good food at home, or if the "cousins" have boots as they do.

Jonathan lives a happy life at home and is, at bottom, a wise, capable fellow, although neither he nor his family are truly pleasing for strangers.

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Reviews

Conducted by Theodore Hornberger

"The Apartment": Hollywood Remakes Its Bed

WHETHER OR NOT IT DESERVED ITS FIVE OSCARS FOR 1960, "THE APARTMENT," along with several other recent films, does clearly reverse older cinematic treatments of sex, revealing a drastic change in American mores. At the same time, paradoxically enough, despite its comparative sexual frankness as to detail, the film essentially is even less realistic (and profoundly more immoral) than its predecessors.

Traditionally in Hollywood the physical details of love have been taboo while the moral at the end of the rainbow has been made painfully clear: virtue pays, sin is punished. Nor after punishment is there hope for the sinner. But in "The Apartment," even though the characters are to type, the formula changes. The gay seducer (Fred MacMurray) enjoys the favors of the sentimental heroine (Shirley MacLaine) at the dwelling of the quasi-hero (Jack Lemmon), an up-and-coming organization man. Lemmon's rapid success results from the strategic loan of his apartment to amorous executives whose own residences are cluttered with cocker spaniels and wives.

So far the basic formula is the same, but the change comes when the seduced heroine (who is not a tramp but a *nice* girl) survives her suicide attempt and goes on to the promise of successful cohabitation with her new and legally eligible true love, the now morally rejuvenated organization man Lemmon. In short, what has taken place is complete rehabilitation. It is this prospect of the sexual sinner triumphing in the end that is so startlingly new for Hollywood films and for American popular culture in general.

Americans have always denied this possibility. In the sentimental novel that dominated early American reading, beginning with Richardson's portrayal of seduced maidens, captivating libertines and reformed rakes in *Pamela* (1744), virtue always had a cold cash value: happiness and success; sin meant if not death by benefit of suicide or Indians, at least an agony exquisite in its length and intensity. Writers oscillated between their desire to titillate their female audience through vicarious thrills, and their need to present a moral front to the world—exactly the same dilemma faced later by Hollywood. When native American fiction began its career somewhat apologetically in *The Power of Sympathy* (1789) it

declared its intention "to expose the dangerous consequences of seduction." Editors of journals neutralized stories with sermons. Typical was the *New York Magazine* which made its debut in 1790 with a scorching blast against novels and romances—and then included a sufficiently lurid story, "The Fatal Effects of Seduction," to set the tone and mood for many later contributions. Significantly, a common defense against charges of immorality was that the situations described were "real to life" or in fact had actually happened, the very same argument that a defender of "The Apartment" presumably might make.¹

Hollywood has employed this dual approach almost since its first movies. After audiences tired of action pictures, which featured nothing more thrilling than ever more thrilling action, the movie makers quickly discovered the perennial appeal of romance, and while pretty girls became the objects of stories and not merely incidents in rescue scenes, a wholesome, moral lesson was always inculcated by the end. Passion was poison. The good woman was always sexless.

This emphasis received its definitive form in the Motion Picture Producers' Code (Will Hays was elected president of the group in 1922). The Code expressed in almost classic terms the American denial of sensuality: "Scenes of passion," it enunciated, "should not be introduced when not essential to the plot. In general, passion should so be treated that these scenes do not stimulate the lower and baser element."² Thus all kinds of detail became taboo, from suggestion of sexual intimacy outside marriage to the display of the sex organs of an elephant. The Hays Office even recommended that one picture suggest rather than show the actions of an electric milking machine.³ This, of course, was to be Hollywood's approach: to suggest, hint, insinuate but never show the content of love, never even obliquely to identify anything connected with the "lower and baser element" as normal or desirable.

The vamps, to be sure, initiated sexual advances, but a vamp could never be mistaken for a Clara Bow, the "It Girl" who, as Gilbert Seldes

¹ For an excellent account of the seduction theme in the early sentimental novel, see Herbert Ross Brown, *The Sentimental Novel in America 1789-1860* (New York, 1959), particularly pp. 8-9 and 28-51. Brown (p. 179) observes that serious writers like Hawthorne despaired of an audience, due to the sway of the sentimental novel. "America is now wholly given over to a d—d mob of scribbling women," Hawthorne complained in a letter to William Ticknor in 1855, "and I should have no chance of success while the public taste is occupied with their trash—and should be ashamed of myself if I did succeed." Today, the sentimental novel seems to have been succeeded by the movies which, as I go on to argue, are becoming less sentimental but not more realistic.

² Quoted in Benjamin B. Hampton, *A History of the Movies* (New York, 1931), p. 300.

³ See Hortense Powdermaker, *Hollywood The Dream Factory* (Boston, 1950), particularly chap. iii, "Taboos," pp. 54-81.

has wittily remarked, suggested that the ideal mate for the American man was the captain of the girls' basketball team in the local high school.⁴ Not only was the vamp not in the Mary Pickford-Clara Bow "nice girl" tradition, but she experienced no pleasure from her sexual adventures—only revenge, ambition or desire for power. And while the early Mae West films displayed that buxom blonde as not exactly spiritual, Mae was never in the tradition of the sentimental heroine, never an appealing, clean-cut nice girl from Goose Creek, Ohio, who had fallen.

Mae West's cheerful courtesan (an American frontier version of Madame Pompadour) was succeeded by the "good-bad girl,"⁵ one of Hollywood's more ingenious solutions to its continuing problem of combining sin and virtue. For the good-bad girl conceals her virtue behind a façade of badness; enticed by the allure of sin, the viewer drools his appreciation at the box office and emerges not only titillated but morally satisfied, as the badness proves only apparent, not real, and a happy and a moral ending is possible.

The cultural significance of the good-bad girl is that she melodramatically reflects the American popular girl, whose attractiveness is directly proportional to the number of her escorts, and to the assurance that she has not gone too far sexually with them. Thus in the good-bad girl films the viewer enjoys the spectacle of sin (which of course proves illusory) and he is ultimately reassured that the courtship system in the United States actually works, that nice girls have not gone too far with their multitudes of admirers.⁶

All this is different in "The Apartment" for here the heroine *has* gone too far—she has been a bad-bad girl, not a good-bad girl! And she gets her man. Now it is true that before this happy conclusion villain Fred MacMurray loses girl and wife, Jack Lemmon gives up his job and the girl almost succeeds in her suicide attempt. But all these concessions to the older tradition of morality do not obscure the fact that as the film ends the two lovers, Lemmon and MacLaine, have found each other: he leers expectantly at her while she shuffles a deck of cards in the almost-fatal apartment. In the earlier tradition her suicide attempt would have succeeded, or he would have shot himself (we expect this at the end when, rushing to the apartment after deserting the lecher MacMurray she hears an explosion—but, in tune with these modern times, it is not a gun but a cork from a bottle).

⁴ *The Great Audience* (New York, 1950), p. 78.

⁵ Martha Wolfenstein and Nathan Leites, *Movies: A Psychological Study* (Glencoe, Ill., 1950), esp. pp. 39-42.

⁶ Wolfenstein and Leites, pp. 31-32.

Perhaps, though, the Puritan super-ego is satisfied after all, since neither Lemmon nor MacLaine is exactly equipped to be garbed in white on the wedding day. It will hardly be a marriage made in heaven; neither will be able to forget the past. But is this the case? The symbolism of the cards is decisive here, for her shuffling of the deck as the film closes suggests the chancy nature of life, that what has happened might well have happened to anyone, just as a bad hand at gin rummy can happen to anyone, that, in short, the slate can be wiped clean, be forgotten.⁷

A more stunning reversal of the older ethic cannot be imagined, and yet it all occurs so sufficiently within the context of superficial punishment that no one is outraged. Perhaps this is a reflection of the drastic changes in American sexual morality in the twentieth century. At any rate, it does vividly demonstrate the profound immorality which, in the guise of greater realism, undoubtedly will be increasingly displayed in American films of the future. For the "realistic" foreign films (such as "La Dolce Vita") have been morally acute in their stark portrayal of the enduring consequences of experience upon personality. But where the older Hollywood films were merely insipid, presenting as they did a mythical sexual morality, the new American films (with their freer use of language and of beds) destroy the older myth of the birds and the bees only by creating a more destructive myth—the belief that experience of any kind can be dismissed and eliminated from the emotional matrix of the individual, that we may be born anew at the waving of a wand, the shuffle of cards and the click of a movie projector.

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American Humor and American Culture

Two recent books on nineteenth-century Southwestern humorists¹ demonstrate anew the richness of the cultural materials and insights provided by American humor as a field of inquiry for American Studies.

⁷ The American fondness for "chance" or "luck" as explanation also distorts reality in social and economic life. "For if success is primarily a matter of luck," as Robert K. Merton observes, ". . . then surely it is beyond control and will occur in the same measure *whatever the social structure*." Thus if social structure becomes irrelevant, critical examination is unnecessary. See Merton's essay "Social Structure and Anomie" in his *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill., 1949), p. 139.

¹ Milton Rickels, *Thomas Bangs Thorpe: Humorist of the Old Southwest* (275 pp., Louisiana State University Press, 1962. \$5.00); John Q. Anderson, *Louisiana Swamp Doctor: The Life and Writings of Henry Clay Lewis* (296 pp., Louisiana State University Press, 1962. \$5.00).

The study of humor and its creators no longer seems to be an unprofitable way in which to grasp the character of a culture, regional or national. Any consideration of ante-bellum Southern culture, for example, is bound to take into account the extent to which such humorists as T. B. Thorpe—creator of the “Big Bear” school of humor—and Dr. Henry Clay Lewis represented the culture. Fortunately, Professors Rickels and Anderson have given us definitive scholarly studies, comprehensively documented, which enlarge our view of the complex character of Southern culture. Evidence in both books tends to support the conclusion arrived at more traditionally by Professor Thomas D. Clark, the historian, that neither humor in general nor its Southwestern manifestation in particular were accepted by the upper social classes of the ante-bellum South.² A glance at Thorpe and Lewis, two of the earliest and most popular of the Southwestern humorists, suggests why this may have been inevitable.

The diverse cultural backgrounds, worldly careers and literary qualities of the two writers indicate that they were not firmly rooted in the culture of slavocracy despite their overtures to it. Thorpe was a Massachusetts native whose ancestors had resided in New England since before 1639; he spent his youth in New York City, attended Wesleyan University in Connecticut, and in his early twenties headed south in order to improve his health. Lewis, long hidden behind the pseudonym of “Madison Tensas,” was the second-generation descendant of Jewish immigrants from France; he once described himself, though born in South Carolina, as a “Southerner by adoption.” Both men brought alien elements into ante-bellum Southern culture and were never fully integrated into it on a satisfactory social or material basis. Thorpe’s hopes of success in politics and journalism were frustrated, so that he spent his last years in the North. Lewis, after a youth devoted to such menial jobs as steamboat cabin-boy and cotton-field laborer, never attained the cherished social status of the plantation aristocracy which he served as a physician in his maturity. The writings of Thorpe and Lewis are so dissimilar, finally, that one can hardly regard their work as homogeneous expression. Professor Rickels makes it clear that Thorpe—except for a scatological detail in “The Big Bear of Arkansas”—wrote as a “Christian Gentleman” with a pleasant sense of humor and a romantic interest in character and nature. On the other hand, Lewis’ work is characterized by a fantasy and violence almost never found in Thorpe’s prose, and which encompassed not only the Negro and the common man but also,

² Thomas D. Clark, “Humor in the Stream of Southern History,” *The Mississippi Quarterly*, XIII (Fall 1960), 178-79.

in "The Man of Aristocratic Diseases," the plantation aristocracy and its social pretensions.

Ever since 1931, when Constance Rourke brilliantly dramatized the cultural significance of American humor,³ it has been probed for the cultural tensions and resolutions she delineated or projected. A powerful impetus for this development has been the classic controversy over Mark Twain's "frontier" humor between Van Wyck Brooks and Bernard DeVoto and their successors.⁴ Brooks' attack on that humor rested on his judgment of its debilitating cultural effect: he believed that it pandered to "business" culture and helped the latter sublimate its self-created psychic frustrations, undermine the values of high culture and evade its social responsibilities.⁵ DeVoto's defense of "frontier" humor involved him likewise in cultural criticism, in his case a favorable analysis of "frontier" culture.⁶ It is significant, finally, that one aspect of the Southern cultural renaissance that began in the 1920s has been an increased concern for the humor of the Old Southwest, critical on the part of scholars and creative on the part of writers such as Faulkner, Caldwell and Wolfe. By the 1960s some humorists—Mark Twain above all and George Washington Harris to a lesser extent—have become pivotal figures in the analysis of American and Southern culture. Perhaps the apogee of cultural interest in humor has been reached by a writer who, not always persuasively, treated Southwestern humor as if it was almost entirely a political literature.⁷

Even before the twentieth century, of course, serious commentators on American culture were aware of the importance of American humor as scholarly resource and cultural force. Two men stand out in particular for their contrasting approaches. Moses Coit Tyler, pioneer cultural historian and doughty forager in neglected stores of colonial American humor, noted in 1897 that the eighteenth-century almanac which "fur-

³ Constance Rourke, *American Humor: A Study of the National Character* (New York, 1931). "Humor has been a fashioning instrument in America, cleaving its way through the national life, holding tenaciously to the spread elements of that life. Its mode has often been swift and coarse and ruthless, beyond art and beyond established civilization. It has engaged in warfare against the established heritage, against the bonds of pioneer existence. Its objective—the unconscious objective of a disunited people—has seemed to be that of creating fresh bonds, a new unity, the semblance of a society and the rounded completion of an American type." (New York, n.d., pp. 231-32.)

⁴ See Lewis Leary, ed., *A Casebook on Mark Twain's Wound* (New York, 1962).

⁵ Van Wyck Brooks, *The Ordeal of Mark Twain* (New York, 1920; rev. 1933), *passim*. See esp. chap. ix, "Mark Twain's Humor."

⁶ Bernard DeVoto, *Mark Twain's America* (Boston, 1932), *passim*.

⁷ Kenneth S. Lynn, *Mark Twain and Southwestern Humor* (Boston, 1960).

nished so much entertainment to our ancestors . . . preserves for us so many characteristic tints of their life and thought.”⁸ Tyler also differentiated Southern colonial culture from that of New England on the basis of the former’s developed humor,⁹ a provocative conclusion for its day but now somewhat dubious. On the other hand, the Reverend Samuel Miller, one of the early systematic students of American culture, obdurately ignored American humor in 1803, even discussing Franklin as though the latter had never been a humorist.¹⁰ That Miller nevertheless was concerned with humor may be gleaned from his comments on pertinent European writers who had influenced American culture: he charged Swift “with treating serious things . . . with too much levity” and berated Fielding, Smollet and Sterne for displaying a “coarseness . . . indelicacy . . . immoral tendency . . . obscurity, whim, indecency, and extravagance” which in his opinion made their humor an inspiration for depravity and impiety.¹¹

Whatever their attitudes toward humor, more and more historians and critics of American culture recognize that its humor has played a dynamic, even radical role in our cultural experience, that “humour depends on a fixed background of conventional beliefs, attitudes, behaviour . . . [and] upsets the pattern by abruptly introducing something inappropriate.”¹² Because humor holds tenaciously to the manifold elements of national life while cleaving its way through that life, it provides cultural analysts with a complex fusion of the status quo and its antitheses, in short, culture in process of being and becoming. A striking confirmation of this general conception of humor is the fact that many humorists—the Southwestern in particular—have consciously set forth to write works which not only would be entertainment but also social history. Because humor springs forth on its mission from a fixed background of reality, it is usually grounded on a reliably realistic base. When humor does leap away, it moves freely in imaginative realms of symbol, fantasy and myth resembling those of the romances decried by the Reverend Mr. Miller:

In these performances the reader was continually presented with the wild absurdities, and the heroic exploits of knight-errantry. Giants, dragons, enchanted castles, fairies, ghosts, and all the tribe of imaginary wonders were constantly passing before him. Probability, and even

⁸ Moses Coit Tyler, *A History of American Literature, 1607-1765* (New York, 1962), p. 365.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 511-12.

¹⁰ Samuel Miller, *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1803), II, 346-48.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 168, 159-61, 165-66.

¹² D. H. Monro, *Argument of Laughter* (Melbourne, Australia, 1951), p. 241.

possibility, were little consulted. To arrest, astonish, and intoxicate the mind, seem to have been their principal objects.¹³

Because humor occurs not only in literature but also in theater, visual art, music, folklore, language, mass media, political activity, social behavior and virtually all areas of cultural expression and experience, a multiplicity of heterogeneous materials is available for study. The need for distinguishing between various elements and forms of humor, and for determining their sources and history, encourages clarification of the differences as well as the similarities of folk, popular and high culture. Because humor must be explored on many levels of existence—intellectual, physical, psychological, sociological, aesthetic, philosophical and spiritual—the individual in his uniqueness and his society in all its complexity are proper targets for exploration. Finally, the student of American humor as a cultural subject is preserved from the pitfall of nationalistic mystique. “Native” American humor possesses astonishingly strong ties with the foreign cultures from which its creators have come and with which they are still in contact.

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THE PAPERS OF JAMES MADISON. Edited by William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. Volume I, 1751-1779. xlii, 344 pp., Volume II, 1780-1781. xix, 344 pp. The University of Chicago Press, 1962. \$10.00 each volume.

THE PAPERS OF JOHN C. CALHOUN. Edited by Robert L. Meriwether. Volume I, 1801-1817. xlii, 469 pp. University of South Carolina Press, 1959. \$10.00.

THE PAPERS OF HENRY CLAY. Edited by James F. Hopkins. Volume I, 1797-1814. xv, 1037 pp. University of Kentucky Press, 1959. \$15.00.

AMERICANISTS are familiar with the collection of Franklin papers and with the Jefferson and Adams projects which are in process. Not as widely known, perhaps, are the recent opening volumes of the collected papers of James Madison, John C. Calhoun and Henry Clay. Their respective editors envision Madison's papers running to twenty volumes, the Calhoun papers to fifteen and the Clay papers to ten.

Each of the illustrious political figures was active during whole half-centuries of time. Madison's life connects the end of the colonial period with the early national period. His prominence at the Constitutional Convention is well known, as is his presidency. Until recent years,

¹³ Miller, p. 156.

however, Madison has stood in the shadow of his fellow agrarian Jefferson who was, in addition, our pre-eminent political philosopher. Madison outlived Jefferson by ten years, and it was after his death that his notes on the Constitutional Convention were published. These are now a standard source of information for the deliberations of that body.

John Caldwell Calhoun was of the succeeding generation. His career coincides with the early industrial growth of the country and then with its developing sectionalism. There were two Calhouns. The first was the young nationalist, vintage 1812, who hoped that industry would take root in the South. The second was the mature sectionalist-nullifier who saw that South Carolina and the South generally were destined to be agrarian.

Henry Clay was of Calhoun's generation and, indeed, was almost his precise contemporary as well as rival. Both were War Hawks in 1812, both were politically ambitious, although Clay doubtless more so. Clay, however, remained essentially a nationalist, if one with strong western sympathies. Although he desired the Presidency perhaps as much as any man who ever lived, he never achieved it owing to the unpredictable nature of mid-nineteenth-century politics. When he could have won he was not nominated. When he was nominated his attractive personality was not sufficient to carry him to the White House against such an issue as the annexation of Texas, on which he took a belated stand. He would probably have made a better president than most of his contemporaries, some of whom achieved the supreme prize. However that may be, his contribution to American political history is nevertheless momentous through the compromises which he engineered at crisis moments: the Compromise of 1820 permitting Missouri's entrance as a slave state and establishing the historic line of 36°30'; the compromise tariff of 1833 which permitted South Carolina to climb down from its threat of nullification; the Compromise of 1850 which probably postponed the War for Southern Independence.

The editor of the Madison papers informs us that his project will include "all extant writings of Madison which appear to have been wholly or in large degree the product of his mind." A few insignificant items, however, which do not reflect his thought will be omitted. Speeches of Madison recorded by someone who heard him will be included. "Included also are letters and other papers, addressed to him and known to have received his careful attention." In short, the editor proposes to reproduce any document of at least modest significance with which Madison was personally involved as author or recipient.

The first volume contains items from 1751 through 1779 beginning with the record of his birth and baptism and continuing through a variety of documents, mostly letters. The second volume presents items from only

two years, 1780 and 1781, when Madison is about thirty years old. The reason for the slower pace of volume two is that Madison takes his seat in the Continental Congress in March 1780, and his mind begins to be preoccupied with political matters. For example, he serves as a member of the Board of Admiralty and co-sponsors resolutions dealing with western lands. Both of these activities produce a spate of documents. It would seem that from now on the profusion of documents is going to be such that only a few years can be covered in each volume.

Robert L. Meriwether, the now deceased editor of the Calhoun papers, planned the Calhoun series with a two-fold purpose: to reproduce the most important of Calhoun's letters, reports and speeches, and to provide a Calendar of unprinted papers, appended to each volume, which would serve as a guide to the comprehensive Calhoun Collection of the South Caroliniana Library. Hence this series will print the most important Calhoun documents and will, in the Calendar, summarize and list others.

Here in the first volume of the series we have nothing reprinted from his life until his nineteenth year in 1801. Then only a handful of documents per year are included until we come to 1812 where we find items dealing mostly with the War of 1812. In fact, the bulk of the volume deals with events falling between 1812 and 1817—the war and such problems as the United States Bank and internal improvements.

The Papers of Henry Clay will offer Clay's incoming and outgoing correspondence, his business papers, his legislative proposals and committee reports, his diplomatic papers and his reported speeches and notes of speeches. Many formal documents will be summarized, but many routine matters will be omitted, as will be Clay's court work. Unfortunately, as it seems to this reviewer, the Clay volume offers no table of contents, as do the Madison and Calhoun volumes. The researcher, therefore, will have no foreknowledge of what each volume will contain and will have to proceed by year. Each page of the volume is dated, but the researcher will have to know the chronology of Clay's life if he expects to use the book expeditiously. Nor does this project apparently intend to provide a chronology to correspond to the items printed in each volume as do the Madison and Calhoun projects. This first Clay volume contains documents dating from 1797 to 1814.

Collections of documents are likely to be dull reading unless the items are selected with a view to intrinsic interest. Comprehensive collections such as these are probably doomed to be regarded as intellectual catalogues. They will not be read by anybody. They will, however, be consulted because they will be basic and invaluable source material for the scholar in American Studies, particularly in political history. As these

volumes come to life it will become increasingly necessary for the specialist to consult them with reference to the political history of the first half of the nineteenth century.

J. THEODORE HEFLEY, *Eastern Michigan University*

E. U. ESSIEN-UDOM, *Black Nationalism: A Search for an Identity in America*. xvi, 367 pp. The University of Chicago Press, 1961. \$6.95.

DURING the past several years there has been a great deal of popular discussion of extreme separatist movements among American Negroes. The "Black Muslims," who are the subject of Professor Essien-Udom's book, have attracted the most attention, created the greatest stir and experienced the most success and harshest reprisals.

Professor Essien-Udom's book is highly valuable in that it is a thorough psychological and sociological examination of "The Nation of Islam" and of those broad historical and institutional trends out of which it has grown. He argues quite accurately that this latest separatist movement, which has attracted perhaps a hundred thousand lower-strata Negroes in this country, is a measure of the degree of alienation of an important segment of our society on the one hand and a collective effort to establish a meaningful and consistent identity on the other.

A mark of that alienation is the Black Muslim's rejection of the idea of equality and integration and the projection of a separate racial state that would be physically and institutionally divorced from the surrounding white society. While this is not by any means a new type of response to the ambivalence of American ethical beliefs and discriminating practices, it is notable for the number of Negroes it has attracted and the intensity that marks their involvement.

In examining carefully a relatively minor racial movement, Professor Essien-Udom has told us much not only about the Negro subsociety, but about the broader American society itself.

WILSON RECORD, *Sacramento State College*

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF WALT WHITMAN. Edited by Edwin Haviland Miller. Volume I: 1842-1867. xii, 394 pp.; Volume II: 1868-1875. x, 387 pp. New York University Press, 1961. \$10.00 each volume.

WALT WHITMAN's comment, "I like letters to be personal—very personal—and then stop," remains the best characterization of his own correspondence. Written to his mother, to Peter Doyle, the young Washington motorman, to soldiers he had nursed in the hospitals, to Emerson, Tennyson, Dowden, Rossetti, Symonds, to publishers and editors, and to

friends, the letters range from the tenderest expressions of love and affection to "The price is \$40. Cash down on acceptance."

While the sensitivity and vigor of the poet are everywhere in evidence in the letters, it is surprising to find relatively little critical comment either on literature in general or on his own poems. The few critical comments that Whitman does make are almost always found in the letters to other literary men. And the comments frequently parallel almost exactly those found in the prefaces to *Leaves of Grass* or in *Democratic Vistas*. Although the letters to publishers and editors and to his mother and his friends contain little literary comment, they often provide valuable information relative to the composition and to the publication of his poems. But like *Leaves of Grass* itself, the correspondence primarily reveals the many-faceted personality of Whitman himself.

With meticulous editing and exhaustive annotation, Edwin Haviland Miller, editor of the present and subsequent volumes of *The Correspondence*, has for the first time systematically presented in their entirety the letters of one of our foremost poets. So sporadic and unsystematic has been the printing of Whitman's correspondence until now that almost 60 per cent of the letters collected in these first two volumes appear in print for the first time. A part of *The Collected Writings of Walt Whitman*, under the general editorship of Gay Wilson Allen and Sculley Bradley, *The Correspondence of Walt Whitman* is a major contribution to Whitman scholarship.

CLARENCE A. BROWN, *Marquette University*

MURRAY G. MURPHEY, *The Development of Peirce's Philosophy*. ix, 432 pp. Harvard University Press, 1961. \$7.50.

CHARLES SANDERS PEIRCE is the most enigmatic of American philosophers. The brilliant son of a brilliant father (Benjamin Peirce, one of Harvard's greatest mathematicians), he never succeeded during his lifetime in expressing his vision of the universe adequately. His scattered papers made seminal contributions to the development of logic, semantics, philosophy of science and mathematics. Yet "it is obvious from the character of his writings that Peirce regarded himself as a systematic philosopher" (p. 1), and this is precisely the aspect of his thought that remains most obscure.

Professor Murphey's penetrating study is devoted to the examination of Peirce's intellectual biography as a means of elucidating the systematic character of his philosophy. Murphey reaches the conclusion that Peirce's philosophy underwent a series of modifications as his understanding of logic changed and deepened, but that Peirce himself regarded these

modifications as merely revisions of an over-all system that remained the same throughout. Consequently, the philosopher continued to use the same terminology and to structure his thought in the same way, even though the meanings that he gave to his terms had changed radically. As a result, the inconsistencies that commentators have found in Peirce's thought are, for the most part, instances of the failure of the students to keep the phases of Peirce's development separate. (It is, I suppose, the chief weakness of students of philosophy to neglect the chronological factor in the explication of the ideas of any philosopher, and when, as in Peirce's case, a lively mind is at work for more than half a century during which mathematics and science, the taproots of his philosophy, are developing most rapidly, the distortion thus produced can be extreme.) Those inconsistencies that cannot be explained in this way then shine forth as the matters on which Peirce was unable to achieve clarity with the conceptual tools he was using at that stage in his development and the points of departure for his later changes of doctrine and meaning.

Proceeding from this basic insight, Murphey has expounded the modifications in Peirce's thought most ingeniously and persuasively. His book is an outstanding achievement. It should become the indispensable companion of all future studies of any aspect of Peirce's philosophy.

JOSEPH L. BLAU, *Columbia University*

ROBERT GEORGE REISNER, *Bird: the Legend of Charlie Parker*. 256 pp. The Citadel Press, 1962. \$4.95.

CHARLES "BIRD" PARKER was to modern jazz what Louis Armstrong was to an earlier generation of jazz musicians: the creator of a series of improvisations so brilliant and startling that they established a new jazz style for many instruments besides his own. He was born in a Kansas City slum; he died in the New York apartment of a baroness. Into his thirty-five years of life he packed an immense amount of raw experience; his appetites for food, liquor, drugs, women—for experience as such—were prodigious. Some of the consequences of his appetites, according to various sources, were ulcers, dropsy, heart trouble, cirrhosis, syphilis, and, at the time of his death, pneumonia. There is some dispute over which of these he had, but there is no question that he had several of them. He could be cruel and dishonest with the abstract ferocity of a natural force, yet he could be equally gentle and generous. He was a cult hero to the hipster, the beat, the "white Negro," the disengaged thrill-seeker of the new Bohemia, and for months after his death you could find the legend "Bird lives" scrawled on city walls and pavements.

You would not think that a dull book could be made out of so colorful a life, but Mr. Reisner has managed it. He has collected interviews with people who knew Parker—friends, family, fellow-musicians and assorted hangers-on. His choices are often curious; the conspicuous omissions, especially among musicians, are even more curious than the choices; and the editing is more curious than either (most of the interviews, for example, have been cut to two pages or less, and some of them have been rendered downright incoherent in the process). Having assembled his material under the name of each informant, he has then arranged it in alphabetical order. That's what I said. In alphabetical order. "Angelo Ascagni, Harold Baker, Ahmed Basheer, Bellevue Hospital, Walter Bishop, Jr., Art Blakey . . ." Bellevue Hospital is the only item on the list which is not a person, and you or I might have had a wild moment of indecision wondering whether it should go under the "B"s or the "H"s. Mr. Reisner is a librarian by trade, and he saw right away that it should go under the "B"s.

CHADWICK HANSEN, *Pennsylvania State University*

SAMUEL B. CHARTERS & LEONARD KUNSTADT, *Jazz: A History of the New York Scene*. 382 pp. Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1962. \$5.95.

THE history of jazz has often been a history of the conflict between the aesthetic demands of the music and commercial demands. As the center of the entertainment industry New York has often made itself felt. Aside from the "stride" piano style of Harlem, New York has had no jazz style of its own; before 1930 it played a far smaller part in the development of jazz than New Orleans or Chicago or Kansas City or half a dozen others. But as the entertainment industry became more and more centralized, during the twenties, New York became the musician's most obvious economic goal. It was in New York in the late twenties that Duke Ellington (of Washington, D. C.) organized a band that included Johnny Hodges (of Cambridge, Massachusetts), Barney Bigard (of New Orleans), Sonny Greer (of Long Branch, New Jersey), Harry Carney (of Boston), Louis Metcalf (of St. Louis), and—to be fair—Tricky Sam Nanton and Bubber Miley of New York. And it was in New York that Fletcher Henderson (of Cuthbert, Georgia) organized the band that, more than any other, set the swing style later adopted by Benny Goodman (of Chicago) and the other successful white bands. In the forties Minton's and Monroe's in Harlem and the clubs along 52nd Street provided the sites at which Charlie Parker (of Kansas City), Dizzy Gillespie (of Cheraw, South Carolina), Kenny Clarke (of Pitts-

burgh), Thelonius Monk (of New York) and others put together ideas they had been developing individually to form a modern jazz style.

Given all this, a history of jazz in New York must tend to be a series of somewhat disconnected encounters between individual talents, most of which have been matured elsewhere, and the New York entertainment world. (The latter is by no means monolithic. Beside the undifferentiated mass audience provided by the national entertainment industry it includes the relatively sophisticated audiences of Harlem and the Manhattan jazz nightclubs.)

Messrs. Charters and Kunstadt have done their job well. The research (primarily Mr. Kunstadt's work) is careful and well-documented; the writing (Mr. Charters' responsibility) is generally sensible, literate and free of the pretentiousness, partisanship and plain bad taste that have spoiled much writing on jazz. Between them they have uncovered and organized much new data, particularly for the early years, and corrected the factual errors and the perspectives of much earlier writing. There are inevitably some errors and omissions, and a few of the latter are surprising. There is, for example, no account of the horrendous first face-to-face encounter between jazz and the teen-aged fan, when Benny Goodman opened at the Paramount Theatre. But the faults are minor compared to the very solid achievement.

A long-playing record of musical examples, ranging from Jim Europe's "Society Orchestra" to Dizzy Gillespie's Sextet, is available from Record, Book, and Film Sales, Inc., 121 West 47th Street, New York City.

CHADWICK HANSEN, *Pennsylvania State University*

MOSES RISCHIN, *The Promised City: New York City's Jews, 1870-1914*. xi, 342 pp. Harvard University Press, 1962. \$7.50.

BETWEEN 1870 and 1914 the percentage of Jews in New York City's population rose from nine to twenty-eight percent. This increase was due to a vast migration from the Yiddish-speaking portions of the old Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires and neighboring Rumania. The story of these immigrants has been told many times, but never before with the care and the authority that Moses Rischin tells it in a new and important book.

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on the East Side early in this century. Here, for the first time, we see that life in all its fullness and vitality, and how it changed New York and how New York changed the Jews.

The chief merit of this book derives from its wealth of detail. Rischin spent some ten years on it, and his research, which can only be described as staggering, rests on many heretofore unused sources not only in English but in Yiddish, Hebrew, Ladino, Rumanian, Hungarian, Russian, German and even Italian. Rischin also had the patience to read election returns against census returns, and the imagination to place his subject in the larger context of American history. The result is not only a monograph that is indispensable for understanding the biggest of the big cities, but one that sheds light on trade unionism, voting behavior, journalism, the theater, reform and the economy.

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JOINT SESSIONS. Although summer is a slow time for meetings, ASA cooperated in September with two disciplines where our membership strength, though encouraging, can stand to be buttressed. . . . At the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, D. C., on Sept. 1, we joined with another ASA, the *American Sociological Association*, for a program on "The Uses of Sociology in American Studies." With Wayne Wheeler, Kansas City Study of Adult Life, and Neil Smelser, University of California at Berkeley, as co-chairmen, an audience of nearly 200 heard papers by Thomas F. Marshall, Smith-Mundt Lecturer on American Studies in Mexico, on "Literature and Society"; Robert H. Walker, George Washington University, on "Measuring the Muse: Literature and Social Questions"; and Hugh Dalziel Duncan, Rice University, on "Sociology and the Study of American Society." Ralph Ross, University of Minnesota, was the commentator. . . . ASA was co-sponsor of a special panel at the meeting of the *Ameri-*

can Political Science Association on Sept. 8, also in Washington. With a program arranged by Joseph E. Kallenbach, University of Michigan, and presided over by Alex Gottfried, University of Washington, the panelists devoted themselves to the subject of "Fiction and the Teaching of Politics: Uses and Abuses." Those taking part in the discussion were: Morton Kroll, University of Washington; Lucian Marquis, University of Oregon; Lewis A. Froman, University of Wisconsin; Dwight Waldo, University of California; and Arnold Rogow, Stanford University.

NEWSLETTER. The first issue of *American Studies News*, an international newsletter published by the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, was mailed late in August. Its announced purpose is to "serve the interests of all persons engaged in the development of curricula in American Studies, either in an academic or administrative capacity," and it will be concerned "with programs and activities rather

than with doctrine or subject matter"—in short, it complements ASA's own program and thus should be of particular interest to our members. The ASA domestic mailing list was used to distribute the first issue; but if anyone was missed, the oversight can be repaired by addressing the ASA national office, or the Conference Board itself at 2101 Constitution Ave., N. W., Washington 25, D. C. Single copies gratis. . . . The first issue is replete with information about traveling scholars, American Studies programs overseas and recent winners in Fulbright-Hays and ACLS competitions, many of whom are ASA members. The next issue will list current holders of Guggenheim Fellowships, and their subjects, among other matters of interest. Pertinent news notes on international activities are solicited by Truett Russell at the Conference Board.

MAX WEBER. A Centennial Commission has been established to mark during 1964, the hundredth anniversary of his birth, Weber's impact on the social sciences. The Commission will coordinate visiting professorships, exchange lectureships, seminars and institutes, the celebration culminating in an interdisciplinary symposium scheduled for April 1964, in Kansas City. ASA members Jerzy Hauptmann and Wayne Wheeler are co-chairmen. Further information may be had from the latter at 716 Railway

Exchange Building, 706 Grand Ave., Kansas City 6, Mo.

NEW JOURNALS. Edited by Edward L. Kamarck, *Arts in Society* is now well launched as an interdisciplinary journal, appearing twice a year, in which much American material is printed. Annual subscriptions at \$4.50 are to be sent to the Extension Division, University of Wisconsin, Madison 6. . . . *Literature East & West*, newsletter of the MLA Conference on Oriental-Western Literary Relations, is now issued quarterly from Ball State Teachers College, Muncie, Ind., where it is edited by Alfred H. Marks. Two dollars a year by subscription. . . . The first annual number of *The Lovingood Papers*, edited by Ben Harris McClary for the Sut Society, has appeared, and the journal is expected to continue at least until all the uncollected Sut yarns have been brought into print again. Containing scholarly articles about the redoubtable Sut as well as George W. Harris' fugitive stories, copies may be obtained for \$2 from the editor, Box 81, Tennessee Wesleyan College, Athens, Tenn.

AWARDS OPEN. Of interest to graduate students wanting to study the development of American industry and technology are two Hagley Museum Fellowships offered for 1963-65. On a stipend of \$2,000 a year, the fellows will divide their time among the University of Dela-

ware, the Hagley Museum and the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library. The two-year program includes a thesis and results in the M.A. degree in American history. Address the Chairman, Dept. of History, University of Delaware, Newark, Del., before March 5, 1963. . . . Professors may wish to note that in the annual competition for Woodrow Wilson Fellowships for prospective college teachers (applications not received from candidates), nominations from faculty members must reach regional chairmen by Oct. 31, 1962. . . . Dec. 1, 1962, is the deadline for filing applications for the 36 fellowships ranging from three to five thousand dollars offered with no restrictions as to age or subject by the American Association of University Women to American women who hold the doctorate or equivalent. Other international fellowships are also available, and information on all is supplied by AAUW, 2401 Virginia Ave., N. W., Washington 7. . . . For scholars of British nationality there's a £500 prize offered for the best original book in American Studies by the publishers Oliver & Boyd, Tweeddale Court, 14 High Street, Edinburgh 1—deadline: Sept. 30, 1963. . . . And here's a chance to make a cool million. That's the prize, in lire, that will go to the best film exhibited this year, Dec. 10-16, at the Fourth International Festival of Ethnographic and Sociological Documentary Films in Florence.

HISTORY PROJECT. Directed by Marshall W. Fishwick, a research project of the Wemyss Foundation will attempt to find means to revitalize the teaching of American history by the use of American Studies materials and ideas. Ranging over the educational spectrum from the secondary school level to the collegiate, the project aims to devise "means and materials to fill the loopholes in the curriculum, emphasizing multi-media methods for the transmission of knowledge by sight, sound, touch, taste, and smell."

OLLA-PODRIDA. Joseph H. Schiffman, Dickinson College, who filled these columns not long ago as acting executive secretary, was recently honored by the Lindback Foundation Award for distinguished teaching. . . . During the coming year the *Mississippi Quarterly* plans a transmogrification which will result in its becoming a *Journal of Southern Culture*. An expanded editorial staff will seek interdisciplinary articles appropriate to the newly defined field of interest. Editorial and business offices will continue at Mississippi State University. . . . "The City and Its Planners," a symposium coming out of the American Studies Seminar at Carleton College, appears in the Summer 1962 issue of the *Carleton Miscellany*, the four papers edited by William L. Kolb.

C. B.

American Quarterly

VOLUME XIV

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of Passage

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RICHARD BRIDGMAN Jefferson's Farmer before
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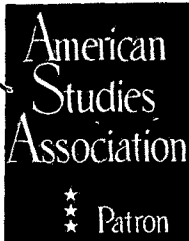
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The aim of AMERICAN QUARTERLY is to aid in giving a sense of direction to studies in the culture of the United States, past and present. Editors and contributors therefore concern themselves not only with the areas of American life which they know best but with the relation of those areas to the entire American scene and to world society.

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ARTHUR H. COLE
Harvard University

The Price System and the Rites of Passage

THE "RITES OF PASSAGE," THE ACTIVITIES OR CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH birth, admission to adulthood, marriage and death, constitute a group of the most intimate family and social events in human history. In colonial times in America these events were regarded as distinctly family affairs: the new child welcomed in the main bedroom of the house; the marriage celebrated—in the presence of scarcely more than the two families—in the parlor of the bride's home; and the dead prepared for burial there in the quieted household, and his body interred in the family burying lot. To be sure, the ceremonies associated with these passages—baptism, wedding, burial—soon came to be solemnized by the offices of a clergyman; and the sociologist might see in the persistence in our society of religious sanctions to these ceremonies a link with the early past. Anthropologists in dealing with primitive peoples are disposed to look at the tone and character of the rites of passage for a reflection of the basic values of those social units; and typically we continue to exhibit our hold upon Christianity, Judaism or other domestic faith at such ceremonials.

Now the capacity of the price system to penetrate areas of human action and concern previously carried on by voluntary effort is a phenomenon long appreciated by historians. One facet of this development is the entrepreneurial action of providing a service or commodity at a price or in a condition that the householder finds attractive in terms of his available money income. Thus roofers arose in towns of appropriate size who, for considerations found reasonable by owners of houses, would repair the slate or shingle top covering of residences; or the "commercial bakery" was established and enlarged to prepare the bread and cakes erstwhile baked by the housewife in her own kitchen. Such productive and service institutions have now become so numerous, and their offerings so largely coterminous with household needs, that the function of the householder and housewife has greatly changed from earlier times.

Aided also by mechanical devices now installed within the home, the woman of the family has been able, more definitely than ever before, to become a companion to her husband and a mother to her children, while, as the family matures, she is likely to re-enter the ranks of business herself. Except for a few chores such as the making of beds and the care of the lawns, the household has become institutionalized, its diverse functions being dispersed into the hands of numerous business units. This entrepreneurial aspect of the price system will be found to have achieved significance also in the area of the rites of passage.

The birth of children has, in the American culture, been the least publicized of the major passages to which human life here has been subject—perhaps because women felt a distaste for the unusual distention of their abdomens during the latter months of pregnancy, and perhaps because somehow their “delicate condition” advertised the pudendous aspect of sex life. Not many years ago, actual childbirth was almost universally referred to in polite circles as a woman’s “confinement”; and I suspect that this euphemism derived from the withdrawal of the expectant mother from most social contacts, at least after the pregnancy had reached a stage of external obviousness. And one of the first loosening of this traditional behavior came through the action of entrepreneurship. Lane Bryant of New York began in the years around 1910 to design and offer for sale “maternity” clothes; the products of this heroic action proved popular with women; the fashion spread; and—undoubtedly abetted by the rise in the capacity in America for a higher standard of living—the manufacture and sale of such clothing had by 1960 become an important element in the women’s garment industry. The 1960 classified directory of the New York Telephone Company for Manhattan lists 34 enterprises engaged in the manufacture and wholesale trading in this form of apparel, and 14 retail stores that specialized in its sale. (It seems also true that Lane Bryant and her imitators succeeded in expanding the use of the words “maternity” and “pregnancy,” beyond the unabridged dictionary, helped to give the coup to such phrases as “interesting condition” and “delicate condition,” and converted “confinement” to “childbirth”!)

The actual delivery of the child was taken from the monopoly of the family at a very early period, perhaps first by other wives of the tribe or community, but then, as far back as ancient Egypt, by paid midwives. Women remained in control throughout the ancient and medieval periods, indeed down fairly close to our own times. Their hold on the business was strengthened by the vigorous sex-derived taboos, not only that no man should enter the room of delivery, but that no details of the phys-

iology of childbirth should be printed. The beginning of a new trend in England seems to have occurred with the death at childbirth of Jane Seymour, wife of Henry VIII, in 1537. Doctors of that country began to take more interest in the problem; they became attendants at noble and royal births; and "male midwives" played a considerable role by the eighteenth century, especially when instruments had been introduced for use in difficult deliveries.

Midwives came to America in early shiploads of migrants, although none seems to have been present when Peregrine White was born on board the "Mayflower." Anne Hutchinson was a practitioner of the art or handicraft, even if she is remembered more widely for other activities. Indeed, such handmaidens of Lucina dominated childbirth in this country until the middle of the nineteenth century, except for limited urban areas as, for example, New York City and Philadelphia. As late as 1935, over 10 per cent of births in America were still attended solely by midwives, but the proportion had diminished to less than 3 per cent in the mid-1950s—and these remaining births almost exclusively in the non-white section of our population. The professional doctor had practically taken over.

While the midwife introduced a certain measure of commercialization into the procedure of childbearing, the latter process stayed on in the home, at least in most cases. The exponents of medicine, in England or in the United States, were not in a position vigorously to dispute the regime of midwifery or to attract their female patients into hospitals. The rising national income of the two countries, and especially of the United States, accompanied by a rising tide of benevolence at the hands of men of large fortunes, did permit the establishment of hospitals of various sorts in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, and, among them, hospitals with the euphemistic description of "lying-in." This term actually dates back centuries in England, and seems to have been synonymous with the later "confinement" or the action of childbearing; but it may have persisted to modern times in part because, in substance as well as in metaphor, the expectant mother came to "lie in" a hospital in the charge of an attendant physician. A minor proportion of such specializing hospitals, to be sure, were profit-oriented, commercial institutions; but the greater number were, at least in considerable part, supported out of charity or endowed by wealthy individuals.

The appearance of lying-in hospitals did not, of course, mean a complete, immediate transfer of all births to such institutions. Many an older person in such a settled region as New England can report his appearance into the world to have occurred at his parents' home. Families recently arrived from Europe were unaccustomed to births elsewhere

than in the home, and anyway many could not afford the luxury of hospital attention. In addition to midwives and the local physicians, students in metropolitan medical schools, when they came to the study of obstetrics, used to gain experience in the homes of immigrants and the less well-to-do of the city's population. Their services were less costly than those of the local midwives.

A wider appreciation of the germ theory of disease, combined with the rising surplus of incomes above minimal living needs, moved childbirth almost wholly into hospitals, and these forces were supplemented in time by discoveries of procedures for saving the lives of "blue" or other abnormal children if hospital treatment were immediately available. An important impetus seems to have derived from the discovery of the origin and the means of preventing "childbed fever." At all events, a combination of factors had, before the middle of the twentieth century, moved the activities of childbearing outside the home.

Relative to activities subsequent to childbirth, other features of the price system have over a long time-period been evident. In early days, both abroad and here, the initial agent of this system was the wet nurse. In the days of frequent deaths at childbirth and of frequent illness of the mother after the ordeal, and when "baby-foods" were still largely a development of the future, there was a real social as well as economic service attached to the advertisements, so frequently inserted in early newssheets, of "a woman with a full breast of milk" who desired a child or children to suckle. Happily no one arose with a theory that a child took in more than nourishment with a stranger's milk, and the practice of wet-nursing continued down into the twentieth century, at least in certain areas. Added to this element of commercialization came something of a substitute arrangement. After certain advances in medical skills and after the introduction of refrigeration and aseptic conditions in institutions, all obstetrical hospitals in the larger metropolitan centers sponsored and maintained an affiliated enterprise—when the service was not actually made an integral part of the hospitals themselves—at which mother's milk could be purchased for the benefit of children who stood in need of that form of sustenance.

In the meantime, the proud father had achieved a modest place in the total performance: he was dispensing cigars to his friends, an action perhaps deriving from the hospitality offered at christenings. The manufacturers of cigars have given what encouragement they could to the continuance of this custom, even in a world where cigars are no longer the major form of tobacco consumption. One may secure boxes especially prepared for this joyous occasion, each appropriately provided with the designation "It's a boy" or "It's a girl."

Of recent years, commercialization has found new ways of attempting to improve the well-being of the happy parents. Even before she leaves the hospital, the mother may well be offered the chance to secure a photograph of her newborn. This is a result of a development—quasi-commercial and quasi-eleemosynary—which made its appearance in the mid-1950s. An entrepreneur of the Boston region conceived the notion of placing cameras in maternity hospitals—and maternity wards of general hospitals—and sharing with the local institution the profits secured from the operations of the picture-taking unit. The scheme seemed to satisfy a desire on the part of the new parents, hitherto unrecognized, or at least unsatisfied commercially; installations were rapidly extended to other regions of the United States; and by 1960 this added touch of business had become almost universal in the country anent the “rite” of birth.

Meanwhile, at the home, an interesting batch of mail is likely to be accumulating for the decisions of the new mother upon her return to her household position. The literature will contain advertisements ranging all the way from prepared foods to children's furniture, and from savings schemes to diaper service. Nor are the special needs of the parents left unnoticed. There may be an offering of abdominal belts to compress the mother back into shape, and the tendering of contraceptives to the household, lest such a tragedy strike the family again. (In states where the passage of such literature through the mails is forbidden, less specific pamphlets of the Planned Parenthood Association may well take its place.)

All in all, the activities in and around the typical American family, relative to the arrival of an “addition,” have felt the impact of the price system, especially over the past fifty or sixty years. The advent of the child has for some period been an event in which at least one person outside the family was likely to have a share; but the enhancement of family incomes rather generally through the American society and the increase of pressures upon business institutions to stretch their markets to the maximum have conspired to make this advent almost a public affair. The assertion of a modest connection of the child with the Christian or other domestic faith may be broadcast at the immediate or ultimate christening or equivalent ceremony, but, in the meanwhile, the photographer at the hospital, the purveyor of prepared formulas, perhaps the forward-looking private school nearby, seem to have acquired operational beachheads on the family, even if a midwife should no longer be able to look upon the infant as one of “her children” or the lad in later years be duty-bound to look with special thanks to a strange woman who came to his rescue early with “a full breast of milk!”

Ceremonies connected with the attainment of physiological maturity have counted for little in Anglo-Saxon cultures. Given their relative niggardliness of free gifts from nature, these cultures were more concerned with the superfluity of population, even before England's Malthus, than with the joys of procreation. Social pressures and laws of property came early to tie procreation to marriage; marriage, at least in those days before the welfare state appeared, came to be associated with the capacity to support a family; and, in our northern climes, such capacity to secure so adequate an income delayed marriage until long after puberty had been passed. Even schooling, when it became common, tended to obliterate the physiological line; at first boys, and later girls, progressed from kindergarten or its equivalent to the university without definite break at any point correlated to physical change.

There has been a minor notion of "reaching maturity" in the admission of young people into full membership within religious bodies; the Jewish ceremony of "bar mitzvah," seems relevant; but the Catholic and Episcopal denominations have been disposed to give confirmation when the novitiates are still children; while the Evangelical denominations seem to prefer the act of joining the church to be the decision of persons who have really achieved the "age of discretion." Again, in voting laws, there is a differentiation drawn between men and boys; but here also the minimum voting age has always had some rough correlation with intellectual or moral faculties, not simply the capacity to reproduce one's kind.

Perhaps it is permissible, with only a modest stretch of imagination, to conceive the "coming-out parties" of young women as roughly analogous to the puberty ceremonies of primitive peoples. To be sure, for the most part, coming-out parties have been considered a phenomenon of the "upper strata" of communities and therefore perhaps not truly representative of society as a whole. However, it has been observed, at least in Boston, and seemingly elsewhere in the country, that as people acquire economic and social competence, they tend to follow practices previously established by their predecessors on the economic and social ladders. In recent years, for example, cotillions have been set up for the presentation to society of the debutantes of various minority groups—as Catholic, Jewish and Negro.

Historically such "presentations to society" have always been viewed as related to marriage. One reads of dinners and dances being given by English nobility in the eighteenth century at which daughters were "presented to society." If the families were of the Catholic faith, the daughters might be "coming out" of convent schools. More generally, the young ladies could be pictured as metaphorically "coming out" of the

seclusion of their families; now they were on their own; now they could be courted by appropriate young men with an anticipation of ultimate marriage.

The practices of the nobility came to be imitated by the mere wealthy. Prior to 1860, festivities of corresponding character were offered by proprietors of southern plantations, and soon—in a group affair—at such a cotton-merchants' town as Charleston in annual "cotillions." Perhaps the greater stake in continuance of the plantations and therefore the greater desirability that the young women of families make "advantageous" marriages may have (unconsciously, to be sure) incited the fathers to such activities. "Dancing assemblies" had become a part of the social life of Philadelphia in the latter colonial years; and the practice was taken up by the St. Cecilia Society of Charleston about 1820, and in other mercantile communities of the Atlantic coast in these early decades of the new century—probably not discouraged by the proprietors of the City Tavern or equivalent hostelry at which the festivity might be held. Subsequently, when wealth came more markedly to the North, thus enhancing the importance of family strength, and when this importance was given wide-flung sanction with the publication of "social registers" in the larger cities—the result of entrepreneurial enterprise in the late 1880s—individualized "coming-out" parties began to be given in New York and other metropolitan centers. By this time, city hotels had arisen at which it was convenient to assemble the guests for the "presentation" of a lovely daughter to the established society. Caterers soon arose to serve families in the large residences which now the more affluent members of "the 400" had constructed for living—or display—purposes.

The characters of these performances may perhaps be correlated roughly with certain facets of the price system. The adoption of the form of group presentation, the cotillion, may have been originally a reflection of the modest financial resources of the merchants in the southern ports, or perhaps their greater pecuniary caution relative to the matrimonial ventures of their daughters. Cotillions were again embraced when a combination of inflation and a scarcity of servants struck the country in the years after the Second World War. In the period of ostentatious wealth, especially between the 1890s and the "great depression," individualized parties were the rule in the northern cities, each daughter being presented at her own cocktail party, dinner-dance or the like, and each party given with at least an avoidance of niggardly appearance, if not always with purposeful ostentation. That the latter type is not wholly forgotten was demonstrated in 1960, when Henry Ford gave his daughter Charlotte a lavish debut party at the Country Club of Detroit. Supposedly a year of planning was put into the affair; 1,200 guests were

entertained; \$60,000 went into flowers alone; and the total cost was reported to have reached or exceeded a quarter of a million dollars. However, such affairs are relatively rare these days.

On the other hand, entrepreneurial invasion of this "rite" has made comparatively little progress. Businessmen have found little opportunity to develop pressures upon parents to underwrite either individual parties for their offspring or participation in a group effort; nor have they been able to set up specifications relative to the apparel to be expected of participants in these performances so that much specialized activity is generated. Usually, for the cotillions, the girls being honored are expected to wear white evening gowns, white slippers and long white gloves. The last feature may make a contribution to the welfare of the somewhat sick glove-making industry, since long white gloves are otherwise hardly ever a requisite in the wardrobe of a young lady of the mid-twentieth century; but white evening gowns and white slippers are produced widely enough so that this debutante-party demand could make for no great jollity in the women's wholesale or retail trades. Perhaps the debutante season may have more specific effects on the male side. Many young men these days do not own full-dress paraphernalia; such garments would be *de rigueur* at dinner-dances or other evening parties; and shops for the rental of men's evening wear do a good business in consequence.

Business management does probably play a role in all sizable communities relative to the programming of the annual performances. Obviously the lack of some control might well result in the bunching of festivities on specific days or nights, so that none would be well attended, caterers would be pushed beyond practical limits, the supply of dance bands would prove insufficient and the like. In Boston, a quarter of a century ago, an office existed, operated by a woman who at least appeared to know the city's "society." In return for a fee, a reservation could be registered for a tea-dance, a supper or larger operation on a specific day or evening. The lady also supplied lists of other debutantes of that year, and a list of approved young men from the local secondary schools and the lower classes of the local colleges and universities. Now some part of these functions seems to have drifted into the hands of a leading stationer of the city, a man who sooner or later will be producing engraved invitations not only to the debutante parties but later to weddings and "at-homes," announcements of the arrival of children, and whatnot. All young women may register their desires at this gentleman's shop, paying a small fee.

At the close of the local school year, this list is published in the Boston newspapers, and turned over to a committee of selection which has mean-

while been assembled chiefly from mothers of girls who indubitably qualify as debutantes in that particular year. This group, burdened with the unpleasant task of selecting a hundred girls from the two or three hundred who have registered with the stationer, is assembled by the head of an enterprise which, since the close of World War II, has been active in the planning and directing of social events in the city. The choices are made as expeditiously as possible, and, when the office of this social manager has received the new list, it sends out invitations at once for participation in the annual cotillion to take place a fortnight later. The young ladies—or their parents—are free to decline such invitations, but those who do accept are required to pay approximately \$75 to the enterprise, a sum which covers hospitality to the young lady's father, her escort and herself on the evening of the dance. Presumably the payments from the hundred selected debutantes provide an appropriate profit for the hotel at which the party takes place as well as a suitable honorarium to the management concern which engineers the whole operation.

In the meantime the debutantes sit for photographs at commercial photographers whose names will look well below the cuts appearing in the newspapers; glossy prints are supplied to the latter; and the pictures of all the season's debutantes are likely to be printed sooner or later in the society columns of the *Boston Herald* and *Boston Globe*. The young ladies have been appropriately launched on a social career.

It is recognized that the data presented here—and to some extent elsewhere in this essay—relate exclusively or predominantly to conditions in Boston. Investigation of phenomena such as the foregoing necessarily carries a limitation on the geography of coverage. Little has been written on such social practices as coming-out parties and wedding receptions, and one can obtain a view of representative habits only by living in the community, reading the local newspapers, talking to parents and the like; and such residence is particularly essential to perceive changes and current trends. Another and more practical reason for the concentration on affairs of greater Boston is that of space in an essay such as this. Perhaps Boston is atypical for the whole country; but once the observer has moved beyond a single community, where would he be able to stop? What would constitute a representative group or a full spectrum of American urban areas? Nevertheless, in regard to coming-out parties in other cities, it can be noted that in some centers larger than Boston, a body of professional family advisers has appeared, "social secretaries," women who "know the ropes," can advise the parents on where to hold a function, whom to invite and what refreshments to serve. For families who have newly risen into contact with the world of society, and for

those who, already well adjusted to it, are too busy otherwise to attend to a special event, such guides with accumulated wisdom are highly useful. Here, as in other phases of the "coming-out" rite, the intervention of the price system contributes to the smooth performance of the social order.

By the time modern young folk arrive at the juncture of marriage, they are already pretty well educated to the services attainable in private entrepreneurship and, consequently, the relative unimportance of the family. No longer is the family hearth the center of courtship for the young lady, nor is it likely that she and her female relatives will labor days and nights to fill her wedding chest with dainty garments made by their own hands. Still more improbable is the production of a home-made wedding dress, even with the aid of an itinerant seamstress, unless it chances that the mother's wedding gown has been saved and can be altered to fit the daughter. The rise in the value of urban land with the further growth of cities, and the increase of urban congestion, have driven more and more families into apartment houses; and such living quarters lend themselves poorly to the enactment of marriage rites and the holding of wedding receptions. Similarly the growing scarcity of household servants and their increased wages have tended to diminish still further the flexibility of many families in the face of such an emergency as a social wedding. Now preparation for marriage and quite surely the ceremony itself involve agencies and institutions external to the household.

The publication of marriage intentions in the local newsheets is now enough to set enterprise in motion. The prospective bride will secure advertisements of stores offering silverware, china and glassware; stores offering linen and other items for her trousseau; shops expressing a willingness to design and produce wedding gowns with, if petitioned adequately, gowns for the whole bridal party; advertisements of caterers, of wedding directors and of limousines for hire. Meanwhile, the prospective groom will be informed, by advertisements, of opportunities to rent tuxedos or other formal wear, and of hotels particularly suited for honeymoons, and may be waited upon by insurance salesmen who would be glad to write new policies to protect his prospective wife.

The increased public character of weddings plus the enhanced financial resources of many families have conspired to promote the development of divers new institutions on both the local and the broader fronts. Of the former, the wedding directors may deserve special mention. Such persons are likely to pretend to competence in only individual facets of the marriage rite: dresses, food or music. Of course, the parents of the

bride need consult only those whom they believe likely to be helpful. Then there are retail shops specializing in wedding apparel for the women in the proceedings and willing, with appropriate compensation, to supervise the costuming of the bride and her attendants on the day of the ceremony. In addition there are the local photographers, who have recently taken on increased importance. Now photographs of the chief participants, the two pairs of parents, the other members of the wedding party, the guests at the reception, even the table with the wedding cake, are all essential. When note is also taken of caterers, florists, musicians, society columnists on the local newspapers, etc., it will be evident that much business turns now upon the performance of the marriage rite in specific communities.

An interesting index of the acquiescence of the modern bride in the commercialization of her actions is provided in her registering a specific silverware pattern with a specific jewelry shop, nominating her selected pattern in china at another shop and the like. After such actions, the prospective bride can refer inquiring friends to the several shops, where these potential donors can learn what already has been purchased by other generous souls.

The actual fabrication of feminine apparel for appearance at weddings involves relationships with areas other than one's own. There may be specializing manufacturers of wedding dresses in such a city as Boston—where actually two manage to carry on operations—but orders are likely also to be transmitted to New York City, where no less than 25 or 30 are active. In fact, the volume of business in the whole country is large enough to encourage the maintenance of a Bridal and Bridesmaids Apparel [trade] Association. Then there is the *Bride's Magazine*, which has been published nationally for 25 years, and there are even local periodicals—supported by advertisers no doubt—such as New England's *Bride's Dutch Uncle* issued in Boston.

Not least important in the wider view has been the evolution of specializing honeymoon hotels. To be sure, the preference of honeymoon couples for specific locations—Niagara Falls, Old Point Comfort, Atlantic City, etc.—dates back well into the nineteenth century; but, by and large, the newly-weds had to take their place with all other visitors in the several hostelries at these places. There were "bridal suites" in a number of hotels, dating also from the nineteenth century. Now hotel establishments cater especially to such young folk. For example, the Reefs in Bermuda with its row of cabanas and its private beach, has, since the close of World War II, paid almost exclusive attention to the honeymoon trade; while the Farm on the Hill in Swiftwater, Pennsylvania, advertises its facilities as intended "for newlyweds only—your own

exclusive cottage"; and in the *Bride's Magazine* there are advertisements of other such institutions extending over twenty pages, places suited to longer and shorter pocketbooks.

The matrimonial rite has indeed wandered far from the simple, intimate ceremony of the family's front parlor, with the bride largely content to have appareled herself in "something old and something new, something borrowed, something blue." Now, from the publication of an engagement until the return of the married couple from their honeymoon adventure, their activities induce attentions from entrepreneurs of various sorts and involve themselves, their parents and their friends in manifold commercial transactions so large in total volume as to produce specialization at both the local and national levels. In a sense, bridal business is big business.

The rites attendant upon death, no less than those provoked by other human "passages," have felt the impact of forces deriving from movement in the price system. Long gone is the simple course of actions upon the passing of a member of the household: the preparation of his body by loving relatives and friends, the procurement of a plain, deal box and the quiet interment of his earthly remains in the family plot of the local churchyard. Now funeral rites make manifest the series of changes which have converted this basically private ceremony into a quasi-public affair—forces stemming from both entrepreneurial forwardness and the movement of larger economic factors.

Some changes in these simple arrangements had supervened before the close of our colonial period. One such was the intervention of handicraftsmen, as had happened earlier in the case of childbirth. Here it was the appeal to carpenters and cabinetmakers to prepare the coffin; and, in the nineteenth century, the manufacture of such equipment—of ever increasing variety and quality—became a significant segment of American industry. In our colonial days also, the sexton became the usual grave-digger as older communities achieved church organizations and incidentally established graveyards as attachments to their places of worship. Finally, it may be noted that in the years shortly before the American Revolution, an individual called an "undertaker" put in an appearance, although it is uncertain just what he considered his appropriate functions. Individuals of the same designation had risen in England nearly a century earlier, individuals who seem fairly close both to funeral directors of the ancient world and to those of recent decades in America.

With the increase in the size of our population in the nineteenth century, and especially the growth of larger communities, both the number

of undertakers grew and the nature of their functions expanded. For example, 16 such operators were listed in a Boston directory of 1830, and 63 in a Philadelphia directory of 1860. The Federal Census of 1870 reported 2,000 for the whole country, while an estimate for the mid-1950s placed the total figure at over 50,000. With such numbers, it is by no means surprising to discover that the business has promoted the organization of a half-dozen trade associations—of which the largest one of over 13,000 members was founded as long ago as 1882—and several trade periodicals.

The ranks of this "profession" had been expanded by accretions from several sources. Many of the earlier practitioners had been cabinet-makers and furniture dealers who took on the duties of undertaker as a corollary to the sale of their coffins, which apparently they had come to stock for prompt delivery. Another group was comprised of church sextons who, having effective control of the church burial plots, were in a position to "integrate backward," so to speak; they took on the preparation of the body for burial as well as the interment itself. Thirdly, there was a later accession of proprietors of livery stables, whose horses and carriages were required for funeral processions. They too extended backward their operations. Such additions to the total were all the more readily secured since, until the Civil War era, the process of embalming was practically unknown in this country. Subsequent to that period, specializing schools of embalming provided a flow of new talent—talent without necessary connections with carpentry or livery stables—for the enlargement of the "profession."

The expansion of the functions assumed by the undertaker is suggested by the foregoing account of sources of talent. The practitioners came gradually to bear more and more responsibility for the whole rite. They acted for the bereaved, bewildered and usually inexperienced family in making arrangements for the funeral service as well as the actual burial; they helped with the proper display of floral tributes at the church; and, as the communities grew in size and cemeteries sprang up at some distance from most residential districts, they provided, or arranged to secure vehicles—hearse and horse-drawn hacks—to convey the funeral party from church to the place of interment. Before the close of the nineteenth century, such "professional" men had come rather widely to be known—and had reached the point of wishing to be known—as "funeral directors." And, before the twentieth century was half gone, some of their numbers had grown so sure of their importance that the clergy was complaining at the domination of the funeral service by these directors—to the diminution of its religious values.

Perhaps equally significant with the foregoing matters, as far as the

intrusion of business into the performance of the funeral rite in America is concerned, has been the development of central shops by these funeral directors, something much more elaborate—and appropriate—than the office of a livery stable. Both the spread of the practice of embalming—until it was almost universally employed—and the increase in the proportion of our population dwelling in apartment houses, contributed to the rise of mortuaries attached to the offices of the funeral directors. There bodies of the deceased could be cared for between death and the funeral service. Enlargement of the central premises was also encouraged when wakes became more extensive social events, perhaps as a consequence of our rising standard of living. Then, in the twentieth century, if not before, these central premises added on, or were converted mainly into a place where funeral services could be held. "Funeral homes" seem to have appeared in metropolitan areas as early as the 1880s, and had become rather common by the first decades of the new century. By 1960, the number of funeral homes, parlors, chapels, etc. had swollen to something like 20-25,000 in the United States. Death and its immediate consequences had now surely moved almost wholly out of the home.

Advance in the quantum of the economy's disposable income had, in the meantime, led to various developments in the business world more or less closely tied in with the rite of death. Probably changing social habits must also be given some credit in these connections. One such development was the appearance of houses in the women's clothing industry especially devoted to the manufacture of mourning garments—with perhaps some similar institutions in the production of hats, veils and gloves—and the advent of retail stores concerned particularly with the purveyance of such goods. "Widow's weeds" had been common enough at earlier times, but now they were prepared outside of the home and indeed kept on hand by retail establishments precisely for occasions of death. As early as 1861 J. B. Lewis of 441 Broadway in New York City advertised "crepe collars, veils, trimmings, ruches, buttons, and mourning goods in general." The men's wear industries were much less affected. Gentlemen limited themselves, in mourning, to dark outer clothing—which they might already possess for Sunday wear—and to black arm bands and black neckties, the latter pair disappearing after six months or a year of display.

Again, the cultivation and distribution of flowers on a commercial basis experienced a marked expansion, especially in the decades after the Civil War, in large measure because of demand arising in the provision of whole "blankets" and lesser "sprays" for use at funerals, and for the decorations of the graves of soldiers, particularly on Memorial Day. In the early years of the twentieth century, the business of retail florists

was considerably enhanced by the demand for "set pieces," and ornamental wreaths, which might be ordered, for instance, by a Masonic lodge to honor a departed "brother." Some florists found 90 per cent of their business to be associated with funerals, and apparently a proportion of 50 per cent or more was not uncommon. (Another portion of the retail florist's activities was connected with the marriage ceremony, as has already been intimated. Another portion surely was connected with the maneuvers of courtship and with the more public debutante parties. If the demand deriving from funerals be added, it will become obvious that the whole commercial production and distribution of flowers has over past decades been primarily associated with the rites of passage. Recently the use of flowers in house decoration, in gifts to the sick and housebound and other purposes has diminished somewhat the dependence of this segment of American business upon such rites.)

One should perhaps also note the consequence in the business world of the desire for prompt action relative to the provision of funeral flowers; a new business institution made its appearance. The Florists' Telegraph Delivery Association was launched in 1909; it expanded rapidly; and a decade later, it was assisting in the transmission of the purchase of flowers all over the country. Orders are sent directly from one member of the Association to another, but the Association supervises the activities of the whole group and, as necessary, polices the members. Indeed, it maintains a sort of clearing house in Detroit equipped with IBM machines.

In a quite different field, the increase of disposable income had effect upon the activities associated with the rite of death. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, publishing houses sprang up which specialized in the production of county and local histories in which sketches of the careers of recently deceased citizens of such areas, together with steel engravings of their faces in latter life, would be inserted. The preparation and publication of these volumes—plus probably a profit to the publishing house—were derivations largely from subsidies provided by the descendants of the individuals honored in the specific volumes. Technically the payment was to cover the cost of the steel engraving, but the contribution from the surviving family might run as high as a thousand dollars. The production of such "mug books" has disappeared in recent decades. Perhaps other forms of memorial—from obituaries in trade journals to the erection of charitable foundations—have reduced the field in which such publishing enterprises could operate advantageously.

Finally, the increase in population and the somewhat corresponding increase in the number of deaths, gave encouragement to certain entrepreneurs to establish new and larger burial grounds. Municipalities took action in the establishment of public cemeteries, but privately incorpo-

rated enterprises also found profitable action in the purchase of sizable tracts of land not too far from cities, and the development of these areas as attractive resting places for deceased citizens. Some such enterprises as the Forest Lawn unit in California have quite surely proven profitable undertakings.

Practices reported by the historian and anthropologist relative to the disposal of dead human bodies—cremation among the Greeks, the catacombs at Rome and elsewhere, the funeral pyres of the devout Hindus, or the exposure of the remains to natural forces as among primitive people of South America—tend to raise the question whether there is not competition between the living and the dead for terrestrial space. Such competition may indeed have some general importance as far as burial laws in England or Germany are concerned. In England, for instance, local governments have in the twentieth century acquired the rights to close to further use crowded or ill-placed cemeteries, and, after a period of years, to level the mounds, remove the headstones and convert the area into open park, even into playing fields for children. In Germany, cemeteries have in recent decades become similarly subject to closure against further use, but here, after a relatively brief lapse of time, they may become subject to reuse as burial grounds.

In these latter cases as well as in that of the United States, the special situation of insufficient areas around urban centers and, not least in importance, the increased value of urban space, have been the crucial elements in the problem. It was urban burial—in France and England prior to 1850—which first brought state regulation of cemetery location and condition. Sanitary laws there and elsewhere, including cities of the United States, came to forbid burial within the city limits or close to residential sections of the metropolitan communities. Such matters have become rather generally subject to state regulation in modern industrial regions. But still the pressure of increased numbers of deaths within the areas continued.

The advent of cremation somewhat reduced the immediate demand for space. Actually this custom arose, it seems, without much, if any, relation to cost reduction; it was embraced merely as a matter of social preference. Court decisions as early as the 1880s cleared the way in both England and the United States for the erection and use of crematoria. The number of such institutions increased markedly in the twentieth century, until there were approximately 120 in England and 220 in the United States by the late 1950s, at which approximately 150,000 and 50,000 cremations per annum, respectively, were performed. The practice had gained considerably greater relative favor in England, where indeed cremations were a third of earth burials. In the United States, cremations were still less

than 5 per cent of the older-style burial in the ground. Perhaps in the course of a few decades, this mode of bodily disposal may reach proportions in many countries, including the United States, whereby the pressure for space to be used for cemeteries will have become tolerable by the living members of the communities.

Another solution, however, has been gaining ground in the United States of recent decades—and the idea has found favor also in such countries as Japan. I have in mind huge mausoleums located on the outskirts of metropolitan centers. The number now operating in this country is uncertain, perhaps ten or a dozen in 1960. One in the neighborhood of New York City was described as encompassing several levels or stories, being equipped with elevators, electric lights and air conditioning, and capable of containing 30,000 bodies plus several thousand funeral urns. One recently erected in Los Angeles was advertised to possess fifty thousand crypts and several added thousands of niches for funeral urns. Each would seem destined ultimately to become a "city of the dead." Possibly this development—which the economist would label "capital-intensive"—may solve the conflict between the pressure of population upon urban land and the protection given by both public sentiment and court rulings, in Anglo-Saxon countries, that the dead are entitled to lie in peace through perpetuity.

In sum, then, the rites connected with the phenomenon of death have, it seems, changed most of all as compared with conditions that obtained in our earlier days. Far distant indeed seems the time when a citizen could die quietly in his own home, be prepared there for burial by his beloved relatives and friends, and be taken quietly to be placed beside his forebears in the nearby family burying plot or perhaps in the churchyard not so far away. Now the body of the deceased is entrusted promptly to the care of a strange funeral director, who spirits it at dead of night down the apartment-house stairs—so poorly constructed for the purpose—places it temporarily in his mortuary, and makes all the arrangements for a service in his own chapel or funeral home, and sees to it perhaps that these earthly remains are laid to rest in the seventh alcove of the fifth floor of some gigantic mausoleum! The price system here has surely made evident its penetrative power.

Mankind's pattern of living may be conceived in terms of concentric circles around the human ego. On the periphery there might in theory lie the ways in which his ships were constructed or his mines were exploited; somewhat closer to the central figure would perhaps be the manner in which his favorite newspaper was produced or his house kept in repair; in the circle close around him might be found the modes

whereby his bread was cooked or his linen washed; and surely most intimate to him would be the procedures which accompanied and adorned those climactic events in his journey through life—his birth, his presentation to adult society, his marriage, the launching of *his* progeny, and his end when he has “shuffled off this mortal coil.” Changes relative to the contents of all such circles are elements in the research of the historian, those of the outer areas perhaps more for historians with an economic orientation, and those of the inner regions more for historians drawing inspiration from the fountains of sociology.

It is of interest to the historian that in the end all the circles of man's requirements have been penetrated by entrepreneurial ingenuity or been altered by economic forces deriving their influence from the price system; and it is of interest to the historian also that the invasion of these circles has occurred more or less sequentially from the more remote to the most intimate areas of mankind's activities. There are exceptions such as the midwife or the somewhat differentiated funeral director, whose initial appearances date back to ancient times, but, by and large, the commercial construction of ships preceded that of dwelling houses, the business of shoe manufacture got upon its feet earlier than that of commercial fabrication of doughnuts or even plain white bread, and the placing of roof repairing in the hands of a handicraftsman took place earlier than the entrusting of one's daughter to the tender mercies of a wedding director. On the whole, indeed, the penetration of the innermost circle of human affairs has been a phenomenon of the twentieth century. Now, in a way of speaking, the social system and the economic or business system are coterminous. With the “rites of passage” now added to the domains of economic production, trade, communication and even entertainment and sports, there is little left for the energetic entrepreneur to conquer.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX

In the collection of data for this essay, which for the most part involved personal inquiry, the author has been especially dependent upon the help of Mrs. Dorothy Lubin. He is also indebted to Miss Ruth Crandall for her assistance. The few books that were found pertinent to particular sections of the survey are the following:

LeRoy Bowman, *The American Funeral* (Washington, 1959).

Alfred Fellows, *The Law of Burial* (London, 1940).

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The Gilded Age Revisited: Boston and the Museum Movement

IT IS TO THAT SUPPOSEDLY GAUDY AND GIDDY POST-BELLUM ERA KNOWN AS THE Gilded Age that we owe many of our great cultural institutions, the world-famous opera houses, symphony orchestras and museums that bear the names of America's great cities: New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and Boston.¹ So far as museums are concerned, there had been sporadic attempts to establish them as early as the eighteenth century; civic-minded citizens of New York even tried to base one short-lived institute on a lottery.² But it was not until after the Civil War that our great, permanent, public art collections achieved institutional status. The normal explanation relies on the sudden increase in private income that took place after the war ended. In Massachusetts, for example, records reveal that the number of probated estates of fifty thousand dollars or more almost tripled in the twenty years between 1859 and 1879;³ by 1863 seventy-nine persons in New York City alone were reporting annual incomes of more than one hundred thousand dollars, this for the new

¹ For accounts of the early history of American museums, see Winifred E. Howe, *A History of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1913); Lawrence Vail Coleman, *The Museum in America, A Critical Study* (Washington, D.C., 1939), particularly appendices in Vol. III; Theodore Lewis Low, *The Educational Philosophy and Practice of Art Museums in the United States* (New York, 1948), pp 9-27. The Metropolitan, in New York City, was founded the same year as the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and many other great institutions were founded during the following decade. In 1870 there were but eight museum buildings in the United States, valued at perhaps half a million dollars; ten years later there were twenty such buildings, and the valuation was closer to four and a half million dollars.

² This was the Apollo Association, later named the American Art Union. It lived for less than twenty years but exerted great influence. For an interesting account see Russell Lynes, *The Tastemakers* (New York, 1949), pp. 13-19.

³ Charles B. Spahr, *The Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States* (Boston, 1896), Appendix D.

(and short-lived) federal income tax.⁴ Money was a prerequisite for museum foundations, and it was only in the latter half of the nineteenth century that Americans felt wealthy enough to spend large sums on the arts.

But traditional explanations have rarely advanced beyond the economics of the situation. A newly rich society, flamboyant, vulgar, was engaged in building up a hothouse culture, artificial, exotic and alien to the native clime. The rulers of the American art world, the custodians of culture as they have been labeled, have usually been shown in a frantic attempt to construct a genteel tradition, trying to force European cultural standards on an uncouth citizenry, using the new institutions they were founding as weapons in their struggle.⁵ Culture to them, apparently, meant possession and not creation, it meant acquisition, it was confined to the product of a more sensitive European past, to the old masters, the traditional learning and the polite manners vaguely associated with the Old World.

Of course the Gilded Age was not completely wasteland: one sees, here and there, an Olmstead, a Sullivan, a Richardson, but these were the rebels, the outcasts, or the obscure, unappreciated until our own era, or else engaged in work not ordinarily considered artistic. Lewis Mumford, although he has shed much light on these figures, has also spoken for many when he described the cultural entrepreneurs as ostentatious and grasping; "by the patronage of the museums the ruling metropolitan obligarchy of financiers and officeholders establish their own claims to culture: more than that they fix their own standards of taste, morals and learning as that of their civilization."⁶ The huge centralized museum is

⁴ Sidney Ratner, *American Taxation, Its History as a Social Force in Democracy* (New York, 1942), p. 136. For further information concerning the growth of private wealth in the nineteenth century see the newspaper lists of America's millionaires reprinted in *New Light on the History of Great American Fortunes*, ed. Sidney Ratner (New York, 1942), *passim*.

⁵ The phrase "custodians of culture" has been used by John Kouwenhoven, *Made in America, The Arts in Modern Civilization* (Garden City, 1948), p. 204, and elaborated, for a later period of time, by Henry F. May, *The End of American Innocence, A Study of the First Years of Our Own Times, 1912-1917* (New York, 1959), p. 32.

⁶ Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (New York, 1959), p. 32. Mr. Mumford in *The Brown Decades, A Study of the Arts in America, 1865-1895* (New York, 1931), did indeed make a brilliant contribution in emphasizing the positive achievements of this era. However, I feel justified in stating that the period as a whole is still distorted, first, because Mr. Mumford, for the most part, was not talking about "official" culture, the standards of the "custodians" or entrepreneurs, but most often about the "many works which were then pushed aside as inept, ludicrous, or eccentric . . . in actuality genuine successes, emergent elements in a growing American tradition." (*Brown Decades*, p. 25). Second, despite the work of Mr. Mumford and a number of others the stereotype of the Gilded Age as hopelessly synthetic and vulgar persists in many

likened to a department store, a chaos of disorganization with little arrangement and less selectivity, where size, price and age are all-important, and the good is defined only by rarity and cost.

John Kouwenhoven has presented the most articulate attack on the "custodians"; in his illuminating *Made In America* he portrays them as reacting against the American vernacular, turning to the genteel tradition instead. The consequences were grim.

. . . the more interested in art Americans became, the more firmly they subjugated themselves to a tradition which not only was alien to the seminal forces in western civilization but which also tended to discourage any appreciation of the emergent indigenous forms and patterns. They came to feel that American civilization and art were mutually incompatible.⁷

On the shoulders of these defenders of the cultivated tradition, therefore, can be laid a part of the blame for the alienation of the arts from ordinary life. These were men trying to persuade Americans they were loud and coarse, and the result was a people browbeaten into a conviction of their own cultural inferiority, who turned their collective back on native traditions of design. The locomotives, the ships, the utilitarian instruments ennobled by the simplicity of pure functionalism were forgotten as men looked instead to the huge, heartless and false museums. There they stood, filled with dead Old World artifacts and serving as temples and fortresses to the cultural expropriators.⁸

By the 1890s, perhaps, numerous American museums had acquired these shrinelike characteristics; votaries and high priests stepped forward to serve the cause of "high" art. But there has been a persistent failure (on many fronts) to break down the forty-year period between the Civil

textbooks and scholarly works dealing only incidentally or accidentally with the era. See, for example, Carl Bridenbaugh, *Myths and Realities, Societies of the Colonial South* (Baton Rouge, La., 1952), p. 117: "Theirs was not the grasping materialism, vulgarity, and grossness we associated with the Gilded Age of nineteenth-century America; it was circumscribed by a still powerful aristocratic tradition of a clean cut standard of taste, honorable occupations. . . ."

⁷ Kouwenhoven, *Made in America*, p. 110. Mr. Kouwenhoven's thesis is important and often subtle. Obviously I am concerned with only a small segment of it at the moment, a point of view illustrated by statements like this one: ". . . by the end of the century we had gone a long way toward accumulating on this side of the Atlantic enough 'treasures of art' to threaten to suffocate not only the patterns which had evolved in the vernacular tradition but even the popular taste for realistic designs." (p. 128) Or, for another expression of this view, see p. 210. Custodians can be differentiated; the motives, aims and achievements of a number in the museum movement do not, to me, seem always hostile either to the vernacular or to the development of native traditions of design.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp 114-17.

War and Progressivism; the decade of the nineties was probably a greater cultural watershed than either the 1860s or the First World War. Progressives, engaged in cultural as well as political muckraking, condemned the post-bellum period in its entirety. But to look at the founders of one great museum, to examine their talents, their objectives and their achievements, leads one to doubt many traditional descriptions. This paper is confined to a modest subject but it can suggest the need for more refined temporal discrimination, and for more open-minded research and analysis. The evidence, such as it may be, indicates that the Gilded Age may be seen more distinctly if viewed, at least occasionally, without the aid of Thorstein Veblen's spectacles.

It was in February 1870, that the Massachusetts General Court passed a bill incorporating the Trustees of the Museum of Art, this for the purpose of "erecting a Museum for the preservation and exhibition of works of art, of making, maintaining, and exhibiting collections of such works, and of affording instruction in the Fine Arts. . . ."⁹ The action was in response to a plea from a distinguished group of Bostonians; the immediate cause of their plea, in turn, was a bequest to the Athenaeum.

In 1869 a Colonel Lawrence had bequeathed to the Proprietors of that institution, his valuable armor collection. Until then the Athenaeum had divided its space between a large number of books and an extensive art collection. Apart from their ownership of many paintings and pieces of sculpture the Proprietors (who had formed their institution in 1807) often rented out floors for periodic art exhibitions. The Athenaeum building, however, was too small to serve as both library and museum, and there was no room to display the Lawrence Collection. Only by removing the armor and paintings to a separate museum, concluded the Athenaeum's Fine Arts Committee, "could the conflicting wants of the Galleries and the Extension of the Library have been so happily reconciled."¹⁰

Moreover, both the Social Science Foundation and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (founded just ten years before, in 1860) found themselves with large collections of architectural casts and no space to

⁹ "The Act of Incorporation," a pamphlet mimeographed by the Museum of Fine Arts, together with subsequent additions and bylaws.

¹⁰ Boston Athenaeum. Reports of the Fine Arts Committee for 1876. The early history of the Museum is best told in two newspaper articles: H. D. Kennedy, "The Life of Boston's Old Art Museum," *Boston Evening Transcript*, March 11, 1911, and Arthur Fairbanks, "The Museum of Fine Arts," *Boston Sun*, September 14, 1912. Mr. Fairbanks was Director of the Museum, and as such more authoritative, but Mr. Kennedy is more fun.

exhibit them; and the Harvard University Overseers wanted to place a valuable collection of engravings in a fireproof building.

But the movement for a museum in Boston was something more than conveniently coalescing quests for space to show excess *objets d'art*. During the Civil War Era the city of Boston was engaged in a series of projects which would, in a later day, be given the verbal blanket of "urban renewal." The building of rapid transit facilities, the planning of other metropolitan amenities to serve the growing population, these were but gestures when compared with the immense effort (begun in 1856) of filling in the waters of the Back Bay, thus enlarging the city out of all recognition with the modest seaport it once was. Here was a huge tract of publicly owned land, an unparalleled opportunity for rational urban planning. But while it is true that some land was given to philanthropic and scholarly organizations like the Natural History Society and Trinity Church, more ambitious schemes, unfortunately, went unheeded. There was, for example, a suggestion that all the land between Boylston and Newbury Streets right up to the border of neighboring Brookline be reserved for buildings of a public or cultural character. And as early as 1858 a petition (eventually unsuccessful) was presented to the General Court requesting Back Bay land for a public museum.¹¹ Therefore it was no surprise when the first Museum building was placed on what is now Copley Square, although this land was actually owned by the Water Company and presented to the city on the understanding that it would be occupied by a museum or a park.

As one of the first public museums chartered in America, the Boston institution was a model for many later foundations. While the act of incorporation stipulated that the Museum be open, free of charge, at least four times a month, the buildings and property (up to a valuation of one million dollars) were placed in the hands of a self-perpetuating board of trustees. Twelve men were named to the board in the act of incorporation but by 1876, the year the Museum opened, the death of one trustee and the election of three more had increased the number to fourteen. Furthermore Harvard, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the Athenaeum were each given the right to appoint three trustees, and there was provision made for five *ex officio* members: the Mayor of Boston, the Chairman of the Trustees of the Public Library, a trustee of the Lowell Institute, the Secretary of the state Board of Education and the Boston Superintendent of Schools. Their titles reveal the importance attached to the Museum's pedagogical functions; their presence on the board indicated a hope that the Museum might be integrated with the

¹¹ H. L. Kennedy, *op. cit.*

public school curriculum.¹² Only recently the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, concerned about the level of local industrial design, had begun to enforce more rigidly legislation requiring art education in the public schools.

One of the trustees, writing twelve years after the Museum opened, emphasized the importance of the educators and the value of a diversified board; the "dangers of a narrow or unpractical management in the line of the more restricted interest of the fine arts, pure and simple, were greatly lessened by this broad basis of representation."¹³ And it was indeed a carefully selected group of men. At first glance it might have seemed merely a collection of wealthy Brahmins: Eliots, Perkinses and Bigelows took their places; almost all of the twenty-three elected trustees were descended from old Yankee families and were men of wealth. All but one were Proprietors of the Athenaeum, eleven were members of the Saturday Club, five served (or would serve) on the Harvard Board of Overseers, half were members of the Somerset or St. Botolph clubs and quite a number were blood relations. They had, for the most part, grown, studied and worked together.¹⁴ But social prestige and private fortune were at one and the same time prerequisite and incidental to their selection. Each member had some special knowledge or skill or interest which would favor the success of the infant institution. The group was deliberately balanced so that its parts would contribute to the financial and artistic success of the whole. As such it demands some attention.

If any single individual could be credited with leadership in the movement to establish a museum it would probably be Martin Brimmer, a wealthy and philanthropic Bostonian who spent most of his life quite predictably traveling, collecting and serving on the boards of charitable institutions. President of the new Museum, he had also been a State Senator and an unsuccessful candidate for Congress; work for Harvard, the Massachusetts General Hospitals and the Children's Aid Society absorbed his remaining time. Brimmer (together with another trustee, Charles Callaghan Perkins) was responsible for the composition of the

¹² By contrast, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, organized also in 1870, had as its ex officio the Governor of New York, the Mayor, the Commissioner of Public Parks, the Commissioner of Public Works, the President of the National Academy of Design and the President of the New York chapter of the American Institute of Architects. This arrangement placed greater emphasis on professional and political representatives than on pedagogues. See Howe, p. 126.

¹³ Edward H. Greenleaf, "The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston," *The Art Review* (July-August 1888), p. 1.

¹⁴ I have succeeded in identifying each of the original trustees and obtaining satisfactory biographical information. For the most part I have relied on obituary notices, club lists, private letters and social histories.

first board. He revealed his criteria for appointment in a fascinating letter to Charles Eliot Norton in 1882. By this time death had caused a number of vacancies, and Brimmer wrote the Harvard professor an evaluation of possible trustees.

The main object of having a large Board is, I think . . . to have many interests represented and to have trustees to whom we can turn for various kinds of aid. For instance we want what we had in Mr. Norcross [Otis Norcross, former Mayor of Boston], a man familiar with the City Hall and who has weight there. . . . This sort of consideration, I think, we must bear in mind as well as the intrinsic value of the persons proposed.

We have lost, and have only to a small extent replaced, several leading manufacturers. The manufacturers have been among our most helpful friends.

We want an architect in place of Ware. . . . Richardson is much the ablest man in the profession but is too much occupied. . . .

Some one on the Fine Arts side would be desirable for the fourth place. . . .

As to the other gentlemen named, Higginson would be excellent but he never attends meetings. . . .¹⁵

Brimmer's men obviously had to have time and interest, in addition to some sort of skill. The 1876 board was a microcosm of the great world; it contained a former mayor and a three-term governor; manufacturers and bankers sat together with educators and archeologists; each had some personal idiosyncrasy which made him particularly valuable. Henry J. Bigelow was not only a successful merchant but an expert in art restoration; E. B. Bigelow was as much inventor as manufacturer; his interest in power looms for carpet production made him intensely aware of problems connected with industrial design. Thomas Gold Appleton put his witty pen at the service of the Museum, writing catalogues, guidebooks and promotional newspaper articles. For most of the trustees, interest in art had preceded by many years their connection with the Museum; this was not a group of idle aristocrats or newly rich entrepreneurs intent on raising their social status through a connection with the fine arts.

¹⁵ Martin Brimmer to Charles Eliot Norton, Paris, December 3, 1882 in Charles Eliot Norton Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University. Among other prominent members of the board were Henry P. Kidder, the banker, who was very interested in education and was the first non-Harvard graduate ever elected to the Board of Overseers, and also a founder of the Boston Art Club; Charles C. Perkins, author of *Tuscan Sculptors*, one of the earliest works of art criticism published in America; Charles G. Loring, Major General in the United States Army and an eminent Egyptologist; Benjamin Smith Rotch, a student of European art collections; William Ware, the first head of the Columbia University School of Architecture.

Of course the financial aid of the Board was invaluable. In order to raise money for the first building public subscription drives were held. The first such drive, despite the Boston fire of 1872 and the Panic of 1873, yielded more than one thousand contributions totaling two hundred and sixty thousand dollars. Two years later one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars was raised to supplement the original sum. Amateur theatricals and mass meetings (addressed by dignitaries like Emerson and Phillips Brooks) were organized to raise the money, and the trustees secured the support of newspaper editors like William Warland Clapp of the *Journal*.¹⁶ Because the Museum was expected to have a profound effect upon industrial design, the carpet and textile magnates of Lowell and Lawrence were approached for aid. The manufacturers and financiers on the board managed all this with ease. And they made large donations themselves: Thomas Gold Appleton contributed fifteen thousand dollars, Martin Brimmer and a number of the commercial men like Henry Kidder and Benjamin Rotch gave five thousand dollars apiece. But, once more, neither wealth nor social standing sufficed to make a trustee; he needed some special skill, for it was the interest and abilities of the founders which was largely responsible for the rapid growth and eventual success of the young Museum.

One month after the act of incorporation, on March 17, 1870, the new board of trustees met officially for the first time (at the Athenaeum). The Committee on Organization had prepared a report which was read to the assembled group and accepted by them. All agreed that the Museum should be popular "in the widest sense of the term," and be open free as many days a week as was financially possible. More significantly, perhaps, the committee declared that one of the Museum's aims was to become "a comprehensive gallery of reproductions, through plaster casts of the many treasures of Antique and Medieval Art, or photographs of original drawings by the most renowned artists of all periods. . . ." ¹⁷ The necessity for owning reproductions seemed obvious to most of the founders, and indeed to many museum promoters outside of Boston. One of them, George Fiske Comfort, who was active in the founding of the New York Metropolitan, argued that for "purposes of study and for real aesthetic effect the reproductions are better than most original antiques. . . ." Casts, for example, were free from the discoloration attending originals.

¹⁶ See, for example, Charles G. Loring to William Warland Clapp, Boston, February 6, 1877 in William Warland Clapp Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

¹⁷ *Records of the Board of Trustees*, Vol. I, 1870-80. Boston Museum of Fine Arts. For permission to consult the early records of the Trustees I wish to thank the Secretary of the Museum of Fine Arts, Mr. D. Little.

Comfort admitted that "the cheapness of casts will be a stumbling-block to many dilettanti," but he insisted that sensible people thought this economy a recommendation; he commended the Boston trustees for collecting their casts.¹⁸

The trustees were praised again by the editor of the *Boston Advertiser*, who summed up the reasons for collecting reproductions.

Naturally enough we can never expect to rival the older museums of Italy in the possession of original works by the masters of the great periods of art. Our aim must be to bring these within the reach of our people by means of the best available copies and this is exactly what the directors of the museum . . . have done. . . .¹⁹

Although the Athenaeum placed most of its paintings in the Museum and the city of Boston removed its Gilbert Stuarts and Peales from Faneuil Hall to the new Copley Square building, there were not many paintings on view during the seventies and eighties and some of these, like the Dowse collection of watercolors, were simply reproductions of paintings hanging in European galleries. A large collection of photographs of European masterpieces was ordered (principally from the Braun Company in Hamburg) and rooms were filled with casts of Greco-Roman sculpture and architecture. As late as 1895 there were only about four hundred paintings in the possession of the Museum and of these the trustees owned only one-fourth, the rest being the property of the Athenaeum or of private individuals.²⁰

It is evident then, by word and action, that the Museum's founders did not intend it to be a treasure house of costly chefs-d'oeuvre. J. Elliott Cabot, an architect and a member of the original board, expressed the thoughts of many when he hoped that the managers of the Museum would set as their goal the acquisition of a good collection of casts, and would be "prevented from squandering their funds upon the private fancies of would-be connoisseurs."²¹ Charles C. Perkins, another trustee, insisted that since America had no class of patrons, collecting originals would be impossible. Reproductions would be quite satisfactory for "we aim at collecting materials for the education of a nation in art not at making collections of objects of art. That must be done at a later stage of

¹⁸ George Fiske Comfort, "Art Museums in America," *Old and New* (April 1870), I, 506.

¹⁹ *Boston Advertiser*, October 10, 1879.

²⁰ *Catalogue of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Winter 1894-5, 2 vols. See also "Property of the Athenaeum at the Museum of Fine Arts, 1895," a committee report in the records of the Athenaeum.

²¹ J. Elliott Cabot to Charles Eliot Norton, Brookline, May 10, 1875, in Charles Eliot Norton Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

national development when we are willing to pay for them." ²² Coin impressions, casts and products of the applied arts, concluded Perkins, were preferable to paintings (for purposes of collections) since painting was the most difficult art form to reproduce well.

Martin Brimmer, the Museum president, acknowledged that original works of art were desirable, particularly if donated. But he was aware of the problems inherent in selection, and the delicate balance the trustees had to maintain between openhanded acceptance of anything offered and narrow dogmatism.

Judgments of intrinsic merit . . . are nowhere infallible. They vary somewhat with individual tastes; they vary more with the shifting tendencies of the time. . . . What we need is a collection of permanent value, and in forming it, it will be well to avoid too strict an adherence to the theories . . . of the day. The function of the managers of a museum is not criticism, but the collection of materials for the criticism of others. While they should carefully guard against the inroad of pictorial rubbish, they should bring to the increase of their stores a broad and tolerant spirit.²³

Although the trustees used the test of time in making purchases (partly, as Brimmer's remarks indicate, from a desire to abdicate the critical role and rely upon the judgment of others), they were conscious of responsibilities to contemporary American art. In 1880 and for several years thereafter, an annual exhibition of painting, confined to living American artists, was held in the Museum's galleries. In 1880 the Museum opened six special exhibitions including the works of W. M. Hunt; Gilbert Stuart and Dr. William Rimmer. In 1881 five exhibitions were organized, all confined to American art, and among them a display of American wood engravings, a group of Christmas card designs and a large collection of Washington Allston's work.²⁴

It was in this spirit also that the Museum's collections included (besides traditional European masterpieces) Greek, Indian, Chinese, Egyptian and Japanese art, as well as coins, textiles, metalwork and furniture. When, in 1876, the trustees decided to appropriate two thousand dollars for purchases at the great Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, the money was spent on Asian bronzes, Japanese and Tangiers leathers and Moorish textiles, pottery and tiles. The selections were made "with

²² Charles C. Perkins, "American Art Museums," *North American Review*, CXI (July 1870), 8.

²³ Martin Brimmer, "The Museum of Fine Arts," *American Architect and Building News*, VIII (October 30, 1880), 205. This entire issue was devoted to the Museum.

²⁴ *Trustees of the Museum of Fine Arts, Annual Reports* (Boston, 1876-91), *passim*.

reference to the advancement of artistic design in the industries of Massachusetts," and European exhibits were largely ignored: the trustees were particularly anxious to obtain examples from "countries comparatively little known."²⁵ Here was the catholicity of exhibits that many supporting the Museum had insisted upon, as well as an awareness of the needs of industrial art. "The designer needs a museum of art," said Brimmer, "as the man of letters needs a library, or the botanist a herbarium [*sic*]."²⁶ Arthur Rotch, architect and trustee, described the "South Kensington" aspect of the Museum building in the eighties as being of more value to the industrial designer than to the dilettante. This was not

a national storehouse filled with treasures and spoils of conquest, nor is it merely a gallery devoted to *chefs d'oeuvre* of classic art, for the benefit chiefly of artists and amateurs. Democracy is a great destroyer of mythologies, and art can no longer remain a mere religion of certain votaries. . . .²⁷

And it was not enough merely to put the objects on show. Comprehensive and inexpensive guides to the collections were issued, bulletins on the Museum's growth were compiled annually, lecture tours were planned, an extensive library was formed and various art schools established. As Edward Greenleaf, writing in *The Art Review*, insisted, the collections were not only to be exhibited but "elucidated, compared, illustrated."²⁸ Many of these activities, so common today, were innovated by the Boston Museum.

Walter Smith, an Englishman who had settled in America and was popularizing industrial art education, urged the use of clear, terse, descriptive labels. "The supposition should be," he wrote, "that nobody knows anything about the objects in it, but that people go there to learn."²⁹ The illustrated guidebooks simplified and explained. Devices like this, said Smith, marked the difference between a rich but cadaverous shrine like the British Museum, and a vibrant, influential school like the recently organized South Kensington Museum (better known today as the Victoria and Albert).

Smith has been called a disciple of the great English art publicist, John Ruskin, as has James Jackson Jarves, a Bostonian whose collections and many writings on art and museums exerted great (if often unacknowl-

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 1876, pp 10-11.

²⁶ Brimmer, p. 206.

²⁷ Arthur Rotch, *American Architect and Building News*, VIII (October 30, 1880), 207.

²⁸ Edward H. Greenleaf, p. 7.

²⁹ Walter Smith, *Popular Industrial Art Education* (Boston, 1882), p. 18.

edged) influence upon American museums.³⁰ But Jarves and the new American museums he advocated differed strikingly with Ruskin's conceptions. Indeed it is the Englishman whose ideas best fit the traditional intellectual pattern created for the American art patron. Ruskin called for elegant palaces to house the collections, insisting that "the original expenditure for building and fitting must be magnificent."³¹ The entrance fee was to be in silver (not copper) to carry out the theme of elegance to the visitors. He laid emphasis on the museum's moral value, the impressions of luxury which the vulgar were to carry away with them. Exhibits were to be permanent in order to give patrons a feeling of being at ease when they returned periodically. Nothing could be shown unless it was good (at least of its sort); "there is no dexter view to be had of the business which does not consist primarily in knowing Bad from Good, and Right from Wrong."³² The museum could contain only "what is eternally right, and well done, according to divine law and human skill."³³ Americans tended to be less rigid and more tolerant, to say the least.

In Boston the very building (unhappily extinct), designed by Sturgis and Bigelow after various experiments in museum planning, was intended to be as inexpensive as possible and proclaim its function from its exterior. "No intelligent person, seeing it for the first time," exulted the trustees, "could possibly take it for anything but a Museum; and such revelation of the end in the aspect is a cardinal virtue in any piece of man's work."³⁴ The design was Victorian Gothic and thoroughly eclectic, but the rhetoric (and intention) sounds quite modern: this was to be a rationally planned, functional, inexpensive building. That it was none of these things is irrelevant to this point.

³⁰ The story of Jarves and the Museum Movement is fascinating; I had intended to discuss it in more detail but there is no space here. The only biography of Jarves is Francis Steegmuller, *The Two Lives of James Jackson Jarves* (New Haven, 1951). While always interesting, Steegmuller devotes disappointingly little attention to Jarves' ideas concerning art museums. Benjamin Rowland's introduction to *The Art Idea*, published recently by the John Harvard Library (Cambridge, 1960), is not much more helpful on this subject. Both see Jarves as a follower of Ruskin; this may need reassessment. There is an interesting but brief discussion about Jarves in Russell Lynes, pp. 37-65. Probably the most thoughtful analysis of Jarves' thought can be found in Rene Brimo, *L'Evolution du Gout aux Etats, Unis, d'après l'Histoire des Collections* (Paris, 1938).

³¹ John Ruskin, "A Museum or Picture Gallery" in *The Works of John Ruskin*, eds. E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (London, 1908), XXXIV, 250.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 255.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

³⁴ *Trustees Report*, 1878, p. 6. This was the first large building in America to be constructed of terra cotta, an inexpensive alternative to stone or marble.

Following the advice of Charles Perkins, one of the trustees, the founders decided to form collections first, and then spend what money remained on the building.³⁵ It was not until six years after the incorporation, on July 3, 1876 (deliberately chosen as the day before the centennial of American Independence), that the Museum building was officially dedicated.

At the dedication ceremonies the educational aspect of the Museum was stressed again and again. Mayor Cobb called it the "crown of our educational system."³⁶ Samuel Eliot, Superintendent of Public Schools, insisted that "every museum, every museum of fine arts particularly, is not only a museum, but a school—a school in which some of the best and noblest faculties of our nature find their daily . . . claim."³⁷ And Charles Perkins spoke hopefully of a future day when the museum would have grown "to be a rival . . . of the great industrial museums at Kensington and Vienna."³⁸

The Museum was almost immediately popular; the first full year of operation, 1877, saw it admit more than seventeen thousand paid visitors and more than one hundred and forty thousand free visitors. Since free days were confined to Saturday and Sunday this represented as many as four or five thousand people a weekend; before long there began to be complaints of crowding in the galleries.

Art interest, to be sure, was not the only contributing cause to the Museum's success; civic pride played its part also.³⁹ Bostonians were conscious that their great intellectual age was passing away, and some realized that living on past capital would not secure a continuation of their cultural hegemony. "What is Boston going to do," Thomas Gold Appleton inquired of a Boston matron, "when those fellows die who give it its honor now? Longfellow, Holmes and the rest? They can't live for-

³⁵ Charles C. Perkins, p. 28.

³⁶ *Proceedings at the Opening of the Museum of Fine Arts* (Boston, 1876), p. 6. This was printed together with the *Trustees Report* for 1876.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

³⁹ T. L. Low, *Art Museums*, contains a lucid account of the economic, social and political motives played upon by the museum appeals. I do disagree, however, with Mr. Low's comments about the Boston Museum, and his conclusion that it early embarked upon collecting with an aesthetic ideal while the Metropolitan, in New York City, was more comprehensive and concerned with the history of art. If anything, to judge from contemporary newspaper comment (and the evidence of the catalogues) the situation was quite the reverse. Another point that might be noted concerns Mr. Low's view that the innovations prepared by the Boston Museum took an inordinate amount of time. The Museum opened its doors (and only briefly) in 1876; not until the following year was it open on a full-time basis. Innovations appear in the early or mid-eighties; therefore were delayed five or six years, and not the ten or fifteen the incorporation date of 1870 would seem to indicate.

ever. . . ." ⁴⁰ For some, the answer lay in enterprises like the new Museum.

And Bostonians, vaguely aware of the pretensions of the metropolis to their south, were also pleased at outdoing it, for the great New York museum (despite a relatively liberal financial endowment) was running into difficulties. Its director, L. P. di Cesnola, had invested a great deal of money and space in a collection of Cypriot antiquities and some New Yorkers feared their museum had become a haven for archeological specialists. New York newspapers praised the judgment of the Boston Museum directors. The *New York Times* insisted that the Boston idea of diversified offering was preferable to an exhaustive collection of one period. It was utility not dilettantism that was necessary.

Those who want artistic training are of the multitude who make plates for us to eat off of, stoves . . . woodwork . . . bind books and carve tombstones. . . . Why should we flatter what is known as the general American taste? It is too young yet . . . let it rather be supposed to be as a sheet of wax, quite ready to receive any impressions.⁴¹

Here, in a curious re-creation of eighteenth-century modes of thought, Americans were presented with a new *tabula rasa*; but now it was taste that took the place of morality. The widest selection of impressions, the most diverse group of objects, chronologically and geographically, these would produce the best aesthetic results. Naïveté perhaps, but not dogmatism, was the mark of these nineteenth-century tastemakers.

Of course the Boston Museum did not meet with universal approval. There was critical comment when the trustees decided to sell some of the more worthless curiosities that Charles Sumner had bequeathed. "The common people will turn to them gladly, if they are not appreciated by those of artistic and travel-improved tastes," one newspaper observed tartly.⁴²

And a writer in *The Art Amateur* labeled the Museum "the latest born pet of our aristocracy of culture," and criticized it for spending so much money on textiles, furniture and Oriental pottery.⁴³ But the attitude which this critic (Mrs. Clements) represented was parochial itself. "Stuffs and nonsense," she called the applied arts exhibited by the Museum;

⁴⁰ M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *Memories of a Hostess, A Chronicle of Eminent Friendships Drawn Chiefly from the Diaries of Mrs. James T. Fields* (Boston, 1922), p. 115.

⁴¹ *New York Times*, February 22, 1880.

⁴² Newspaper Clipping File, Museum of Fine Arts, p. 5. Unfortunately neither the name or date of the newspaper is indicated.

⁴³ Mrs. Edward J. Clements, *The Art Amateur* (June 1879), p. 7.

since the institution's avowed purpose was to raise the standards of industrial design, the exhibits were perfectly justifiable.

More serious was the complaint of artists that there was no effort made to sell any paintings at the annual exhibitions of contemporary art; neither salesmen nor price tags were present. A Mr. Dickinson writing in the *Boston Journal* suggested the reason: the trustees were "mainly wealthy men" who saw "the support of the dignity of the institution as the chief duty required by them." The result, according to Dickinson, was that the Museum contained almost no contemporary art; it was a "necropolis."⁴⁴

This criticism was only partly valid. Years later Benjamin Ives Gilman, Director of the Museum, insisted that "not the patronage of art, but its conservation, is the proper function of museum boards";⁴⁵ in the early eighties the trustees were not so sure. In a pamphlet put out in July 1881 (on the occasion of a Washington Allston exhibition), Thomas Gold Appleton wrote what amounted to a reply to Dickinson's implications.

The Museum of Fine Arts feels it its duty to open its doors with a wide hospitality. It does not desire to be a mere reservoir, a stagnant receptacle of the good works of artists, either living or dead. While it boasts treasures of its own, it loves to see a current from outside freshening its appreciated masterpieces.⁴⁶

These "currents," presumably, were the frequent exhibitions of American art. In any event, the Museum bought almost nothing at all for the first twenty years of its life, a condition made necessary by its meager financial endowment. The trustees had to be content with bequests and temporary loans. Indeed it was these bequests, like the group of Egyptian antiquities gathered by John Lowell and Denman Ross' Japanese pottery, which made up a strong reason for the emergence of the institution into a museum of originals rather than reproductions. As more and more private patrons of art appeared, the public museums benefitted also. Beginning in the nineties the less interesting paintings were handed back to the Athenaeum, photographs relegated to the library and casts stored away in the basement. In 1884, Harvey D. Parker left one hundred thousand dollars to the Museum, and in 1898 Henry L. Pierce bequeathed it seven hundred and thirty thousand dollars. By 1912, with the collections housed in a vast new building on the Fenway, the Museum Director could speak of the rooms filled with casts as but a "steppingstones

⁴⁴ Reprinted from the *Boston Journal* in the *New York Tribune* (December 23, 1884).

⁴⁵ Benjamin Ives Gilman, *The Museum of Fine Arts, 1870-1920* (Boston, 1920), p. 17.

⁴⁶ Museum Clipping File, p. 45.

to higher things." "What a revelation it was," he wrote, "when the original Greek sculpture began to appear in the Museum. The casts became mere plaster without a soul and we recognized the magic of the craftsmen's hands, the beauty of texture and the nobility of form."⁴⁷ But for most of the nineteenth century Bostonians were content, indeed happy, with casts and reproductions.

The aim of industrial improvement has been given enough attention to indicate that it was an important objective for the Museum's founders. But some critics have questioned the validity of their motives. Professor Kouwenhoven has interpreted their dissatisfaction with the current level of taste as a desire to Europeanize the American vernacular. Walter Smith's Kensington Doctrine of "honesty in construction, fitness of ornament to material, and decorative subordination" is meaningless, for nowhere better than in the designs which Smith praised, says Kouwenhoven,

can we see the fruits of that tradition which had dedicated itself to persuading the Americans that they were a "raw and noisy and obtrusive people" who could be saved only by placing themselves under the influence of the past and reverently studying specimens of the arts of luxury from Europe.⁴⁸

It is true that designs which Smith and others in the museum movement lauded as the height of restraint and good taste seem today to have been monstrously ornate and far from functional. But they were often modesty personified compared to the designs which were condemned. Walter Smith, for example, did not criticize simplicity or functionalism, but spent his fire on over-decoration and inept attempts to imitate bad European designs. "It is noteworthy," he commented,

that most of this ugliness is produced by the desire to decorate, which in the work of men destitute of artistic taste, results in meaningless and disagreeable perversion. There is a certain beauty in fitness, and a coal-scuttle or a kitchen-pail which is evidently constructed so as best to fulfill its purpose is fully justified.⁴⁹

And Jarves (as Professor Kouwenhoven does indicate) had a feeling for the vernacular. In *Art Thoughts* he wrote that Americans, when they followed utilitarian and economical principles, created objects of a beauty far superior to any other. "His [the American] clipper-ships, fire engines, locomotives, and some of his machinery and tools combined that equilibrium of lines, proportions, and masses which are among the funda-

⁴⁷ Arthur Fairbanks, "The Museum of Fine Arts," *Boston Sun* (September 14, 1912).

⁴⁸ Kouwenhoven, *Made in America*, p. 115.

⁴⁹ Walter Smith, *The Masterpieces of the Centennial Exhibition* (Philadelphia, 1877), II, 30.

mental causes of abstract beauty."⁵⁰ Jarves declaimed against European (particularly Parisian) monopolies on taste. Cultural nationalism played a major role in the museum movement, as it did in the widespread popular interest in industrial design.

Finally, the prominent role given to Asiatic and Near Eastern designs in the Boston collection, and to handicrafts and household wares, seems to belie the charge that the founders adhered rigidly to European traditions of gentility.

Some writers in the seventies reacted violently to the sudden effusion of wealth in the Gilded Age. One of them, Allen Thorndike Rice, described his era as one in which "vast fortunes were accumulated. Men who but yesterday had swept the streets rose to wealth and ease."⁵¹ These *nouveaux riches*, he said, required paintings for their walls and insisted not upon quality but quantity; the taste for vulgarity spread and this sudden forced demand created a flood of inferior art work. The new tycoons, apparently, had no more a feeling for the cultural vernacular than the so-called "conservators" and in reacting against a "vulgarized" taste many in the museum movement may have been reacting to an imported and over-ornate European decoration. Certainly Jarves and Smith give that impression. Professor Kouwenhoven is quite correct in asserting that their sympathy with the vernacular was often undeveloped, but many in the museum movement were really mediators between the vernacular (which they appreciated to at least some degree) and the genteel tradition. It was not a matter of trying to force Victorian standards down the throats of countrymen who reveled in plain design and bright colors, but rather to stem the tide of "indifferent" European paintings and designs which were flooding America, to produce an "educated public" with an appreciation of artistic meaning and purpose.⁵² This was the museum's function.

It cannot be denied that present in the literature proposing the creation of galleries is the theme of preserving a true European culture, of watching the sacred flame and preventing its extinguishment in a barbaric land. Eugene Benson, for one, addressed himself to the "Guardians of civilization and the conservators of the means of culture."⁵³ He stressed the fact that museums would foster reverence.

⁵⁰ James Jackson Jarves, *Art Thoughts, The Experiences and Observations of an American Amateur in Europe* (New York, 1869), p. 323.

⁵¹ Allen Thorndike Rice, "The Progress of Painting in America," *North American Review*, CXXIV (May 1877), 457.

⁵² James Jackson Jarves, "Art in America, Its Condition and Prospects," *Fine Arts Quarterly Review*, I (October 1863), 399.

⁵³ Eugene Benson, "Museums of Art as a Means of Instruction," *Appleton's Journal*, III (January 15, 1870), 80.

We are a raw and noisy and obtrusive people; but place one generation of us under the influence of the past, let us see something grand and beautiful *not* made by our hands, yet made by the hands of men, and perhaps we shall feel the sweet flower of humility break through. . . .⁵⁴

But Benson was not typical; most of the other writers, like Jarves, Perkins, Brimmer and Comfort, spoke and acted quite differently. Mention of reverence was rare, nor did anyone speak of preserving masterpieces from the mob or making the museum a repository of standards. A repository of samples, antique designs, foreign examples, yes, but more to inspire than to insist, more to be adapted than copied. Taste was to be improved through comparison, not imitation. And while the American vernacular may have had its own aesthetic values, American designers and manufacturers of furniture, textiles and costumes, even before the museums were established, did not make very much use of it. The Boston Museum, in its original statement, made no attack on the vernacular but rather attempted to improve an industrial production which itself had little to do with native traditions of art.

If much of the preceding is true—that museum founders (at least in Boston) were interested not in ostentation, prestige or elevating themselves above the brutish mass by a devotion to high art but were engaged in a highly rational attempt to make the fine arts more popular, stimulate native art schools and improve industrial design by the availability of models—where then did the myth of the academic, abstruse and alien museum begin? Perhaps the myth was born in the first decade of the twentieth century, when museum collections and buildings had grown and the aims of their directors had changed; when large-scale private collecting was no longer an anomaly; when muckrakers were discrediting big business and art amateurs were trying to do the same to the great art “trusts.” Any reforming age condemns the immediate past as guilty, by definition. Since the museums themselves were products of an immediately preceding age, it was easier to taint their pedigree and prove their illegitimacy right from the start, than to reveal by more careful analyses just where their development diverged from an acceptable pattern.

It is true, also, that in the forty years from 1870 to 1910 museum thought itself underwent a revolution. This was but natural. Museums had grown enormously in size and number; directorship had become a professional occupation; periodicals and associations had been formed. In 1910 the Boston Museum, after years of public discussion about a new

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

building, moved to its present home on the Fenway. Because its property had grown so enormously, the Museum displayed a carefully arranged group of objects for the public on its upper floors and placed special alcoves (containing the bulk of the collections) in the basement, for visiting scholars and experts. One writer commented in 1914 that this arrangement was a compromise between "two fundamentally different ideas as to the end and the aim of a museum." One of these concepts held that a museum

should be a sort of storehouse of everything beautiful or interesting that has ever been done in the past; if not originals, than reproductions. Moreover, that all these things should be exposed together, with proper printed comment, with a view of educating and edifying the public, as well as delighting it.

The other idea is that a museum should reunite a few exquisitely beautiful originals. . . . The holders of this idea believe that the people are more elevated, that their taste is better stimulated by the sight of a few very beautiful things arrayed in the best possible setting. . . .⁵⁵

The distinctions made here are obviously not consistent; there would be no real difference about aims when the alternative to "educating the public" was "elevating their taste." But the writer was closer to the real problem in his remarks concerning originals and selectivity. Now, at the start of the new century, paintings and sculpture were to be considered only with an eye to their intrinsic value; historical interest was to be ignored. Benjamin Ives Gilman, the new director of the Boston Museum, denied the validity of managing a "public treasury of art as if primarily an agency of popular education."⁵⁶ He insisted that the Museum's function was aesthetic and not didactic. If people sought instruction from works of art they were refusing to accept objects for what they were, looking instead to what could be learned from them. "Neither in scope nor in value is the purpose of an art museum a pedagogic one."⁵⁷ Gilman allowed that there were many types of museums, including the educational; the art museum, however, was a separate concept. His plea for selective or "anthological" museums—that is, museums displaying only the masterpieces of a particular art form—was made before the organizing meeting of the Association of American Museums in May 1906, and

⁵⁵ Philip L. Hale, "The Boston Art Museum," *Scribner's Magazine*, XLVII (February 1910), 253.

⁵⁶ Benjamin Ives Gilman, "On the Distinctive Purpose of Museums of Art," *Museum Journal* (January 1904), p. 1.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5

was immediately popular. *The Nation* applauded the speech vigorously in an editorial.

But there was also disagreement. While *The Nation* insisted that verdicts of taste (in the main) were "quite as sure as the date on a birth certificate," a Professor Goodyear protested. Selection of the "best" as such was impossible, he wrote to the editor, for the basis of such selection was simply individual taste or caprice. ". . . our only certitudes are of an historic sort. Hence history and chronology are the only safe guides for a director, and the best arrangement for the student will turn out to be the best also for the man in the street."⁵⁸

Goodyear's position was extreme, but closer to the old tradition than the new. It is true that even in the seventies museums were selective and the Boston trustees frequently refused gifts and sold undesirable portions of bequests. But in general their policy was liberal and some of them, like Brimmer, doubted the value of decisions concerning intrinsic value since these decisions were based upon a particular climate of aesthetic opinion. A turning to traditional art and time-tested masterpieces often reflected a desire to avoid dogmatism more than it represented an attempt to promote European traditions of gentility. In any event, it was not possible for museums to show examples specially selected for the public until collections had grown sufficiently to allow for such choice. This did not occur until the nineties.

Other writers of Gilman's day, anxious either to support his ideas or some new plans of their own, attacked the early founders. Only the appearance of democratization had taken place in the nineteenth-century museum, wrote Frank Mather in 1907. Alone, students and connoisseurs profited.

For the people nothing had been done except to open the doors. Dazzling statistics of attendance and acquisition only meant that more stones were being provided for an ever-increasing throng that wanted bread. . . . In the high name of scholarship, museums have reached or are rapidly approaching hypertrophy.⁵⁹

Mather felt that the "bastiles" of art must be made "homes"; one way to do this was to select only the "best" for exhibition. So (for the first time in America) one actually approaches the Ruskin image of an art museum. Again the museum's pedagogic role was denied, and again appears the assertion, similar to the statement in *The Nation*, that "a working consensus of competent, aesthetic opinion is, in fact, so every-day

⁵⁸ *The Nation*, XXCII (May 24, 1906), 423.

⁵⁹ Frank Jewett Mather, "An Art Museum for the People," *Atlantic Monthly*, C (December 1907), 730.

a phenomenon, that its denial savors simply of an abnormal experience of life. . . ." ⁶⁰ Critics living in this era had much less difficulty justifying the selection of masterpieces than had the men of the seventies.

And finally, Mather praised the new Boston Museum building (itself imitative and eclectic by present standards) for its utilitarian design and lack of ornamentation. By contrast the older building, lauded in its day as a model of design and economy, he condemned as an example of "the vanity or the negligent opulence of their founders—impudent and irrelevant expressions of the most ephemeral art of our day, neither housing nor even lighting properly the works of art. . . ." ⁶¹

But Mather's attack, violent as it was, seems merely a whisper beside the charges of John Cotton Dana. The thesis he outlined in his many pamphlets calling for the establishment of new museums, seems to have been accepted almost in its entirety by later generations. Museum founding, as Dana describes it, lies under a sociological indictment bearing strong influence of Thorstein Veblen's teaching. After the Civil War, wrote Dana, the rich found themselves (for the first time in America) in positions of luxurious security. They demanded architects, jewelers, painters and sculptors to adorn their homes and their persons, so distinguishing themselves from the common herd. The new aristocracy felt their superiority could best be evidenced by collecting rare and costly objects, excluding all objects produced by Americans: "the products of our own people are definitely held in no esteem as honorific possessions." ⁶² Furthermore, the wealthy men who bought these objects also got museums to acquire them, since these were the men who patronized and directed the museums. Thus instead of encouraging native talent, the museums remained rooted in a European tradition. Housed in temples or palaces badly adapted to display art, the collections were placed far from the center of the city, usually in some remote park, carefully following the pattern of an English country home or French chateau. American art enthusiasts, Dana continued, tried to form collections of rare and costly objects; they were convinced that any real oil painting, however bad, was superior to any reproduction, however good. "Art museum objects were not chosen for their beauty or for the help they might give in developing good taste in the community. . . ." ⁶³

Since European collections were largely historical and archeological, ours were also. Public museums, said Dana, must be joyful and come into close contact with the applied arts; they should not, as they did,

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 735.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 737.

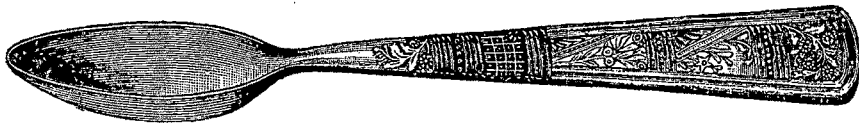
⁶² John Cotton Dana, *The Gloom of the Museum* (Woodstock, 1917), p. 8.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

contain archeological miscellany. And finally, in a curious juxtaposition to Lewis Mumford's image, Dana noted that "a great city department store of the first class is perhaps more like a good museum of art than any of the museums we have yet established."⁶⁴ In 1910 a department store was still the quintessence of ordered variety, a far cry from the symbol of a chaotic potpourri conjured up by Mumford some thirty years later.

Why Dana, Mather and a number of other critics described the formation of the American museum so incorrectly is a question which deserves greater attention than can be given here. They may have been provoked by Gilman's ideas and, either supported him by casting aspersions on the intentions of the early founders, or attacked him by lumping together into one mold the various ages of the American art museum. Or they may have been generalizing from the character and motives of the avid twentieth-century American collectors. At any rate, the indictment (so far as Boston is concerned) errs in almost every particular. This was a museum founded as a collection of reproductions, intended to have a direct connection with popular culture and the applied arts; its building (whatever contemporary judgment may be) was planned as modest and utilitarian; its pedagogic role was pre-eminent; its founders were talented, interested and concerned about American art and the contents of their museum; and it was consciously a departure from the approved European tradition. Surely, then, the cultural organizers of the Gilded Age have deserved a more attentive historical press.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23.



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Jefferson's Farmer before Jefferson

FOLLOWING THE TURMOIL OF THE REVOLUTION, A NEW NOTE RESOUNDED in American culture: the celebration of the farmer, the land and agricultural science. Thomas Jefferson gave it early expression in *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1782) when he hailed the farmers as God's chosen people. But although praise of rural virtue is commonly associated with his name and with the Republican political program, the gospel suddenly turns up everywhere: in Philip Freneau's poem, "The Bergen Planter" (1790), in Enos Hitchcock's novel, *The Farmer's Friend* (1793), in George Logan's *Letters Addressed to the Yeomanry of the United States* (1791) and Crèvecoeur's *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782), in John Taylor's polemic, *The Arator* (1813), in the transactions of the various philosophic societies, and in private correspondence, especially that of the Virginia planters.

Interest in agriculture had intensified in England about a century earlier, and the English vogue had in turn been imported from the continent.¹ A rage for the bucolic spread throughout the eighteenth century in England, both making itself felt in and taking sustenance from literature and politics. This stream of agricultural enthusiasm was separated from colonial America, however, as if by a dike; only incidentally did its ideas splash over or seep through. We can hazard a guess why. When the agricultural fad began in England, American colonists were still clinging to the Atlantic coastline, and the mere subjugation of a seemingly endless wilderness occupied most of their energy. Few could be expected to celebrate the subtle joys of an occupation essential for brute survival. Then, when stability and leisure allowed time enough to consider the *art* of farming, informed men in the colonies had turned to problems of war

¹ For further discussion of the agricultural movement's literary aspects on the continent and in England, see: Paul H. Johnstone, "Turnips and Romanticism," *Agricultural History*, XII, no. 3 (1938), 224-55; and Kenneth MacLean, *Agrarian Age* (New Haven, 1950).

and diplomacy. Thus little encouragement existed for a thoughtful examination of the newly domesticated rural scene.

So if the colonists were Englishmen first, and their ideas mutations of a common intellectual heritage, nonetheless they imported and used only as much of the transatlantic stock of ideas as was practicable for their unique condition. This is especially the case with the colonial attitude toward the farmer. Until the Revolution, published views of agrarian life were skimpy and in the main aped Mother Country attitudes. Colonial poets imitated the English pastoral, and magazine editors paraphrased and otherwise filched essays from English sources. A few articles suggested new farming techniques, but the reader was usually steered quickly to English experts for information. By 1775 only two books devoted to colonial agriculture had appeared: Jared Eliot's *Essays Upon Field Husbandry in New England* (1760) and the anonymous *American Husbandry* (1775) printed in England. Both were primarily technical works concerned with the ways and means of farming. Although proposals for new magazines often promised that "under the head of our *Miscellany* will be occasionally inserted experienced and *approved* Improvements, in Husbandry, Gardening, and other Arts and Sciences,"² normally the essays of "Agricola" and "The Country Planter" ran only a few issues, then vanished. Subscribers apparently failed to protest their disappearance, and in fact, when *The New American Magazine* was forced to suspend publication, "Sylvanus Americanus" scolded his readers for "The Reluctance which seems to prevail in these parts towards acquiring that Education and Knowledge which is absolutely expedient to form the truly serviceable Man. . . ."³

When agriculture *was* mentioned prior to the Revolution, it inevitably received the highest praise. Eulogies of rural life may touch the farmer only obliquely, but they prepare the ground for the assertion that since the country is clean, natural and beautiful, he who works its earth absorbs its virtues. An essay in *The New England Magazine* made this claim for the inherent nobility of agriculture: "The only Gentlemanlike Way of growing rich, is by the Art of Husbandry; all other Professions have something in them of the *mean* and *subservient*; this alone is free and noble. . . ."⁴ The essay, culled from an English source, established a coat of arms for agriculture: "We may talk what we please of Lillies and Lions Rampant, and spread Eagles in Fields of Or or Argent; but if Heraldry

² *The New American Magazine*, December, 1759, p. 252.

³ *Ibid.*, March, 1760, no page number.

⁴ "In Praise of Country Employment," *The New England Magazine*, March, 1759, pp. 38-39.

were guided by right Reason, a Plow in a FIELD ARABLE would be the most noble and ancient ARMS." ⁵

Other attempts were made to fix the farmer in the social system. In 1758 *The New American Magazine* published an article on yeomanry, saying: "The Yeomanry or Farmers are the boast of our nation; they have always been, and continue to be, of great consequence and use to us, and a very necessary link in the chain of government, as having an immediate connection with the gentleman on the one side, and the labourer on the other." ⁶ Obviously English, these views are not readily applicable to the colonial situation, but they do afford a rudimentary social scale of interest to the American reader.

The same article goes on to cite the major claims made for husbandry's pre-eminence: it was the first method of life, designed for us by our Creator; it was productive of health and long life; it brought happiness and dignity.⁷ These same therapeutic values in farming were coupled in Nathaniel Ames's *Almanack* of 1755 with an appeal to Roman virtues, an appeal foreshadowing the designation of George Washington as the American Cincinnatus returned to the plow:

The Law of Nature so ordains, *Toil and be Strong*. The Husbandman who manures the glebe, and toils in the Dust and Rain;—his Habit is steel'd with Labour;—his Nerves grow firm and strong; thro' midnight Fogs he walks unhurt, nor fears Rheumatic Pains or Coughs from Eastern Blasts.

Oh! happy would it be for many Sons of Luxury, if they no Bread might eat but what they earn'd by Labour. . . . T'was Toil that taught the *Romans* how to conquer; they from the Fields went to the Senate-House; and from the Plough they led their Legions on to war, by Toil thro' every Clime they gain'd the Victory.—Then you of firmest Clay, *New England's* hardest sons, let agriculture exercise your Limbs.—You with the Spirit of the Romans, conquered *Louisbourg*: Manure this land which your Forefathers planted with Herculean Labour and at a vast Expence.⁸

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 35. This is a quote within a quote within an extract.

⁶ January, 1758, p. 9. From "A monthly pamphlet lately published, entitled 'The Annals of Literature.'"

⁷ Four months later, the Philadelphia rival of this New Jersey magazine, *The American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle*, printed substantially the same remarks under the signature of AGRICOLA, crediting them as "An Abstract of Lisle's Introduction to His Observations on HUSBANDRY." (May, 1758), pp. 382-87. A variation on the theme: "Tillage was the first Exertion of Human Industry, and that to which the Highest Honour was annexed, in the uncorrupted Simplicity of antient and true Wisdom." Alexander Cluny, *The American Traveller* (London, 1769), p. 115.

⁸ *The Essays, Humor, and Poems of Nathaniel Ames*, ed. Sam. Briggs (Cleveland, 1891), p. 261.

"The Country Farmer," an occasional essayist in *The New American Magazine*, came to the philosophy of agriculture in January 1760. He linked it with natural philosophy, asserting that, "As this science advances, so will agriculture, as they are both derived from the same source, both issuing from those pure streams of eternal truth, and both conducive to noble ends, and have a natural tendency to excite in us becoming sentiments of the First Cause."⁹ *The New England Magazine* quoting Cowley quoting Cicero quoting Columella noted that, "Husbandry is . . . the nearest Neighbor, and without Doubt, the next in kindred to Philosophy. . . ."¹⁰ In what was purportedly his "Counsel and Advice to his Wife and Children," William Penn requested, "Let my children be Husbandmen, and housewives; 'tis industrious, healthy, honest, a good example like Abraham, and the holy Antients, that pleased God, and have obtained a good report."¹¹

Of the quotations offered to this point, none have been specifically applicable to the American scene. Although they appealed to reason, they failed to awaken any significant response in American culture. On the other hand, the English pastoral tradition was enthusiastically accepted by aspiring colonial poets. Eighteenth-century American magazines are oppressive with tributes to the bucolic life. Poets with prematurely jaded minds, believing that "Country People were, in all Ages, preferred before the Inhabitants of Cities,"¹² urged their public "to quit the city's thronged maze,/ And join the nymphs and swains that live at ease." Three examples illustrate the tenuous connection this poetry had with the colonial farmers.

Oh! happy swains, did they know how to prize
The many blessings rural life supplies.¹³

Loose from the crib and fattening stall
The kine and sturdy oxen stray,
And o'er his furrow'd tillage small,
The jolly ploughman plods his way.¹⁴

Now Muse, a while forsake the town
To view the happy rustic clown,

⁹ P. 14.

¹⁰ March, 1759, p. 36.

¹¹ *The New American Magazine*, October, 1759, pp. 642-43.

¹² *The New England Magazine*, March, 1759, p. 39.

¹³ *The New American Magazine*, May, 1759, p. 436.

¹⁴ "An ode—Written at Sylvan Dale by a Gentleman of this City, being then in his nineteenth year," *The Pennsylvania Magazine*, April, 1775, p. 183.

As joyful he, midst frost and snow,
From field to field doth whistling go.¹⁵

Discussing similar pastoral verse appearing in the colonial almanacs, Chester Eisinger wrote, "This poetry, I think it fair to say, constitutes an indirect eulogy of the farmer. It is a means of assuring him of his own importance and good fortune and of the valuable role he plays in society. These appear to me to have been self-consciously agrarian motives of the almanac makers in using pastoral verse."¹⁶ My own view is that in spite of obvious connotational changes, no farmer would be assured of the valuable role he plays in society by being called a swain, or happy rustic clown. The gap between the actual hard labor of farming and the prissily ideal sentiments of pastoral poetry seems to me too great for any farmer's mind to jump. Rather, these conventional sentiments were city-directed; they catered to refined and nervous sensibilities. If they were accepted in the country, then surely they were so only by those educated gentlemen farmers who had the leisure for dreaming of nymphs on the south forty.

When, however, we turn from these conventional literary poses and approach the historical American scene, the picture changes. From the beginning to the end of the eighteenth century, a steady, spirited criticism drummed on the head of the American farmer. In aggregate, the comments are unusually harsh, but comforting too, for they bring us closer to the realities of colonial life on the land, which Jefferson was to mythologize politically.

The ur-complaint said that the farmers were exceedingly lazy. Robert Beverly ended *The History and Present State of Virginia* (1705) maintaining that his fellows "spunge upon the Blessings of a warm Sun and a fruitfull Soil, and almost grutch the Pains of gathering in the bounties of the Earth. I should be asham'd to publish this slothful Indolence of my Countrymen," he concluded, "but that I hope it will rouse them out of their Lethargy. . . ." ¹⁷ It did not. When Andrew Burnaby drew together his observations of a trip made through the colonies in 1759-60, he decided, "The climate operates very powerfully upon [the southern farmers] and renders them indolent, inactive, and unenterprising; this is visible in every line of their character." ¹⁸ A little later, Thomas Anburey,

¹⁵ "Winter," *The American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle*, February, 1758, p. 239.

¹⁶ "The Farmer in the Eighteenth Century Almanac," *Agricultural History*, XXVIII (July, 1954), p. 108.

¹⁷ (Chapel Hill, 1947), p. 319.

¹⁸ *Travels through the Middle Settlements in North America* (3rd ed.; London, 1798), pp. 149-50.

a lieutenant in Burgoyne's army, stationed at Jones' Plantation near Charlottesville, Virginia, found his host habitually in a "state of stupefaction," adding that most of the planters thought it beneath their dignity to superintend their plantations—"They are so abominably lazy."¹⁹

Farmers, and not only Virginians, had other faults than sloth. In 1758 an anonymous essayist writing on agriculture for *The American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle* offered a summary opinion of New World farmers that contains all the major themes of complaint made in later years. The writer points out that agricultural improvements were discouraged in America, then tells why:

The inhabitants, who were confined to narrow farms in their native country, are many of them, insatiable in their desires after lands, and rather wast [*sic*] and impoverish, than improve them. Many have acquired a roving unsettled temper, and are grown impatient of labor and frugal industry; and having abused their farms, sell them, and move back to purchase new lands, on the borders of the *Indian* nations. Farmers, in general, are neither able to bear the expense, nor frequent disappointments, of making new experiments; and what is worse, they are so bigotted to their own ways in every part of the world that as an *English* gentleman observes of some husbandmen in *Norfolk*, "their husbandry is precisely that of their great grandfather's grandfather, nor will they be persuaded to quit a course, by which they can hardly subsist, to take up one by which they see that their neighbours have made estates."²⁰

The distance is extreme between this candid analysis and Jefferson's belief that the "Cultivators of the earth are the most valuable citizens. They are the most vigorous, the most independent, the most virtuous, and they are tied to their country, and wedded to its liberty and interests, by the most lasting bonds."²¹ Yet even Jefferson would admit the slipshod state of agriculture in America, although he attempted to rationalize it: "The indifferent state of [agriculture] among us does not proceed from want of knowledge merely; it is from our having such quantities of land to waste as we please. In Europe the object is to make the most of their land, labour being abundant: here it is to make the most of our labour, land being abundant."²²

George Washington sarcastically appraised the same problem in a letter

¹⁹ *Travels Through the Interior Parts of America* (Boston, 1793), pp. 190-91.

²⁰ February, 1758, p. 235.

²¹ Letter to John Jay, August 23, 1785; quoted in *The Correspondence of Jefferson and Du Pont de Nemours* (Baltimore, 1931), p. xlv.

²² *Notes on the State of Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1825), p. 121.

to a friend: "The aim of the farmers in this country, if they can be called farmers, is, not to make the most they can from the land, which is, or has been cheap, but the most of the labour, which is dear; the consequence of which has been, much ground has been *scratched* over and none cultivated or improved as it ought to have been. . . ." ²³ Washington never had much patience with the "slovenly" farmers of America, "who think (generally) of nothing else, but to work a field as long as it will bear anything, and until it is run to gullies and ruined; then at another; without affording either any aid." ²⁴ His temper snapped at their carelessness: "I have no idea of frittering up the farms for the accommodation of our country farmers, whose knowledge, practice at least, centres in the destruction of the land, and very little beyond it." ²⁵

Observations on American farming made between 1774 and 1777 by that lively young English Tory, Nicholas Cresswell, corroborate Washington's irritable opinions. Beginning his journal in England, Cresswell had high hopes of making his fortune in the New World. "I am sensible," he wrote, depending on hearsay, "a person with a small fortune may live much better and make greater improvements in America than he can possibly do in England. Especially in the Farming way, as that is the business I have been brought up to. . . . The land, I am told is good and the price is very low. Consequently Agriculture must be in its infant state." ²⁶

Cresswell's reaction upon arriving in Maryland was one of shocked contempt. "Agriculture is in a very poor state. They know very little about farming." ²⁷ A little over a month later: "Went to see them reap wheat. The greatest slovens I ever saw, believe that one fourth part is left on the Field uncut. . . . The grain is but indifferent and their crop very light, seldom that they get seven bushels from an acre, but they put it into the ground in such a slovenly manner without any manure, it is a wonder they get any." ²⁸ Finally, in Frederick County, he repeated a charge now familiar to us: "The Farmers here are little acquainted with breeding cattle, indeed they are too lazy." ²⁹

In the vicinity of Germantown, Pennsylvania, the Swedish traveler, Peter Kalm, observed that "AGRICULTURE was in a very bad state hereabouts"—he was referring to the exhaustion of the fields.³⁰ Again,

²³ *Letters on Agriculture*, ed. Franklin Knight (Washington, D. C., 1847), p. 32.

²⁴ Letter to Wm. Pearce, 1796; in *Writings*, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick (Washington, D. C., 1939), XXXIV, 451.

²⁵ Letter to David Stuart, 1796; in *ibid.*, p. 453.

²⁶ *Journal*, 1774-77 (London, 1925), p. 1.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

³⁰ *Travels into North America*, trans. J. R. Forster (London, 1772), I, 144-45.

the anonymous author of *American Husbandry* fired off a series of specific salvos at the colonial farmer. In New York: "The rural management in most parts of this province is miserable. . . . This is a degree of blindness which in sensible people one may fairly call astonishing."³¹ In New England: "Most of the farmers in this country are, in whatever concerns cattle, the most negligent, ignorant set of men in the world. Nor do I know any country in which animals are worse treated."³² In New Jersey: "The American planters and farmers are in general the greatest slovens in Christendom. . . ."³³ In summation: "All our American colonists are very bad farmers."³⁴

The desirability of intensive rather than extensive farming had long been discussed in American journals, and occasionally one finds a "Useful Hint to the Husbandman" such as this in the *Penny Post*, January 18, 1769: "SEVEN ACRES WELL-TILLED IS WORTH FORTY-NINE NOT SO."³⁵ Or this pious exhortation from *The Royal American Magazine* of January 1775: "Soil well improv'd an emblem is of man;/Man is but soil, of dust he first began;—Improve it then."³⁶ And a contributor to the American Philosophical Society made this cautious suggestion buried in verbiage to avoid ruffling feelings: "Here let me remark without giving offence to my dear countrymen, whose good I have always studied, and whose interest I would willingly promote, that with a little more industry and application, and some easy and proper contrivances, take the whole country in general, I am pretty certain, that ten times the manure might be made and saved, than is made at present, and how much our old lands stand in need of it; every farmer very well knows."³⁷

The preceding criticisms of the farmer have assigned blame indiscriminately: *all* colonial farmers were bad farmers was the accusation. But when we look more closely, we find the gentleman farmer considered the hope of the nation, and the subsistence farmer (symbolized by the club suit in a deck of cards³⁸) the blight. But, the mingling of English and colonial terminology to designate a man who owns land caused some confusion. The simplest distinction was made by John Dickinson. "This continent is a country of planters, farmers, and fishermen. . . ."³⁹ Planters, being those who owned the large farms in the South and the West Indies

³¹ Ed. Harry J. Carman (New York, 1939), p. 93.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 59.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

³⁶ P. 19.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

³⁵ P. 19.

³⁷ Edward Antill, "An Essay on the Cultivation of the Vine," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* (Philadelphia, 1771), I, 162.

³⁸ "Trefle, the trefoilleaf, or clover-grass (corruptly called clubs) alludes to the husbandman and peasant." *The Royal American Magazine*, June, 1774, p. 219.

³⁹ *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies* (New York, 1903), p. 22.

worked largely by slave labor, inevitably possessed considerable social responsibility. But a variety of social and economic characters lie hidden in the generic term "farmer." A farmer might work any amount of land: a small plot in the Carolina pine barrens, three hundred acres in a fertile Pennsylvania valley, or an enormous New York manorial estate. And, at the end of the century, the southern planters even referred to themselves as farmers to gain the respect newly accorded the small freeholder in a democracy. As he appealed for general colonial resistance to the coercive Acts of Parliament in his *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania* (1768), Dickinson himself depended upon a contrived identity. "I am a farmer," he begins, "settled after a variety of fortunes, near the banks of the river Delaware, in the province of Pennsylvania. I received a liberal education, and have been engaged in the busy scenes of life. . . . My farm is small, my servants few, and good; I have a little money at interest; I wish no more. My employment in my own affairs is easy."⁴⁰ This congenial, if superficial, view of the business of farming has a fictional echo in Charles Brockden Brown's *Wieland* (1798) when Clara says of her brother: "It was determined that his profession should be agriculture. His fortune exempted him from the necessity of personal labour. The task to be performed by him was nothing more than superintendence. The skill that was demanded by this was merely theoretical, and was furnished by casual inspection, or by closet study."⁴¹

Men more or less like the one Dickinson purports to be, though usually with more land, were known variously as "gentlemen farmers," "country gentlemen" and "country farmers." When the Republican movement was in full swing, the gentleman sometimes amused himself playing democracy. In 1798 John Taylor called himself a "rough farmer" in "the wilds of Virginia," and in 1806 he referred to "us poor tillers of the earth."⁴² As it happens, Taylor retired to his estate Hazlewood at age forty with something like one hundred thousand dollars.

The English had their own ideas about American gentleman farmers. When Nicholas Cresswell tried to assess George Washington's position on the social ladder, he wrote, "The American Hero was second son of a creditable Virginia Tobacco Planter (which I suppose may, in point of rank, be equal to the better sort of Yeomanry in England)."⁴³ But perhaps it is unfair to burden the colonials with English social distinc-

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁴¹ (New York, 1958), p. 23.

⁴² Letters to James Monroe, 1798 and 1806, in "The John Taylor Correspondence," *The John P. Branch Historical Papers of Randolph-Macon College*, II, nos. 3, 4, pp. 268, 291.

⁴³ *Journal*, p. 252.

tions. The eighteenth-century American attitude among those who had wealth, intelligence, education and leisure remained *noblesse oblige*, whatever *noblesse* might be. Still, Jared Eliot complained that Americans "of the First Figure," unlike the old Romans, had neglected both their Language and the art of Husbandry. "Husbandry," he said, "is left to the Invention and Conduct of Common Labourers."⁴⁴ In 1771 the American Philosophical Society gently suggested, "There are many gentlemen in different parts of the country, whom Providence hath blessed with affluence, and whose understanding is improved by a liberal education. From such the Society promise themselves great assistance, as their fortunes enable them to make experiments which men of narrow circumstance would not dare to attempt."⁴⁵

George Washington agreed, but was at the same time nettled by small farmers, whom he called "the gazing multitude." He did try though to accept their conservatism philosophically:

Experiments must be made and the practice (of such of them as are useful) must be introduced by gentlemen who have leizure and abilities to devise and wherewithal to hazard something. The common farmer will not depart from the *old* road 'till the *new* one is made so plain and easy that he is sure it cannot be mistaken, and that it will lead him directly to his object. It is right perhaps it shd. be so, for new ways are thorny and require time for amelioration.⁴⁶

Jared Eliot's essays on husbandry drew forth correspondence, and in two instances, the comment was as severe as Washington's. One man wrote Eliot:

If the farmers in your neighborhood are as unwilling to leave the beaten road of their ancestors as they are near me, it will be difficult to persuade them to attempt any improvement. Where the cash is to be laid out on a probability of return, they are very averse to running any risk at all, or even expending freely, where a gentleman of more public spirit has given them ocular demonstration of the success.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ *Essays Upon Field Husbandry in New England* (New York, 1934), p. 72.

⁴⁵ *Transactions*, Preface, I, xvii.

⁴⁶ Letter to John Beale Bordley, 1788, *Writings*, XXX, 48.

⁴⁷ *Essays*, pp. 223-24. This letter, dated from near Burlington, N. J., is credited to Benjamin Franklin. However, C. R. Woodward, in *Ploughs and Politicks* (New Brunswick, 1941), pp. xi-xxii, gives convincing evidence that Franklin never owned a farm, nor wrote the letter, but that the subject of his book, Charles Read of New Jersey, did. The quotation that follows repeats the phrase "ocular demonstration," although the letters are dated thirteen years apart.

Eliot's nephew, H. W. Robinson, was even more emphatic in his denunciation of the small farmer:

Indeed I am convinc'd that Agriculture will flourish in this Country if Gentlemen of Genius Leisure & Application will undertake it. The Soil is good & excellent much of it but the Character of a Farmer in this Country is generally a Stupid one—their Minds are not to be inform'd but by ocular demonstration. Reasoning on Farming to them is like Dancing a Jig in the clouds.⁴⁸

Unlike the average freeholder, this elite group of farmers gradually began to emulate English experimental methods in agriculture. Because they regarded farming as a serious way of life, indeed a classical one, they censured the common farmer for his ignorance, his meanness and his lack of foresight. And yet, as we have seen, detached observers had in turn characterized their class as lazy, slovenly and debauched.

A contradictory but explicable pattern then emerges from this welter of views. Since American attitudes in the periodicals before the Revolution were generally determined by English sources, agricultural literature in the colonies had little specific pertinence to the American scene. It was, in the main, scientific or conventionally lyric and hortatory. But when both visitors and colonials themselves began to look directly at the American farmer, they were often irritated by what they saw. The land had known potentialities, but the farmer neglected them. Indeed, the accumulated evidence proved the innocent swain to be deeply and seriously flawed. Yet, a nation of farmers could not be expected to tolerate this blemished likeness, nor did it have to. Jefferson's forceful idealism, as embodied in his statement of the agrarian mystery, rescued American pride: "Those who labour in the earth are the chosen people of God, if ever he had a chosen people, whose breasts he has made his peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue."⁴⁹

A political party soon implemented that faith.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

⁴⁹ *Notes on the State of Virginia*, p. 224.



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Music for America: A Critical Controversy of the 1850s

IN THE 1850s, WHEN THE WORLD OF AMERICAN MUSIC WAS DOMINATED BY the hymn tune, the sentimental ballad and Negro "minstrelsy," a few musicians and music critics looked beyond these narrow concerns to see music as a totality having aesthetic meaning and an essential social function. From their vantage American musical achievement was to be measured against that of Europe. What did not strive to rival European concert works was for the most part ignored or deprecated.

The leaders in this group were educated gentlemen. Its three important New England spokesmen had graduated from college: John Sullivan Dwight (Harvard, 1832), Alexander Wheelock Thayer (Harvard, 1843) and Richard Storrs Willis (Yale, 1841). Joining them in journalistic exchanges was a member of a substantial Philadelphia family, William Henry Fry. These men lived not only at a time that was coming under more and more widely disseminated cultural influences from abroad but also in circumstances that gave these influences special force. On Dwight and Thayer the pervasive Germanophilia of Boston and Cambridge left its mark. Thayer's *Ludwig van Beethoven's Leben* (Berlin, 1866-79) was to attest to this as Dwight's translations of German poetry already had.¹ During his years at Yale Willis met and collaborated with the eccentric poet and translator James Gates Percival, whose fascination with the literature of Northern Europe was matched by a love of music. If Fry had a comparable introduction to the European heritage, it was from his father's associate, the writer and editor Robert Walsh. Before settling in Philadelphia, Walsh had sojourned in Paris for some time. Moreover, Fry, Thayer and Willis had themselves gained personal knowledge of Europe through Continental travels in the late 1840s and early 1850s.

¹ See J. S. Dwight (ed.), *Translations of Select Minor Poems from the German of Goethe and Schiller, with Notes* (Boston, 1839).

Although the four chief disputants shared much common ground, their discussions, on the one hand, reveal differences found elsewhere in the contemporary cultural life of America and, on the other, reflect prevailing tendencies in European musical thought. Repeatedly at issue was the role that national aspirations should play in American music. As did their contemporaries when they concerned themselves with the other arts, so these men, in approaching music, sought to set down the methods by which the United States might outgrow a colonial status.

Various means were recommended. From 1852 on, Fry was the music critic of Greeley's New York *Tribune* and also one of its general editors; hence he had frequent opportunity to argue his belief that a reformation of musical institutions would signalize America's artistic independence. He called for an academy that would train native-born performers and composers, local performing groups that would favor American works and a public that would glorify these works. He believed that his fellow countrymen should not be awed by compositions coming from Europe or by performers trained there: "It is time we had a Declaration of Independence in Art. . . . Until this Declaration of Independence in Art is made—until American composers shall discard their foreign liveries and found an American school,—and until the American public shall learn to support American artists, . . . we shall continue to be provincial in Art."² Such sentiments as these Fry uttered again and again, not only in the *Tribune* but also in public lectures and open letters to music journals.

Making use of the rhetoric of political democracy, Fry expressed his trust in the judgment of the American public, though what he esteemed was less the actual audiences of his own day than an idealized audience, wider in social range and less deferential to European accomplishment. He shared a popular belief of the time, as voiced, for instance, by George Bancroft in 1835: "The common judgment in taste, politics and religion, is the highest authority on earth, and the nearest possible approach to an infallible decision."³ Fry argued that if native taste was not inhibited by timid critics, it would come to support and applaud American composers: "Critics, so-called, may ignore as they do the existence of Ameri-

² *Dwight's Journal of Music*, II (April 2, 1853), 202.

³ "The Office of the People in Art, Government, and Religion," in Joseph L. Blau (ed.), *American Philosophic Addresses, 1700-1900* (New York, 1946), p. 102. Bancroft makes mention of music, saying of Italian operas (whose music was beloved by Fry), "It is a well-known fact, that the best critics are often deceived in their judgment of them; while the pit, composed of the throng, does, without fail, render a true verdict." (*Ibid.*, p. 104.)

can musical works, or, not knowing the science of dramatic composition, may speak of them ignorantly; *the public* do not."⁴

Fry consistently maintained a Young American attitude in musical matters, and his writings echo with the ideas of the literary Young Americans, who were especially active in New York in the 1840s. At times his manner of writing as well as his thought shows a close kinship with their definitions of a national literature.

[Fry:] It is a clear proposition, that no Art can flourish in a country until it assume a genial character. It may be exotic, experimentally, for a time, but unless it becomes indigenous, taking root and growth in the hearts and understandings of the people generally, its existence will be forced and sickly, and its decay quick and certain.⁵

[Evert Augustus Duyckinck, writing in 1847:] The American work, if a genuine one, growing out of the life of the country, is protected by the popular feeling; takes root as it were in the soil, and cannot be easily plucked away; the foreign work has no root, depends for its favor upon puff and accident, and may be blown away in a night.⁶

Neither Fry nor the other music critics made direct reference to the earlier literary battles,⁷ but both he and Dwight did use the term Young America to designate the New York composers George W. Bristow and Fry himself.⁸

To rebut a nationalistic viewpoint that was offensive to them, Dwight and his allies had two music periodicals at their command. In 1852 Dwight had founded his own *Journal of Music*, wherein he continued his writings on music that had bulked large among his contributions to Brook Farm's *Harbinger*. Thayer was a regular columnist for *Dwight's Journal*, while in New York the Boston-born Willis used his *Musical World and New York Musical Times* to set forth views similar to Dwight's.

The replies that these musical "old fogies" made to New York Young Americanism elaborated two basic theses: first, that nationalism in art is justified only when it meets universal standards, and, second, that the goals of musical nationalism were absurdly out of keeping with the current musical accomplishment. Here was a new application for the thoughts

⁴ *Dwight's Journal*, II (April 2, 1853), 202.

⁵ "Prefatory Remarks to *Leonora*," in William Treat Upton, *William Henry Fry* (New York, 1954), p. 330, and *Musical World*, V (March 26, 1853), 197.

⁶ Quoted in Perry Miller, *The Raven and the Whale* (New York, 1956), p. 191.

⁷ On one occasion Fry harked back instead to the work of his mentor Robert Walsh, *An Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain Respecting the United States of America*, published in 1819. (New York *Tribune*, January 16, 1854, p. 7.)

⁸ See, e.g., New York *Tribune*, March 7, 1854, p. 6, and *Dwight's Journal*, IV (February 4, 1854), 141.

expressed by such writers of Dwight's acquaintance as Richard Henry Dana Sr. and James Russell Lowell when they had passed judgment on literary Young America.⁹ When Dwight warned that "art soars above all narrow nationalities,"¹⁰ he was reiterating what his own Boston circle had frequently said. Again, in the following arraignment of pretensions such as Fry's, Dwight has rephrased the opinion of the Boston world of letters as regards nativistic bragging.

One [way to look at American music] is the boastful, shallow patriotic, 'manifest destiny,' all-the-world-annexing, Yankee Doodle way, which keeps proclaiming our's the greatest country in the world; believes that Americans can do everything that any other people have done, only a great deal better. . . . This boastful, vulgar parody of the American ideal . . . operates even in the peaceful sphere of Art and Music. It mistakes enterprise for genius; the large scale on which things are attempted, for sublimity; familiarity with means, tools, mechanisms and forms, for Art; new combinations, for original ideas; and, in a word, bold 'go-ahead-itiveness' for inspiration armed with divine right to conquer and charm the world.¹¹

Fry personally was open to one form of attack that had often been used against the Young American writers, namely, the demand that works surpassing Europe's best be produced, not merely talked about. Fry was an active composer, but had his operatic and orchestral works really outdone European masterpieces? This argument *ad hominem* was made anonymously in the columns of *Putnam's Monthly*, where it is probably Dwight's friend George W. Curtis who wrote the following:

Whether Mr. Fry succeeded in establishing the point that his music is as good as any body's music, we are unable to say. It seems to us, however, that he mistook the means of doing so. If a man can compose as well as Mozart and Beethoven, let him do it.¹²

Fry's music had not recommended itself to the judgments of the New England critics, who held beliefs at odds with those of Fry concerning music's expressive capabilities. Dwight and the others in his camp were sympathetic with the view of music then prevalent in Germany. In the first half of the century German philosophers and fiction writers, critics and composers had united to affirm music's transcendent nature: words were incommensurate with it and spiritually inferior to it. Dwight, Willis

⁹ See Miller, *The Raven and the Whale*, pp. 115-16, 188, 256.

¹⁰ *Dwight's Journal*, IV (February 4, 1854), 141.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, V (May 20, 1854), 54.

¹² *Putnam's Monthly*, III (May, 1854), 564.

and Thayer, in conformity with their Germanophilic training and tastes, echoed these views. The supremacy of purely instrumental music is as much a facet of their creed as are their doubts regarding music's ability to express particularities, either of emotion or of external events. As Dwight saw it, the very attributes of music argue against program music.

In efforts to describe things, to paint pictures to the hearer's imagination, music leaves its natural channels, and forfeits that true unity that would come from the simple development of itself from within *as music*. . . . Music is the breath of sentiment, and utters states of mind, but errs in undertaking the same office with her sister, speech, which is the voice of understanding and describes facts.¹³

For those who held such beliefs, music would necessarily tend to be supranational, if not supramundane (in Willis' words, "a voice, seemingly not of this world—angelic; heavenly, the echo of a distant heaven"),¹⁴ and no special criteria needed to be invoked for American music. Dwight stressed the mediating and catholic qualities of the American genius. The prospect he had once descried for American literature¹⁵ resembled what he now envisaged for music.

We too want, hope for and believe in, not an 'American system' in music, but an American new era of musical Art; a new manifestation of musical genius, which would be distinguished not by narrow nationality but by the universality, the generous humanity, the broad and glorious inspiration that shall make it the language of a brighter period of a whole human family redeemed and reconciled. . . .¹⁶

For all its obeisance to universal standards,¹⁷ Dwight's point of view never denied that a local hue might color the best of music. But in accordance with music's capabilities, it must appear in a musical expression of an American feeling, not a musical depiction of an American

¹³ *Harbinger*, III (July 4, 1846), 58-59, as quoted in W. T. Upton, *Anthony Philip Heinrich: A Nineteenth Century Composer in America* (New York, 1939), pp. 200-1. Later, Dwight expressed much the same views in *Aesthetic Papers*, I (1849), 27-28, as quoted in Irving Lowens, "Writings about Music in the Periodicals of American Transcendentalism," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, X (Summer 1957), 77. Willis, while still at college, maintained a similar position in his *An Address Delivered at the Commencement Concert of the Beethoven Club, August 18, 1841* (New Haven, 1841), p. 19.

¹⁴ *Musical World*, VIII (February 25, 1854), 85.

¹⁵ See his review of Rufus W. Griswold's *Poets and Poetry of America*, in *Christian Examiner*, XXXIII (September 1842), 32.

¹⁶ *Dwight's Journal*, III (August 27, 1853), 167.

¹⁷ On this point Willis spoke directly to Fry: "The Temple of Art is an *universal* temple, and that you are an American is no reason that you should have free admission there." (*Musical World*, VIII [February 25, 1854], 85.)

subject. The very remarks of Dwight concerning music as "the breath of sentiment" occur in a discussion of works by an American composer, the Bohemian-born Anthony Philip Heinrich. Dwight allows that Heinrich could have found suitable inspiration in the "forest solitudes of Kentucky," if he had "only composed from the sentiments with which they filled him instead of trying to compose tone-narratives and tableaux of them."¹⁸ Similarly, one of Fry's own compositions came under attack by Alexander Thayer for its lack of a truly American spirit.¹⁹

But, then, Fry worked from preconceptions quite at variance from those of the New England group. To it music presented works of art to be judged by the highest tests of timeless excellence. But the New York composer saw music as the product of particular historical conditions, the creation of men who solved specific musical problems as they arose in a progressive development of musical style. Innovation was, for Fry, the vitalizing element in music. He discerned "an inflexible rule in the philosophy of Art, that it must assume new forms, or if the old ones are adhered to, they should be improved. . . ."²⁰ Upon these grounds Fry could justify a composer's rejecting as models the masterpieces of an earlier day, even if by Dwight's beloved Beethoven. For himself Fry scorned the role of "almsman, receiving thankfully the broken meats from the tables of the classical composers. . . ."²¹

As to the expressive force of music, that was dependent, in Fry's view, on words.

The coloring of music is articulate language. Words, myriad-hued are its real vitality. Without them it exists, multiform, beautiful, sublime. But they are its spiritual essence, breathing into it a divine soul, in which it truly lives and moves and hath its being, as fit companion for thinking and feeling humanity.²²

Implicit in this notion was Fry's way of looking at vocal and instrumental music: vocal music with its accompanying text presents in a perfect form what instrumental music can only approximate. Fry esteemed opera as supreme among the vocal genres and thought that its linking of specified sentiments, actions and individuals with music should characterize all musical forms. Hence instrumental music must, in his view, describe and imitate the extra-musical through tonal means. When realistic mu-

¹⁸ See note 13, *supra*.

¹⁹ *Dwight's Journal*, IV (December 24, 1853), 91. In the literary sphere Rufus Griswold had made similar criticisms of Young America. (See Miller, *The Raven and the Whale*, p. 196.)

²⁰ *New York Tribune*, January 16, 1854, p. 7.

²¹ *Musical World*, VIII (January 21, 1854), 34.

²² *Ibid.*, V (January 29, 1853), 69.

sical depiction was called into play and clarified, if need be, by a verbal synopsis, a dramatic unity would result far surpassing the unity of compositions modeled on earlier, strictly auditory designs.

His musical naturalism allowed Fry to picture his opponents alternately as pedantic formalists and as sentimentalists unwilling to encounter reality in art. He himself stood for music based on facts, "actualities, familiarities,—not reveries or transcendentalisms,"²³ as he put it in one review. Given Fry's evaluation of the untutored listener, it is possible, even likely, that his program music was designed to make for ready understanding by a sizable public. What Dwight had sensed in the work of A. P. Heinrich—"too much anxiety to make his compositions clear to every one"²⁴—may have been Fry's motive also.

Immediate comprehensibility was, in Dwight's eyes, no great advantage. He derogated the "amiable applause of a miscellaneous audience,"²⁵ for he saw his own country as "a nation of beginners."²⁶ In weighing a composition's worth, only "time and the world's impression" could return a true verdict as recorded by "the opinion of the appreciative thinking minds,"—those whom Dwight called the "appreciative few."²⁷

Fry explicitly questioned this and so found himself in direct opposition to Dwight in approaching the problem of the enlarging but not necessarily perceptive audience of the nineteenth century. Articulate European musicians of the day, such as the composer-critics Hector Berlioz and Robert Schumann, also concerned themselves with this problem and worried over popularity's inability to follow taste. Dwight and Fry each clearly represent one part of a division manifest in the world of nineteenth-century music generally, the division between "the aristocracy of mind and the republic of opinion"²⁸—to borrow a phrase from Schumann.

Fry trusted popular judgment without liking the kind of sacred or secular music that had been developed indigenously by generations of Americans. His own musical interests focused on an imported music, namely, Italian opera. This had found favor in certain urban centers, in Fry's native Philadelphia, for instance, and his place of residence, New York, but notably not in Boston. Julia Ward Howe had observed that in her girlhood years, "while the earliest efforts in music in Boston pro-

²³ New York *Tribune*, October 21, 1853, p. 7.

²⁴ See note 13, *supra*.

²⁵ *Dwight's Journal*, IV (February 25, 1854), 167.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, V (May 20, 1854), 54.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, IV (February 4, 1854), 141.

²⁸ Robert Schumann, "Enthusiastic Letters," in Oliver Strunk (ed.), *Source Readings in Music History* (New York, 1950), p. 837.

duced the Handel and Haydn Society, and led to the occasional performance of a symphony of Beethoven or of Mozart, the taste of New York inclined more to operatic music."²⁹

Fry's devotion to the school of Donizetti, Bellini and Rossini was expressed not alone in passive admiration. His own sacred and operatic works are founded on their style, and neither the dramatic nor musical content of his operas departs substantially from Italian models. However inconsistent it may have been for a Young American to borrow a foreign style, the union of Young American rhetoric with an Italianate musical taste is not unparalleled, as, for instance, in the writings of Walt Whitman. Perhaps the heartiness and ardor of Italian opera were qualities that the Young American cared to promote. As a composer Fry showed more direct kinship with Young American aspirations on those occasions when he linked a massive style of musical utterance with some grand American theme. The obvious example is Fry's *Niagara Symphony*,³⁰ which was written for a Musical Congress of some fifteen hundred performers.

On the subject of this Grand Congress Dwight made a characteristic comment. "We are afraid it may be conceived too much in the spirit of display, of dazzling by the great array of forces rather than in the sober spirit of Art, which commonly is quite content with less display."³¹ Is Dwight here raising a truly musical objection, or do these misgivings merely evidence a Bostonian's sense of reserve blended with hints of *Innigkeit*? Such questions as to origins do not arise only for this statement by Dwight. Everywhere one looks in the musical thought of both Fry and his opponents extra-musical considerations seem constantly to obtrude. Political attitudes, literary affinities, philosophical notions, regional and social preconceptions are less subsumed under musical principles than applied directly to musical situations. American creative activity in the sphere of concert and operatic music and the concomitant music criticism may have been so novel and spasmodic as to make this unavoidable.

Yet the arguments of the 1850s were cast in terms that did not disappear. The following might be an utterance by William Henry Fry.

²⁹ Julia Ward Howe, *Reminiscences: 1819-1899* (Boston, 1910), p. 14.

³⁰ Somewhat ironically, it was Richard Storrs Willis who, while still in Europe, was named by Bayard Taylor as the American composer who might "gain mighty conceptions . . . from the eternal thunder of Niagara." (*Views A-foot, or Europe Seen with Knapsack and Staff* [New York, 1847], p. 77.) Taylor was the protégé of the composer's older brother, Nathaniel Parker Willis. The composition by Richard Willis best known today is the tune for the hymn *It Came Upon a Midnight Clear*.

³¹ *Dwight's Journal*, V (June 10, 1854), 78.

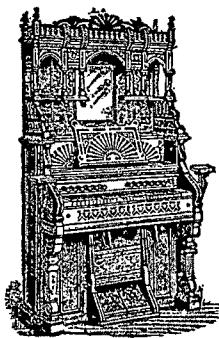
Musical literature never has been and never will be valuable to the society as a whole until it is created as an authentic and characteristic culture of and from the people it expresses. History reveals that the great music has been produced only by staunch individuals who sank their roots deeply into the social soil which they accepted as their own.³²

Actually these are the words of Roy Harris, writing in 1933. And if Fry had his descendants, so did Dwight. Daniel Gregory Mason for one found himself in agreement with the nineteenth-century "old fogies" when he wished that American music would "not adopt a narrow nationalism or lose its devotion to impersonal, supra-national beauty, on which depends universality. With our great material power, our wealth, our vast size, we have plenty of temptation to spread-eagleism, to the bumptious variety of patriotism that expresses itself in the chauvinist and the jingo. But 'patriotism' of that egocentric self-seeking sort is not to be confused with Emersonian self-reliance."³³

In a broader sense than in the staying power of their divergent opinions, Fry and Dwight retain significance. They shared certain hopes for American music, and these hopes have been almost fully realized. That is to say, American music over the years has come to be more and more oriented to the European concert tradition; the artistic cultivation of local idioms has been neglected in favor of a constant interchange of musical ideas with Europe. What was a somewhat lonely cause in the context of mid-nineteenth-century America has, in the twentieth century, been triumphant.

³² Roy Harris, "Problems of American Composers," in Henry Cowell (ed.), *American Composers on American Music* (Stanford, Calif., 1933), p. 165.

³³ Daniel Gregory Mason, *Tune In, America* (New York, 1931), p. 194.



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Stephen Crane's Social Ethic

Maggie: A Girl of the Streets OFFERS THE BEST SUPPORTING EVIDENCE FOR critics who contend that Stephen Crane believed in social determinism.¹ Both style and theme are characteristic of social determinism as it appears in fiction. Life in the Bowery slums is shown to consist of fist fights, beer, sex, poverty; and the plot itself lends support to the interpretation. Maggie is a helpless innocent who is betrayed by her lover, her family, her society. On the biographical side there is Crane's own inscription: *Maggie* "tries to show that environment is a tremendous thing . . . and frequently shapes lives regardless."²

Further evidence for reading Crane as a social determinist is found, chiefly, in *George's Mother*, "The Blue Hotel" and "An Experiment in Misery." The subject of all three, in general terms, is man's relation to society; and the central theme of each, according to critical consensus, is that environment, not individuals, "shapes lives."

The conventional interpretation, however, does not account for the bitter irony directed against those who contribute to social injustice, does not explain how it is possible for Crane to make moral judgments in a world that is supposedly deterministic. If the theme of *Maggie* is social determinism, how does one justify the implicit castigation of Maggie's mother, surely as much a child of the slums as Maggie herself? Further, what can be done with letters such as the one to Miss Catherine Harris

¹ Typical is Charles Walcutt's "Sherwood Anderson: Impressionism and the Buried Life," *Sewanee Review*, LX (January 1952), 28-47. Of primary importance is the work of R. W. Stallman. See especially his *Stephen Crane: An Omnibus* (New York, 1952), pp. 3-20; and "Crane's *Maggie*: A Reassessment," *Modern Fiction Studies*, V (Autumn 1959), 251-59. Two critics who object to the standard interpretation are John Berryman, *Stephen Crane* (American Men of Letters Series, 1950), pp. 110, 111; and Walter Sutton, "Pity and Fear in *The Blue Hotel*," *American Quarterly*, IV (Spring 1952), 73-78. Berryman's subject, however, is Crane's mind (211), not his fiction; and Sutton attempts to find something positive *within* Crane's pessimistic determinism, a provocative though not altogether satisfactory approach.

² See *Stephen Crane: Letters*, eds. R. W. Stallman and Lillian Gilkes (New York, 1960), nos. 17 and 18, p. 14.

in which Crane states that his purpose in "An Experiment in Misery" is "to make plain that the root of Bowery life is a sort of cowardice?"³

The thesis I propose is that Stephen Crane's social ethic is based on a universal principle which holds all men responsible for doing the best they can with what they have been given. The customary assumption is that a writer who stresses environment is a relativist, and usually the assumption is correct, and certainly Crane does stress environment. When Crane concluded that "environment is a tremendous thing," however, he did not throw away ethics and take up social determinism. Rather, he worked out a realistic ethic.⁴ His characters are responsible in a realistic way, in a way that is compatible with the loosely Darwinian and scientific bias which characterized the rise of realism and naturalism in the 1890s. We can better understand Crane's social ethic, I think, if we see that Maggie's story is but part of an ethic which is large enough to include the notion that the "root of Bowery life is a sort of cowardice."

The problem of man's relation to society is not a study in absolutes, is not a choice between absolute free will and absolute determinism. Even Zola allows his Gervaise occasional moments of self-assertion. Crane would agree with Melville that "chance, free will, and necessity—no wise incompatible—[may] all interweavingly [work] together."⁵ The student of Crane must not be content with seeing that environment is powerful, that chance is an eminent reality, that man may suffer and die through no fault of his own. He must also ask what man is responsible for doing in a world where environment "frequently shapes lives regardless."

Crane's answer, it seems to me, is accurately stated in a letter to John Northern Hilliard:

Personally I am aware that my work does not amount to a string of dried beans—I always calmly admit it. But I also know that I do the best that is in me, without regard to cheers or damnation. When I was the mark for every humorist in the country I went ahead, and now, when I am the mark for only 50 per cent of the humorists of the country, I go ahead, for I understand that a man is born into the world with his own pair of eyes, and he is not at all responsible for his vision—he is merely responsible for his quality of personal honesty. To keep close to this personal honesty is my supreme ambition. There is a sublime egotism in talking of honesty. I, however, do not say that

³ *Ibid.*, No. 178, p. 133.

⁴ Throughout I have followed the fairly well established practice of using *realism*, and *realistic* as literary terms, *real* and *reality* as philosophical terms.

⁵ Chap. xlvii, "The Mat-Maker," *Moby-Dick*.

I am honest. I merely say that I am as nearly honest as a weak mental machinery will allow. This aim in life struck me as being the only thing worth while. A man is sure to fail at it, but there is something in the failure.⁶

The thesis of this statement and the basic principle of Crane's social ethic is quite simply that man is obligated to be as honest as his abilities permit him to be. A man "is not at all responsible for his vision," that is, for what abilities fate has granted him; but he is responsible for "his quality of personal honesty," that is, for maximizing whatever abilities he has been given.

Hugh Maclean, in a recent study of "The Blue Hotel," cites the same letter but reaches an opposite conclusion. The letter to Hilliard is said to show that "the darkness has perceptibly closed in," that Crane believes man's instinctive assertion of will is vitiated because "*what happens* must cancel the longings of men." A world ruled by chance permits man only one value—will—and even that "must fail."⁷

Herein, I think, is the crux. As Maclean reads Crane—and I admit majority opinion agrees with him—what is real in ethics is determined by actual circumstance, by actual success or failure. Maggie is innocent because of her impoverished environment. "The Blue Hotel" is naturalistic because the Swede is killed. Maclean, in other words, believes that Crane puts ethics to the test of what happens, that he determines their reality according to how successfully they are embodied in actuality.

What happens to the oiler, however, does not negate the brotherhood discovered by the men in "The Open Boat." The "hideous hornpipe" danced by Jim Conklin in *The Red Badge of Courage* does not vitiate the "quiet manhood" achieved by Henry Fleming. What happens to Pete in *Maggie* does not negate the irony which shows that his self-justification is merely rationalization for moral cowardice. What happens in "The Blue Hotel" is not only that five men fail to embody an ethical standard; the reality or unreality of that ethical standard also happens in the story,

⁶ *Letters*, No. 137, pp. 109-10.

⁷ "The Two Worlds of 'The Blue Hotel,'" *Modern Fiction Studies*, V (Autumn 1959), 260-70 (quotations from p. 263). In the same issue Robert Gleckner ("Stephen Crane and the Wonder of Man's Conceit," pp. 271-81) takes a similar approach. Gleckner, also, believes that will in Crane is vitiated; in "The Blue Hotel," for example, "no one of them really had complete control at any moment." (pp. 280-81) Different but compatible is Russell B. Nye's "Stephen Crane as Social Critic," *Modern Quarterly*, XI (Summer 1940), 48-54. Nye distinguishes a correctible institutional evil (*Maggie*) from an inevitable, fatalistic evil ("The Blue Hotel"). Less convincing, and more typical, is Charles C. Walcutt, *American Literary Naturalism* (Minneapolis, 1956). "The works of Stephen Crane" are said to be "an early and unique flowering of pure naturalism" (p. 66); when Walcutt encounters a non-naturalistic passage in Crane, he says, typically, that "Crane's technique flags for a moment." (p. 71)

and the story includes the fact that Johnnie does cheat at cards and the fact that the Easterner sees him do it but lacks the courage to say so. These facts and others militate against concluding that ethical failure is inevitable or that ethical failure is blamed exclusively on circumstance.

It is not unfair, I think, to try the obverse of Maclean's reasoning. Holding ethical concepts to be unreal because they are not actualized implies that they would be real if they were actualized. All writers, if this is valid, would be obliged to agree with the D.A.R. that novels must allow material success to the good and the true and must heap material failure upon the evil and the false. That so many of Crane's characters succumb to social pressure or fail to overcome circumstance may show Crane's allegiance to the 1890s emphasis on environment, but it does not show that he believed ethics to be an illusion.

Crane's letter to Hilliard, in my opinion, argues that ethics are real. "A man is sure to fail at it" because of "a weak mental machinery," but this is the realist's recognition of the power of environment and the weakness of man, of the impossibility of achieving ideal honesty. It does not make sense, I suggest, to apply the word *failure* to an ethical struggle Crane calls "the only thing worth while," his "supreme ambition." What fails is any attempt to achieve ideal honesty; what has value, meaning, is the attempt to be "as nearly honest" as a "weak mental machinery will allow."

Crane's position here is found not only in letters.⁸ It can be seen even in his most pessimistic novel. Jimmie, Maggie's brother, resents the fact that his good friend Pete seduces Maggie and then deserts her. In Bowery wrath, he looks up another friend, and the two of them give Pete a beating. Later, Jimmie is approached by Hattie, a girl he himself has seduced and deserted. Like Pete, Jimmie tells his lover to go to hell. Crane's rather blunt structural technique is common in satire. Sinclair Lewis uses it in chapter xv of *Babbitt*, comparing Babbitt's condescension to a poor man with a rich man's condescension to Babbitt. Crane's intention, like Lewis', is to show dishonesty. Jimmie refuses to see what the structure of the story holds him responsible for seeing: what is wrong for Pete cannot be right for him.

An ethical absolutist would hold Jimmie responsible for seducing Hattie and for deserting her. An ethical relativist—like Dreiser in *Jennie Gerhardt* or *The Titan*—would not hold Jimmie responsible for either

⁸ See especially *Letters*, No. 131, pp. 102-6. Crane says in part, "I will be glad if I can feel on my death-bed that my life has been just and kind according to my ability. . . . I perceived that the fight was not going to be with the world but with myself." (p. 105) The conclusions of Edwin H. Cady and Lester G. Wells, eds., *Stephen Crane's Love Letters to Nellie Crouse* (Syracuse, N. Y., 1954), support the thesis of the present study. See especially pp. 20-22.

the seduction or the desertion. Crane, who believed that man is "not at all responsible for his vision," does not blame Jimmie for seducing Hattie; out of the "vision" granted him, Jimmie could see no wrong in seduction. Jimmie, however, is responsible for his "quality of personal honesty," and thus Crane does blame him for failing to accept the comparison which exposes his moral cowardice. He is not doing the best he is capable of doing under the given circumstances.

Crane's stories on social themes plead for a recognition of the importance of circumstance, in so far as a novelist may be said to plead for anything. The ethical action expected of individual characters changes according to individual circumstances. The structural principle of Crane's social ethic, however, does not change; and it is this unchanging principle which determines whether a character is to be drawn with sympathy or seared with Crane's quite capable irony.

Crane focuses the reader's attention on environment, but he also focuses attention on motive. Maggie is not censured for allowing Pete to seduce her, since her motive (with realistic qualifications) is love. Jimmie, by contrast, is censured for agreeing with his mother that Maggie should be turned out, since his motive is "to appear on a higher social plane."⁹ Crane is holding his characters responsible for their "quality of personal honesty."

Crane, of course, offers no pat definition of "personal honesty"; but I think his general definition is that man, within reason, is held responsible for seeing what is in front of him to see. Crane does not hold man responsible for developing within himself some divine spark from above, for making ethical distinctions not prefigured in his own experience. Nor would he agree with Dreiser that a Clyde Griffiths should be blameless for placing personal desire above an ethical duty he has been granted the opportunity to see.

The Bowery, circumstance, does not allow Maggie to develop. She takes what has been given her and does the best that can reasonably be expected. An evening at the theater with Pete, Crane says, set Maggie to thinking:

She wondered if the culture and refinement she had seen imitated, perhaps grotesquely, by the heroine on the stage, could be acquired by a girl who lived in a tenement house and worked in a shirt factory. (p. 72)

⁹ *Omnibus*, p. 89. Hereafter, references to the *Omnibus* are cited by parenthetical page numbers.

Maggie, that is, would like to be good, but the best model she has is a somewhat grotesque melodrama. What is in front of her is not adequate.

The same point is made after Maggie has become Pete's mistress. Dreaming of the future, she contemplates her immediate situation:

As to the present she perceived only vague reasons to be miserable. Her life was Pete's, and she considered him worthy of the charge. She would be disturbed by no particular apprehensions so long as Pete adored her as he now said he did. She did not feel like a bad woman. To her knowledge she had never seen any better. (pp. 85-86)

She is wrong about Pete, but her "quality of personal honesty" is blameless. She does not—like Pete and Jimmie—refuse to meet an ethical duty she has had the opportunity to see. "To her knowledge she had never seen any better" means that Maggie is acting in accord with the best standard environment has permitted her to see.

According to the same universal principle, her brother fails. As mentioned earlier, Jimmie "publicly damned his sister that he might appear on a higher social plane." Crane takes the reader inside Jimmie's mind to show that the flaw is ethical, not environmental:

. . . arguing with himself, stumbling about in ways that he knew not, he, once, almost came to a conclusion that his sister would have been more firmly good had she better known how. However, he felt that he could not hold such a view. He threw it hastily aside. (p. 89)

The ethical distinction Jimmie mulls over is new to him, and this is a mitigating factor. That Jimmie felt "he could not hold such a view," however, shows he is conscious; and his throwing "it hastily aside" shows that his refusal to see Maggie's side is an act of will. Jimmie has refused to learn what he has had the opportunity to learn, and thus—though his guilt is less than the mother's—he is not treated with the sympathy shown Maggie.

The same point is made with Mrs. Johnson and Pete. Environment may have made Mrs. Johnson a debauchee, but Mrs. Johnson herself is responsible for seeing the gross discrepancy between her behavior and the maudlin self-righteousness she constantly preaches. Pete's guilt is made especially clear when Maggie asks him for help. Shifting to the omniscient viewpoint, Crane describes Pete's response.

The question exasperated Pete beyond the powers of endurance. It was a direct attempt to give him some responsibility in a matter that did not concern him. In his indignation he volunteered information. "Oh, go to hell!" cried he. He slammed the door furiously and returned, with an air of relief, to his respectability. (p. 99)

The same hypocritical concern with respectability is shown by Jimmie, Mrs. Johnson and by the minister who, "timidly accosted" by Maggie, makes "a convulsive movement and [saves] his respectability by a vigorous side-step." (p. 100)

The people who wrong Maggie are not overpowered by sex, hunger, materialism—by some "survival of the fittest" motive beyond their control. Environment has shaped Maggie's life "regardless," but that environment includes individuals who side-step an ethical obligation the story holds them responsible for accepting.

In "The Blue Hotel," Crane's best story on a social theme, a Swede is murdered, not because of social determinism, but because five men side-step their responsibility. The moral obligation of the five men is not as clear-cut as Jimmie's or Mrs. Johnson's, for the Swede is a stranger, a quite irrational stranger. Nonetheless, Crane's social ethic holds men responsible for seeing what they are capable of seeing even if that act requires positive assertion. Man is responsible, not only for avoiding the evil of a Mrs. Johnson, but also for doing—at least for trying to do—good. This can be shown, I think, through a brief examination of the structure and language of "The Blue Hotel."

The story begins with a description of Pat Scully's outlandish Palace Hotel, which he has painted a startling blue. Scully's stated purpose is to attract attention. He is a "master of strategy" in the selection of paint, a hotel proprietor who has "performed a feat." (p. 499) Further, Scully's practical motive is given symbolic significance. "As if the displayed delights of such a blue hotel were not sufficiently enticing," Crane says, Scully went every morning and evening to meet the trains and "work his seductions" (p. 499) upon anyone who might be persuaded to stop at the Palace Hotel.

This early suggestion that Scully is more than just a good businessman has thematic importance. One morning Scully performs "the marvel of catching three men," a Swede, an Easterner and a cowboy, whom he makes "prisoners." (p. 500) He quickly puts them under obligation to him so that "it would be the height of brutality to try to escape." (p. 500) Scully's guests, in short, are not merely customers; the language of the story directs the reader's attention to a concept of hospitality. The guests have not forced themselves upon Scully; rather, Scully has lured them with his garish hotel and his wily kindnesses. Also, as will be seen later, Scully himself believes that he is responsible for the guests in his hotel. The hospitality code, recurrent in frontier stories, is basic to "The Blue Hotel."

The Swede, nonetheless, is afraid that he will be killed. Finding that his unreasoned fear wrings no sympathy from Johnnie (Scully's son) or the cowboy, he calls upon the Easterner for understanding: "They say they don't know what I mean." (p. 504) The Easterner's answer begins a motif which works with the theme of hospitality to shape the basic meaning of the story. "Impassively," and after "prolonged and cautious reflection," the Easterner answers, "I don't understand you." (p. 504) As is suggested by the "prolonged and cautious reflection," the Easterner is conscious of what he is doing. As is made clear later, by the Easterner's accurate analysis of the Swede, he does "understand" the Swede. The Easterner, by an act of will, has refused to offer sympathetic help to a man badly in need of it.

The Swede is disconcerted by the Easterner's answer, as if "he had encountered treachery from the only quarter where he had expected sympathy, if not help." (p. 504) When Scully tries to blame his son Johnnie for the Swede's foreboding, the answer is a typical Crane irony: "Johnnie's voice was loud with its burden of grievance. 'Why, good Gawd, I ain't done nothin' to 'im!'" (p. 505) Then Johnnie and the cowboy cry out together, "'Why, we didn't do nothin' to 'im!'" (p. 506) Johnnie swears an oath and says again, "'We didn't do nothin' at all. '" (p. 506) Scully turns to the Easterner, but his reply, as before, is a conscious rejection of something he has seen: "The Easterner reflected again. 'I didn't see anything wrong at all,' he said at last, slowly." (p. 506) The scene ends with Johnnie shouting, "'Well, what have I done?'" (p. 506)

The motif recurs as the Swede twice offers Scully money (pp. 507-8, 523) and again in the saloon scene when three prominent citizens say nothing during the quarrel and flee when the gambler stabs the Swede, one in spite of the fact that he is the local district attorney. In the final scene of the story, after the Easterner explains that Johnnie did cheat, that all concerned are guilty of the Swede's death, the cowboy adds one last example of the ironic denial of responsibility: "The cowboy, injured and rebellious, cried out blindly into this fog of mysterious theory: 'Well, I didn't do anythin', did I?'" (p. 530) And that is precisely Crane's point. Not only the cowboy, but the Easterner, old Scully and Johnnie did nothing to fulfill their moral obligation toward a fellow human being. As is made manifest in the fight scene, their feelings toward the Swede reveal a bad will.

The brutal cry for blood during the fight scene is placed in perspective by an earlier scene in which the men discuss the Swede's strange fear. It is the Easterner who provides the most plausible explanation. The Swede has been "reading dime novels, and he thinks he's right out in the

middle of it—the shootin' and stabbin' and all.' " (p. 510) Later, Scully offers the same explanation, and the cowboy concurs. The Swede, in the opinion of all three, is not some dark villain who needs to have his blood let by Johnnie; he is merely a frightened human being, a fool certainly, but still a man in need of sympathy.

When Johnnie refuses to grant the Swede that sympathy, Scully breaks out into a tirade: " 'A guest under my roof has sacred privileges.' " (p. 512) He subdues his son and then turns on the cowboy and the Easterner, asking for their approval. " 'Yes, Mr. Scully,' " the cowboy replies, " 'I think you're right,' " and " 'Yes, Mr. Scully,' " the Easterner replies, " 'I think you're right.' " (p. 512) Again, there is general agreement. The Swede deserves kindly treatment in accordance with the hospitality code.

Granted that the Swede's actual death is purposeless,¹⁰ it is still true that Johnnie cheats him in a card game, while the other three allow their emotions to usurp what they themselves have accepted as a moral duty. Scully lures the Swede to the hotel, lures him out of his fear with promises of friendship and assurances of respectability, berates Johnnie for inhospitality, preaches about the "sacred rights" of guests, and then stands by in "supreme amazement and fear at the fury of the fight which he himself . . . permitted and arranged." (p. 518) Ironically, in permitting the fight, he has done the same thing he berated Johnnie for doing; he has turned on the Swede because he is a badly frightened and quite obnoxious human being. That the cowboy fails to see what he is capable of seeing is shown by the irony directed against him. The Easterner's guilt is announced in his own words: " 'Johnnie was cheating. I saw him. I know it. And I refused to stand up and be a man.' " (p. 530)

The Easterner has learned in moral failure what characters like the correspondent learn in moral success: it is man's ethical duty to accept the obligations of brotherhood in spite of the fact that fate—chance—may interfere at any moment, in spite of the fact that due to human weakness we so often fail.

If space were available, it could be shown, I think, that Crane's less-known stories on social themes reflect essentially the same social ethic outlined above. An excellent novelette called "The Monster," for example, has troubled critics who hold that Crane believed in social determinism. Dr. Trescott, the hero of "The Monster," endures tremendous

¹⁰ Studies of "The Blue Hotel" usually stress the passage on the "wonder of man's conceit," (p. 524) the "melon" image (p. 528) and the cash register legend (p. 529), all of which suggest that the Swede's death is deterministic. The underlying assumption, however, is that the Swede is everyman, that the fears and illusions of the Swede are the fears and illusions of mankind.

pressure and stubbornly persists in doing his best to fulfill what he takes to be an ethical responsibility. But "The Monster" is not different in its social ethic from, say, *George's Mother*; rather, Dr. Trescott is different in character from George Kelcey. The destruction of soul seen in so many of Crane's Bowery tales is not inconsistent with the moral courage shown by Dr. Trescott. It is simply the other side of the same coin.

George Kelcey is defeated by his own illusions, not by society; and there is no evidence, I believe, for blaming his illusions on Norris' octopus or Dreiser's squid. They are born in a foolish mind which likes to romanticize and to rationalize. What Crane's realism smashes is not the ethical beliefs of honest men, but the romantic egotism, maudlin sentimentality and hypocritical righteousness of those who lack the moral courage and honesty to accept what their eyes perceive.¹¹

The critics' emphasis on one side of this social ethic, the deterministic side, may have been caused in part by Crane's admiration of Zola.¹² Though the relation may never be fully analyzed, one point is certain. In a letter discussing Zola, Crane once wrote: "You must pardon me if I cannot agree that every painted woman on the streets of New York was brought there by some evil man. Nana, in the story, is honest."¹³ At least one thing Crane admired in Zola, then, was Nana's honest acceptance of responsibility for her own being.

Crane's rationale, whether in the Bowery or in Whilomville, is more often human honesty than grocery money, more often ethics than economics. He was enough of a realist to be tough about environment, to admit that man is sometimes not given a chance; but he was also realistic about ethics, tough-minded enough to believe that man is responsible for doing the best he can with what he has been given.

¹¹ See, e.g., *The Sullivan County Sketches*. Sophomoric conceit leads four campers to paint grand pictures of themselves and their exploits, but facts repeatedly deflate their fancied self-importance. Crane's heroes, by contrast, can maintain their images of themselves in the face of the unjust and the inexplicable.

¹² Two excellent studies of the topic are Marcus Cunliffe, "Stephen Crane and the American Background of *Maggie*," *American Quarterly*, VII (Spring 1955), 31-44; and James B. Colvert, "The Red Badge of Courage and a Review of Zola's *La Débâcle*," *Modern Language Notes*, LXXI (February 1956), 98-100.

¹³ Cited in Thomas Beer, *Stephen Crane* (New York, 1923), p. 148.



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Paul Carus and the Religion of Science

IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT SO MANY THOUGHTFUL AMERICANS IN THE YEARS following the Civil War were troubled by what seemed to be an ever widening gap between science and religion. The positivists, applying the scientific method to ideas, questioned everything that was subjective and unverifiable in religious thought; a new nominalism seriously restricted the use of human reason; and the idea of the fortuitous variation of species suggested by Darwin undermined the teleological arguments upon which natural theology had relied. The world of fact and the world of value had been divorced. Science was no longer able to offer people the necessary cosmological assurances, and many would have applied to religion what William James had said of speculative philosophy, namely, that it no longer offered an explanation of the concrete universe but merely a substitute, a remedy and a means of escape.

It was the mission of the German-American philosopher and magazine editor, Paul Carus, to conciliate science and religion. Carus was one of those thinkers in late-nineteenth-century America who developed an all-inclusive, synthetic system.¹ By apotheosizing reason and condemning all forms of nominalism, metaphysical skepticism and irrationalism, he hoped to construct a new cosmology which would be both scientifically responsible and religiously satisfying. In the decade between 1890 and 1900 he elaborated a philosophy which he variously called "Monism," "Positivism" and "the Religion of Science."

Paul Carus was born in Prussia in 1852. He studied mathematics, the natural sciences, classical philology and philosophy and received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Tübingen in 1876. He came to the United States in the 1880s, and, in 1887, became the editor of a Chicago

¹ Herbert W. Schneider, in his *History of American Philosophy* (New York, 1947), pp. 333-34, lists Carus among those "cosmic philosophers" of the late nineteenth century such as John Fiske and Francis Ellingwood Abbot.

magazine, *The Open Court*. The founder of *The Open Court* was a German-American industrialist, Edward Carl Hegeler, whose ideas were strikingly similar to Carus'. When he had established *The Open Court* in 1886, Hegeler had said that the magazine was to represent ". . . an earnest effort to give the world a philosophy in harmony with all the facts (a monistic philosophy) which will gradually become a new religion to it as it has to me."² Carus and Hegeler agreed that *The Open Court* was to become a vehicle for religious and philosophical reform.

It is difficult to consider Paul Carus and his ideas apart from *The Open Court*. Under his management the magazine developed its peculiar character, and proclaimed that it was "Devoted to the Religion of Science." From its pages Carus spoke not only to philosophical and religious issues but to most of the social issues of the time as well. He insisted that reason was applicable to every facet of human experience, and his articles and editorials were characterized by an almost fanatical insistence on the dispassionate evaluation and rational investigation of all problems.

In the 1890s, while Chicago was emerging as a true cultural center, *The Open Court* developed into a unique institution and a communications center in its own right. Desiring to encourage a free flow of religious, philosophical and scientific ideas, Carus opened the pages of the magazine to the writings of Americans like Francis Ellingwood Abbot, Charles Saunders Peirce, William Salter, Joseph LaConte and Edward Drinker Cope. From Europe came important essays by such men as Ernst Mach, Wilhelm Wundt, Alfred Binet, Ernst Haeckel and George John Romanes. *The Open Court* had not a wide appeal—boasting fewer than 3,700 subscribers in 1903—and its sister journal, *The Monist*, which appeared in 1890 and took over the more technically philosophical and scientific writings, had a proportionally smaller circulation.³ But, judging from the contributions and letters to the editor, both magazines had many loyal followers. Carus maintained a liberal editorial policy, and every view from solipsism to positivism was expressed. Articles covered such diverse topics as DuMaurier's *Trilby*, Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*, the nature of hypnotism, anarchism and socialism, daemonology, religious liturgy, the Pullman strike, the position of women in modern society, the philosophy of Kant and the Xenions of Goethe.

² *Open Court*, I (1887), 624. The history of the founding of *The Open Court* is available in the form of letters published therein, I (1887), 622-24. It is also reported in some detail by William H. Hay, "Paul Carus: a Case-Study of Philosophy on the Frontier," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XVII (1956), 498 ff.

³ N. W. Ayer, *American Newspaper Annual* (Philadelphia, 1903), estimated the circulation of *The Open Court* at 3650 and the circulation of *The Monist* at 1000.

All this time Paul Carus was constantly at work publishing scores of books and hundreds of articles. He was confident that science provided the key to all human problems, and in this confidence he elaborated his Religion of Science with great vigor, bewildering complexity, much repetition and amazing naïveté.

Religion, Carus believed, was in a state of transition in which it was to overcome its superstitions and find a solid basis in the "scientific world-conception."⁴ Carus thought that he had a significant part to play in this process, and, to accomplish his purpose, he undertook to reconstruct philosophy beginning with the ideas of Immanuel Kant. Kant, defending deductive reasoning from the attacks of the Scottish nominalist David Hume, had instigated a "Copernican revolution" in philosophy by suggesting that abstract categories, like causation, time and space, were a necessary part of our mental framework and that reality, for us, existed only in terms of these "forms." He had refused to go beyond this point, however, and so he had insisted that the world as it actually was, the world of "things-in-themselves," was ultimately inaccessible to our knowledge. This resulted in a "dualism" in which such things as God, freedom and immortality were no longer considered objects of cognition at all, but postulates of faith.⁵

This was unacceptable to Paul Carus. How, after all, could one unify religion and science if the objects of religious awe and veneration, such as God and moral law, were cut off from scientific scrutiny? But Carus possessed a philosophical instrument which Kant had lacked. In his Gymnasium days at Stettin, he had come under the influence of the German mathematician Hermann Grassmann. Grassmann's work in vector analysis, so important in the new mathematics of the nineteenth century, had resulted in his elaboration of "a general science of pure forms," which, in contrast to the empirical sciences, was unlimited by the spatial world of three dimensions. Giving attention not only to geometrical magnitudes but also to their implicit direction,⁶ and proceeding by formal logic from whatever might be postulated by thought, Grassmann ex-

⁴ "The Prospects of Religion," *Open Court*, IX (1895), 4708-9.

⁵ See Carus' two books, *Monism and Meliorism: a Philosophical Essay on Causality and Ethics* (New York, 1885), in which he deals with the problems of causality and ethics in the light of Kant's "dualistic" philosophy, and *The Surd of Metaphysics* (Chicago, 1903), in which he rejects the idea of things-in-themselves and upholds the idea of knowable forms.

⁶ Grassmann realized that a point in straight motion determined a line, a moving line determined a plane, and a moving plane determined a solid. This process could be extended indefinitely, each time constructing a figure of a higher dimension than the preceding one. Applying algebra to this operation, one could work out complicated problems arising from these multidimensional constructions.

panded the range of his geometry into unimaginable dimensions. Grassmann, a man of philosophical inclination, had himself sketched the wider implications of this: henceforth, he suggested, human reason could move with confidence beyond the boundaries of sense experience. In his *Ausdehnungslehre*, he claimed both mathematics and philosophy as sciences ". . . in the strictest sense of the word."⁷ The student of each discipline, he said, should be able to recognize every truth that arises and should be able, ". . . at every point in the development, to survey the course of future progress."⁸ Not only, in other words, should the scholar maintain "scientific rigidity," but he should also possess the "power of survey." The scholar was no longer to be limited to the material immediately before him: he was to be capable of surveying all the implications of this material.⁹

These ideas made a deep impression on Paul Carus. Realizing that form was an inherent quality of apparently disparate facts, Grassmann had come to terms with five, ten and twenty dimensional constructions; could man not now also deal with the questions of his nature and destiny? Did not the power of survey apply to all matters of human concern? Kant had faltered, Carus believed, because he had not realized that form was not only a quality of mind but of all reality.¹⁰ There was a strict correlation between knowledge and the external world because "all elements of objective reality are inseparably united with the corresponding elements of subjective reality."¹¹ Because our minds and the external world had the same formal structure, we could employ what Carus called "purely formal" reasoning,¹² beginning with positive facts and proceeding accord-

⁷ Grassmann, *Die Ausdehnungslehre von 1844 oder die Lineale Ausdehnungslehre, ein Neuer Zweig der Mathematic . . .* (Leipzig, 1878, p. xxxi.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. xxxii. Grassmann was not only a mathematician. He was interested in such varied topics as electric currents, colors, acoustics and folklore. He also wrote a Sanscrit dictionary for the Rigveda. See Dirk J. Struik, *A Concise History of Mathematics* (Dover, N. Y., 1948), p. 255. An interesting discussion of the implications of Grassmann's ideas is to be found in Ernest Nagel, "Formation of Modern Conceptions of Formal Logic in the Development of Geometry," *Osiris*, VII (1936), 168-74.

¹⁰ "Experience," *Open Court*, VII (1893), 3604.

¹¹ Carus, *The Soul of Man: an Investigation of the Facts of Physiological and Experimental Psychology* (Chicago, 1905), p. 7. This book was originally published in 1891.

¹² See Carus' two articles in *The Open Court*: "Form and Formal Thought," II (1888), 1310-13, 1336-39, 1349-51, 1369-72; and "The Formal," VII (1893), 3679-82. In this latter article Carus distinguished between three kinds of formal thought: the "empirically formal," used in applied mathematics and mechanics and requiring demonstrable correspondence between idea and reality; the "rigidly formal," consisting in tautological statements like $2 \times 2 = 4$, used in arithmetic and algebra; and the "purely formal," used in mathematics and pure mechanics. The test for truth in purely formal reasoning was logical consistency.

ing to the rules of logic, and be assured of correct results. Carus was determined to complete Kant's thought. "If Kant compared his work to that of Copernicus," he wrote in 1885, "I may fairly liken mine to that of Kepler who filled out the Copernican system and reduced the law of motion of planets to simple mathematical formulae."¹³

Armed with his philosophy of forms, Carus moved bravely into the field of religion. He believed that truth was one,¹⁴ that science was the search for truth,¹⁵ and therefore that religion must be based on science.¹⁶ "The ultimate goal of religious development," he said, "is the recognition of the truth with the aspiration to live in conformity to the truth."¹⁷ Science, for Carus, was a religious revelation,¹⁸ and he rejected both supernatural revelation¹⁹ and mystical "intuition."²⁰ Carus insisted that he was a "conservative radical" in religious matters,²¹ that he came not to destroy the traditional faith but to fulfill it,²² and that he intended to preserve the truth ensconced in the mythology of all religions.²³ And what was this truth?—that the world was a harmonious unity: "there is law in it and the law is omnipresent."²⁴ Man's religious duty was to live in conformity to this law.

This brought Carus to the question of God. God, he said, was the principle of form and law in the cosmos²⁵ and was therefore the authority for conduct, ". . . the author of the moral ought."²⁶ Paul Carus rejected traditional theism which postulated a personal God, atheism which denied the existence of God altogether and pantheism which identified God with the whole universe.²⁷ Because God was an abstract idea, he was approachable by reason and the use of reason must necessarily lead the reasoning person to God. Therefore, Carus eschewed all random speculation about the nature of deity. He censured those Freethinkers

¹³ *Monism and Meliorism* . . . , p. 7.

¹⁴ See his two articles in *The Open Court*: "The Oneness of the Phenomenal and the Noumenal," II (1889), 1541-42; and "The Unity of Truth," IV (1890), 2502.

¹⁵ "The Religion of Science," *Open Court*, VII (1893), 3511-12.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Carus (unsigned), "The Monist: a Review of Its Work and a Sketch of Its Philosophy," *Open Court*, V (1891), 3674.

¹⁸ "Science as a Religious Revelation," *Open Court*, VII (1893), 3809-14.

¹⁹ Carus (unsigned editorial), *Open Court*, IV (1890), 2277-78.

²⁰ "Experience," *loc. cit.*, p. 3602.

²¹ "Conservative Radicalism," *Open Court*, IX (1895), 4728-35.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 4728.

²³ "Religion and Science: a Catechism," *Open Court*, VII (1893), 3674.

²⁴ "Conservative Radicalism," *loc. cit.*, p. 4729. See also his debate with an anonymous critic signed "David Theophilus," *Open Court*, II (1888), esp. pp. 838-39, 1205-6.

²⁵ Carus (unsigned), "Design in Nature," *Open Court*, IV (1890), 2620-21.

²⁶ "Science as a Religious Revelation," *loc. cit.*, p. 3810.

²⁷ "The Conceptions of God," *Open Court*, V (1891), 2771-73.

who believed that liberty of thought was of value in itself and insisted that free thought meant not freedom of thought but freedom for thought. There was but one truth and the free man was obligated to think that truth.²⁸ Carus was a vigorous opponent of agnosticism,²⁹ and he also rejected such vague and meaningless epithets for deity as "The Absolute" and "The Infinite." Such terms, he believed, only resulted in a confusion of thought.³⁰

Carus applied the same ideas to ethics, which he considered the central core of religious faith.³¹ He insisted that an ethical idea should be as objective and as systematic as any other philosophical or religious idea, and he challenged the Ethical Culture Society to describe the basis of its ethics.³² "Before we begin building," he advised its leaders pompously, "let us have a plan."³³ The unwillingness of the Ethical Society to offer this systematic articulation bewildered Carus.³⁴

Moral law was, for Carus, one with natural law. This led him to a rather naïve faith in social evolutionary progress and he criticized Thomas Huxley for denying that there was any relation between moral law and the law of evolution.³⁵ Carus believed that there was a "moral world-order." As late as July 1914 he insisted that "this moral world-order" was "just as undeniable as any mathematical, geometrical, or arithmetical theorem."³⁶

²⁸ See his article, "Freethought, Its Truths and Its Errors," V (1891), 2912-13. This attitude, combined with refusal to reject the language of traditional religion, put Carus at odds with many a Freethinker. See Sidney Warren, *American Freethought, 1860-1914* (New York, 1942), pp. 73-74.

²⁹ Agnosticism, insofar as it insisted that there were things that man could never know, was one of Carus' most frequent targets. See his articles in *The Open Court*: "Monism, Dualism, and Agnosticism," I (1887), 206-12; "The Unknowable," I (1888), 667-69; "Spencerian Agnosticism," V (1891), 2951-57; "Idolatry," VII (1893), 3619-20; "Agnosticism," XVIII (1904), 59. Carus believed that agnosticism was the result of Kant's dualistic separation of things as they appear to us and things as they actually are.

³⁰ See Carus' two articles in *The Open Court*: "Is the Infinite a Religious Idea?" V (1891), 2732-33; and "The Absolute," VII (1893), 3594-96. In the former article Carus noted that anyone with a grounding in mathematics would not speak of God as "The Infinite." Were deity adequately described by such a term, he suggested, the symbol "tan. 90°" would characterize him perfectly.

³¹ "Science as a Religious Revelation," *loc. cit.*, p. 3810. See also, "Science and Religion: a Catechism," *Open Court*, IV (1890), p. 2643.

³² "The Basis of Ethics and the Ethical Movement," *Open Court*, IV (1890), 2247-48. Carus distinguished between morality, or right conduct, and ethics, or the systematic investigation of the basis of morality.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 2247.

³⁴ See Carus' arguments against William Salter of the Ethical Culture Society: *Open Court*, IV (1890), 2549-50, 2564-67, 2574-77, 2590-92, 2606-8.

³⁵ "Ethics and the Cosmic Order," *Monist*, IV (1894), 403-16. See also his articles in *The Open Court*: "Ethics of Evolution," VII (1893), 3668; and "The Oneness of Man and Nature," II (1888), 1107-10. ³⁶ "God-Nature," *Open Court*, XXVIII (1914), 402.

Believing that science and ethics could not conflict, Carus plunged directly into the discussion of necessity and free will. He noted that the moralists of his day were "caught on the horns of a dilemma," because free will seemed to them necessary if they were to establish moral responsibility, and determinism was the rule of science.³⁷ Carus, however, tried to accept both determinism and free will by advancing the argument that a person, unless compelled by physical force to do otherwise, was always free to act according to his character and was incapable of acting contrary to it.³⁸

Carus was irritatingly equivocal in his discussion of character. He said that whatever a man willed, he willed of necessity, according to his character; but when Carus elaborated on this, he developed two distinct meanings for the word "character." On the one hand, character was that combination of principles and beliefs which predisposed a person to a given quality of action. "The decision of a scoundrel," he said, ". . . will, of necessity, be that of a scoundrel. . . . The decisions of an honest man will of necessity be honest, and will prove the honesty of his character."³⁹

On the other hand, character was a quality of cognition. In order to avoid the trap of moral irresponsibility into which determinism can lead, Carus defined "responsibility" as the knowledge that one must suffer the consequences of his actions and as the ability rationally to predict these consequences. Said he:

What is responsibility but the consciousness that a man has to bear the consequences of his actions, be it for good or for evil? The experience of common sense teaches and science proves that every action has definite consequences, which upon the whole can be calculated and ascertained before the execution of the action.⁴⁰

He went even further. Man, he said, was conscious and rational and lived in a world governed by discernible moral laws. Character, arising with the development of human thought, was the ability of every person to discover, by rational deliberation, how he, as a part of a moral world-order, ought to act.⁴¹ A person's principles and aspirations were shaped

³⁷ "Determinism and Free Will," *Open Court*, II (1888), 887.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 888.

³⁹ *The Soul of Man*, p. 392.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 395.

⁴¹ "Is Ethics Possible?" *Open Court*, XI (1897), 295-308.

This article was written in response to a critic, Antonio Llano, who accused Carus of being like Spinoza who had said all things were free to act according to their nature. If this is the case, asked Llano, how are we to make a moral distinction between Judas and Jesus, each of whom acted according to his character and could not have acted otherwise? See Llano's article, "Developmental Ethics," *Open Court*, XI (1897), 162-67, 280-84.

by this rational deliberation. The obvious implication of this, an implication Carus never clearly articulated, is that character was the same for all men!⁴²

Carus' conclusions were extremely unsatisfactory. Not only did his confusing explanation of character leave the problem of free will and determinism unsolved, but his application of Grassmann's power of survey to ethics resulted in the absurd implication that man was very nearly omniscient. Man knew what the moral law of nature demanded of him, and he could also predict the consequences of his every action!

This leads to a fundamental criticism of Carus' whole system: it was reductive. That he could insist that our knowledge of the moral law implied obedience to it, is but one example of the tight interrelation Carus believed to obtain between knowing and being.⁴³ This interrelation was believable, he said, because there was a formal structure in existence which accorded with man's formal thought. But the existence of this accordant formal structure could not be proved conclusively, and Carus was led to affirm that it could not be *disproved*, hence it should not be doubted.⁴⁴ Such an argument is fallacious. It is unverifiable and therefore inaccessible to rational inquiry.

For Paul Carus the important test of a philosophy lay in its application to the world of fact, and, with a philosophical system and a medium of communication at his disposal, he felt more than ready to meet the issues of his day. In questions of labor and money Carus was conservative and highly unoriginal. He rejected such "utopian" schemes as socialism, Bellamy's nationalism and the free silver proposal.⁴⁵ His views on labor were optimistic and progressive in an evolutionary sense of the word.⁴⁶ But the interesting thing is that, in approaching all domestic issues, including the Homestead strike,⁴⁷ the recurring anarchist agitation⁴⁸ and the assassination of McKinley,⁴⁹ Paul Carus pleaded for objectivity, rational discussion and cool-headedness.

This same attitude prevailed in the area of foreign relations. He called for an intelligent discussion of the issues when Moncure Daniel Conway,

⁴² "Is Ethics Possible?" *loc. cit.*, p. 301.

⁴³ See "Monism, Dualism, and Agnosticism," *loc. cit.*, p. 209.

⁴⁴ See, for example, the conclusions reached in his debate with the pragmatists, *Truth on Trial: an Exposition of the Nature of Truth* (Chicago, 1911), p. 15.

⁴⁵ See his articles in *The Open Court*: (unsigned editorial), "Looking Forward," IV (1890), 2151-52; "Labor and Capital," VI (1892), 3258-60; "The Present in Our Politics," X (1896), 5047-48.

⁴⁶ See, for example, his article, "Labor Day," *Open Court*, VIII (1894), 4209-10.

⁴⁷ Editorial, *Open Court*, VI (1892), 3430.

⁴⁸ "Aliens Wanted," *Open Court*, VII (1893), 3759-60.

⁴⁹ "William McKinley," *Open Court*, XV (1901), 581.

a member of the staff of *The Open Court*, provoked a heated controversy by attacking Grover Cleveland's action in the Venezuelan boundary dispute in 1896.⁵⁰ In 1899 Carus wrote an article advocating the establishment of an international tribunal, composed of men known for their sense of justice and breadth of understanding, to give advice "from a purely moral standpoint" on diplomatic questions.⁵¹ Representing various countries, these men ". . . would represent the conscience of civilized mankind."⁵² Here was the direct application of Carus' faith in reason and moral law.

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, Carus became increasingly disillusioned. He was ignored by some, rejected by many and misunderstood by practically everyone. He believed the Religion of Science to be the faith of the future—a faith not restricted to intellectuals but possible for everyone, and applicable to all human problems. But the average person did not know of him, and he was rejected by the pragmatists, by most Freethinkers and by the Ethical Society. Not only this, but Carus could not even convince his own friends, Ernst Haeckel and Ernst Mach. Haeckel, a German biologist and a monist, had abandoned free will, was implacable in his hatred of religious orthodoxy, was a pantheist, and refused to be convinced of the central importance of form in the universe.⁵³ Mach, a physicist and philosopher, had extended his nominalism to science and questioned the objective validity of scientific theories themselves.⁵⁴

In 1905 Albert Einstein published his *Special Theory of Relativity*, which had the effect of destroying the ideas of absolute space, time and motion. This did not, in itself, alarm Paul Carus. After all, the new mathematics on which he relied was the basis for the new physics. What did disturb him was the language of relativity which sounded, to Carus' ears, much like the language of paradox and even of "mysticism."⁵⁵ The new physics, he said, manifested ". . . a subjectivist tendency and a subjectivist aim."⁵⁶ It implied the relativity of truth itself and, in the early

⁵⁰ See M. C. Conway, "Our Cleveland Christmas," *Open Court*, X (1896), 4775-77. See also Carus' two articles in the same volume, pp. 4780-92, 4794-97.

⁵¹ "Peace on Earth a Problem of Practical Diplomacy," *Open Court*, XIII (1899), 360-63.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 363.

⁵³ See Carus' three articles: "Professor Haeckel's Monism and the Ideas of God and Immortality," *Open Court*, V (1891), 2957-58; "Haeckel's Thesis for a Monistic Alliance," *Monist*, XVI (1903), 120-23; "God-Nature," *loc. cit.*, pp. 390-402.

⁵⁴ See Mach's *Popular Scientific Lectures* (Chicago, 1898), pp. 241-81. See also Carus' article, "Professor Mach's Philosophy," *Monist*, XVI (1896), 331-59.

⁵⁵ Carus, *The Principle of Relativity in the Light of the Philosophy of Science* (Chicago, 1913), p. 1.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

years of the twentieth century, the idea of the relativity of truth seemed, to Carus, to gain ever more ground in pragmatism⁵⁷ and in the ideas of Henri Bergson,⁵⁸ Sigmund Freud⁵⁹ and Friedrich Nietzsche.⁶⁰

The First World War brought the *coup de grâce* for Paul Carus. He believed Germany was morally right,⁶¹ but, following his policy, he called for a rational evaluation of the situation, trying patiently to answer the many vituperative letters he received. On September 17, 1917 a letter titled "Enemies Within" appeared in the *New York Tribune*, written by one H. Roger Thomas, and charging that *The Open Court* had become a vehicle for enemy propaganda.⁶² Carus replied with a defense of his position and a plea for intelligent discussion of all sides of the issue. The *Tribune* never published his rebuttal. The letter was returned "not very regretfully" and the editor of the *Tribune* advised Carus:

I disagree mainly as to the emotional propriety of treating the war at all on an intellectual plane. The war is the herd's business, we are in it, and before anything else we must win it, and that is not a matter to be reasoned about.

"Here," said Carus, "we rest our case."⁶³

Paul Carus had attempted to apply science to human affairs, to treat experience on an objective and rational level, to establish a religion of science. He failed. The public to which he spoke was deaf to his voice: his ideas were too abstruse for the average man and too simple for the intellectual. The intellectual milieu at the time when he was developing his ideas, the 1890s, was much too fluid to afford Carus the scientific presuppositions he needed to construct his system. The unity of truth, cause and effect and the preservation of matter and energy, all ideas on which Carus relied, were the very ideas which became most questionable in the early years of the twentieth century.

Carus was an anomaly in his own time. He expressed a confidence and an optimism which were inappropriate in the closing years of the nineteenth century. He thought of himself not as a philosopher but as a theologian,⁶⁴ but he offered the world a new orthodoxy which it could

⁵⁷ "The Anti-Intellectual Movement of To-Day," *Monist*, XXII (1913), 398.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 399.

⁵⁹ "Wrong Generalizations in Philosophy: Schopenhauer and Freud," *Monist*, XXIII (1913), 151.

⁶⁰ Carus, *Nietzsche and Other Exponents of Individualism* (Chicago, 1913), *passim*.

⁶¹ "The European War," *Open Court*, XXVIII (1914), 596-646.

⁶² The letter was reprinted in its entirety in the article "Our Patriotism Defended," *Open Court*, XXXI (1917), 654-56.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 658-62.

⁶⁴ See *The Point of View: an Anthology of Religion and Philosophy Selected from the Works of Paul Carus*, ed. Catherine Cook (Chicago, 1927), p. viii.

not accept. Carus' Religion of Science oversimplified human nature, overestimated human reason and relied upon an inflexible methodology which rendered it inadequate to the complexities of human life. As a result, Carus' system provided neither an acceptable explanation of the concrete universe nor an authentic source of metaphysical consolation. Although Carus was extremely sensitive to the philosophical and scientific ideas of his age—he was responsible for bringing many ideas to America from abroad—he appears to have been naïvely unaware of the real world around him and so he preached and sought to live a faith which was at odds with its environment. To the writer of one of his obituaries in 1919 Carus seemed to have been “. . . an old-fashioned rationalist in an age that has changed all that.”⁶⁵

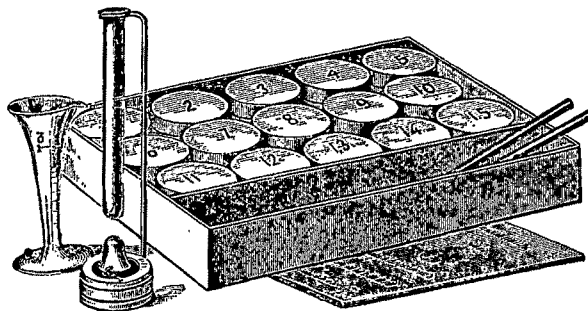
Paul Carus died in 1919 after a prolonged illness. *The Open Court* and *The Monist* survived until his wife's death in the 1930s. Carus the man and his Religion of Science have been all but forgotten, and one is at a loss to name any important thinker who was directly influenced by his ideas. He did not believe in the personal immortality of an after-life, but he did believe in the immortality acquired through one's thoughts and deeds. He was fond of quoting the motto from a novel by Gustav Freytag, *The Lost Manuscript*. This was the only novel reprinted, during Carus' life, in *The Open Court*. The motto read:

A noble human life does not end on earth with death. It continues in the minds and deeds of friends as well as in the thoughts and activities of the nation.⁶⁶

It appears that Paul Carus was to be denied even this.

⁶⁵ William Ellery Leonard, "Paul Carus," *Dial*, LXVI (1919), 454.

⁶⁶ Quoted in the article, "In Memorium—Gustav Freytag," *Open Court*, IX (1895), 4486.



Notes

Rebellion and Compulsion: The Dramatic Pattern of American Thought

IN RESPONSE TO OUR INTERMINABLE QUEST FOR NATIONAL SELF-IDENTIFICATION, we have been inundated by interpretations of the peculiar character of American thought. If we paused to take stock, we might find ourselves impelled to urge, as I would, that we supplement studies which interpret American thought as the reflection of a bland, amorphous environment with studies which perceive our intellectual activities as attacks on the massive conventions which constitute the American consensus. What, in other words, I should like to propose is that we shift our perspective and see how American ideas, as they have been subjected to pressures, have been transformed, attenuated and adjusted so that they might make their way in society.

This shift may give us a sharper picture of the intriguing ways we have blunted our rhetoric as well as of the changes and continuities in the prevailing consensus. It should encourage us to reconstruct a dialogue not between our extremists on the right and on the left (however these terms are defined), but rather between those Americans who represent our extreme idealisms—men who momentarily stood apart and became thoughtful—and those who represent our sense of practicality. Articulating this tension between idealism and realism, even when it finds expression in a single figure such as Jefferson, we may be able to perceive more comprehensive, more universally relevant intellectual patterns in our past. Such a reinterpretation should help define the actual compulsions operating in American life; at the same time, it should alert us to the possibilities of idealism and utopian speculation.

American thought may be comprehended, so it has been pervasively argued, as a series of repercussions, as manifold reflections of a complex material and social environment. Frederick Jackson Turner interpreted it as reflection of a geographical frontier; David Potter as reflection of our abundant national resources; Louis Hartz as reflection of the fact that we did not have to overthrow the institutions of feudalism; R. W. B. Lewis as reflection of conditions that make us "emancipated from history, happily bereft of ancestry, untouched and undefiled by the usual inheritance of family and race";¹ and Leslie Fiedler as reflection of an "immature society" unable to accept adult love and death. Explicitly fol-

¹ *The American Adam* (Chicago, 1955), p. 5.

lowing the clues of American novelists, Richard Chase has seen our fiction as repeated subjective attempts to arrive at self-definition. Similarly, Marius Bewley has explained American writing in reference to "the absence of a traditional social medium. . . ." ² Charles L. Sanford, not unlike Henry Nash Smith, has seen the myth of the Garden of Eden as "the most powerful and comprehensive organizing force in American culture." ³ And more recently Leo Marx has argued that the American cultural drama is enacted on a pastoral plane on which we perennially seek to resolve the conflict between primitive wilderness and a rationalistic technology.

These various interpretations are strikingly complementary. Although their accents differ, they jointly postulate an identifiable relationship between our thought and our environment. They agree, more significantly, that it is analytically fruitful to assume the primacy of our environment and the derivative nature of our thought. With a lack of restraint characteristic of those testing a hypothesis, they insist that because our environment has provided no ground for any stand—no society, no history, no law—we seem to be forever expressing our incomprehensible metaphysical anguish, releasing lonely, bewildered outcries against the great void. Assuming the environment to be a hollow presence, they explain thought as our encounter with it, with the result that our thought is seen as a more or less successful quest for fulfillment. As we react against the untamed landscape and the open society, we do so, it appears, in behalf of community, in behalf of belonging, purpose and identity.

Let us assume this familiar interpretation helps us make sense of our intellectual history. What, then, are some of its implications? What might it entail for a study of American thought?

If we have been consistently driven to perceive our being as devoid of any essential nature and have always found it impossible to define ourselves, it would still be true that we could have put this discovery into language only by compromising the purity of our insight. That is, while affirming our solitude and our loss, we still did have to say and define and posit something. We had to moderate our vision by referring to specific community goods, to common institutions and ideals. Thus the history of our thought—including our fiction, our theology, our platforms—can be seen as the history of the way we have incarnated our variable reactions to the empty sky, the unbounded wilderness, the mobile populace, the ever-new frontier.

² *The Eccentric Design* (New York, 1959), p. 19.

³ *The Quest for Paradise: Europe and the American Moral Imagination* (Urbana, 1961), p. vi.

Our language, it should be clear, effectively bestowed form and texture. It humanized, domesticated and composed, wresting human meaning from a wild and meaningless void, literally coming to terms with America, relentlessly constructing forms. At the same time, as we gave meaning and form to our lives, we were unwilling to inherit the given Old World forms; we remained hostile to the rationalism, civilization, technology, refinement and order which gave the social and political life of Europe its peculiar rigor, pattern and meaning. Accepting, then, neither primitivism nor civilization, we mediated. Between the forms of Europe and our formless environment, we took a middle course. Perceiving both extremes as threatening forces, we remained inconclusive, settling for nothing.

But what of those writers who did edge toward the extremes, who have always struck us as being so much out of the main current? What of those who expatriated themselves? What of those who came to use, as did Henry James and Thorstein Veblen, an increasingly involuted, ironic vocabulary? Or what of those whose work, as Harry Levin has shown, became disembodied and darkly pessimistic? Is it not true that an approach which sees *all* of these within the context of the American environment makes it impossible to discriminate, so that we end by viewing everything primarily as reaction to the American experience? Explaining too much, doesn't this approach make us too generous toward our past?

In itself, I believe, this objection need be no obstacle to analysis. The perspective here suggested seeks to be no less all-inclusive. It merely wishes to highlight an unfamiliar and undiscussed historical dialectic, a dialectic between the immense forces of moderation and the succession of individual extremists. This dialectic remains concealed in the conventional kind of intellectual history which, ignoring the prevailing consensus, labels the camps of extremists, imputes "positions" to them and then pits them against one another as if their struggle had actually been desperate. Traditionally, the conflicts in American thought have been viewed as between agrarianism and mercantilism, between equality and hierarchy, or between a voluntaristic, rebellious left and a rationalistic right. But today they might more revealingly be viewed as between an inarticulate, coercive, conservative community consensus and all those whom Melville called mariners, renegades and castaways—all who have somehow taken issue and tried to move away from an infuriatingly moderate center.

It is the tension in these movements, in my view, which might now be illuminated, for this tension makes American thought dramatic, tense

and humanistically engaging. It is disclosed in the passion of thinkers and artists encountering not the great American void but the implicitness of our habits, the density of our prejudices. Their conflict with the community, with the exasperating politics and institutions of America, constitutes a record that may now be seen as durably relevant and memorable. In this record there is comedy, tragedy and pathos. In it we may recognize our very selves.

It is a record, we should note, of potential idealists resolving to speak clearly but becoming either turgid or inconsequential over the years. It shows us always adding, for the sake of social unity, an "on the other hand," forever cutting ourselves off from finalities, depriving ourselves of second acts whether we advocate statism or anarchism. If Hamilton and Thoreau remained consistent in their theories, we may recall that they did not live out their lives. For us, the opportunity to add has been the opportunity to retract. Our attempts to *develop* intellectually, so it would seem, make us emasculate our ideas, employ an oblique rhetoric, go into exile or become silent. To be heard and to be paid, we tend to remain indecisive and contradictory—not merely in our practice, where inconclusiveness is salutary, but also in our theory. To review our surrenders and compromises, and to do so with specificity and sympathy, may help give us the self-knowledge without which we must vacillate between mindless complacency and shrill zealotry. At the same time, like all historical study, it may more modestly help widen the range of possibilities, revealing that causes are never wholly lost.

If this approach is sound, we should feel summoned to use it as basis for a systematic analysis of American thought—whether it is concerned with politics, business, religion, education, literature, science, technology or leisure. What I am suggesting is that we do not need to create further "frameworks for analysis" or hope for further daring insights. (Nor do we for the moment need to encourage scholarly, non-interpretative editions of letters, dispatches, journals, messages, logs, reports, sermons and speeches—given the surfeit of steam already in this academic engine.) What would seem to be required is the application of the kind of energy for which we still esteem Vernon Louis Parrington, an energy that drove him, and should now drive others, to provide comprehensive reassessments of our intellectual patrimony. Such integrative work should lead us to appreciate and define the massive social compulsions operating in America. It should enable us to understand those qualities which, far from making us inexperienced and "innocent," give us our distinctive identity.

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On Distinguishing "A Machine" from Its System

THE CONCERN OF STUDENTS OF AMERICAN CULTURE FOR TECHNOLOGY NEEDS no apology, yet the direction of that concern seems sometimes toward a perverse point. Probably the proto-thesis on the subject of technology was Thoreau's review, "Paradise (To Be) Regained" (1843), in which the following germ-idea is to be found: "There is a transcendentalism in mechanics as well as in ethics."¹ Thoreau's essay leaves no doubt, in the reader's mind, of his hostility to attempts to idealize industrial society. Moreover, it leaves no doubt that what troubled Thoreau was the idealization of the machine *system*. Thoreau says "mechanics"; but some critics who have followed him have said simply "machines." The two terms are not synonymous: one applies to a thing; the other to a system. A struggle with definitions may therefore be valuable at this time. The word "industrialism" will serve as well as any to provide a key to the problem.

The dictionaries are not as helpful as one would hope on the connotations of "industrialism"; yet it seems clear that the term is used to refer now to "a system of things arising from . . . the existence of great industries,"² now to the industries themselves, either singly or collectively, without special reference to the idea of system. In this latter use, synecdoche is frequent, and what was a system of machine production becomes simply "the machine," or perhaps "the dynamo," or, with greater emphasis on the unnatural, "mechanical contrivances." The trope, of course, gives a clearer image; but there are degrees of explicitness even with images. And, in fact, imagistic and psychological precision may be more than offset by a kind of moral vagueness (the very thing that would concern Thoreau, for example), since it is of the nature of synecdoche to offer the mind this escape. Thus though the expression "seven rifles" may focus my fear better than the expression "seven soldiers," it simplifies my response and permits me, in the process of eliminating seven rifles, to destroy seven soldiers with softened remorse. Something of the same nature happens with "industrialism" and "machine." "Dynamo" may still carry some connotations of terror to the humanist; but the Virgin, herself, might be comfortable enough with some "mechanical contrivances." And a man might eventually learn to conquer his fear of "a machine" without ever losing his dread of "a machine-like system" applied to his organization

¹ Reprinted in Thorp, Curti, Baker, *American Issues*, 1955, p. 422.

² *Shorter O.E.D.*, 3rd ed., 1955; my emphasis.

generally. At the same time, a man might be struck in only his comic nature and never shaken to metaphysical roots at all by the image of "a machine in the garden."

Some haziness, then, in analyses of the response to industrialism will arise if the distinction is not maintained between "a certain kind of thing" and "a certain system of things." An unfortunate example of this, amounting finally to equivocation, appears in Perry Miller's recent article, "The Responsibility of Mind."³ This is one of those protestantly fine but probably futile essays of exhortation, which urges "students of American history" to make a more real contribution to contemporary affairs by putting aside their fear of "the machine." According to Miller, objection to the machine has been mainly a minority protest, in large part stimulated by this group's reaction to the majority's infatuation with technology. Miller admits an historical present containing certain "terrifying operations of the machine" (p. 69). He finds no real enmity in the machine itself, however, but discovers the real terror in the idea that a superficial and unjustified fear of the machine has been allowed to grow into professional apathy.

Certainly no one can object to any attempt to counter what Miller calls the "pattern of further and further regression into the womb of irresponsibility" (p. 67). But are we certain that this history of irresponsibility is correctly accounted for? If it takes its origin not in fear of the machine but in something else, yet unnamed, can we instill responsible minds with understanding by arguing beside the point? We might perhaps calm the murmurings of Ulysses' sailors by reminding them that their captain is one "never at a loss"; but we couldn't remove their fears if, rather than the perils they share with their captain, it is Ulysses, himself, they fear.

As to what this unnamed thing, this "Ulysses itself," might be, we receive some insight from a closer examination of Miller's diction. Actually he uses a variety of words to refer to the object of apparent enmity from which our real apathy has grown. The term, for him neutral, for the object behind which he can find no real or excusable enmity, is "machine":

... the prospect of a healthy relation of mind to machine. . . . [And:] They marvelled at the machine, but they took full responsibility. Never did any weird notion that the machine might someday dominate the men cross their minds. (p. 60)

It is apparent, I believe, that it is a concept of "thing" to which these relations of mind are attached. He also has "thing" or "things" in mind,

³ *The American Scholar*, XXXI (Winter, 1961-62), 51-69.

evidently, when he quotes Emerson favorably against Thoreau: " 'Machinery and Transcendentalism agree well. Stage-Coach and Railroad are bursting the old legislation like green withes' " (p. 61). And, again, when Miller chides the mind of society for its belief in chimeras, the word he uses shows that he has a certain *thing* in mind, as, for example: ". . . if we can endure these monsters only by snatching at impotent dreams of Walden Pond, then it is fitting that the machines take over" (p. 58).

Since, as Miller argues, it is incredible that modern man should really fear the machine, it is possible, as Miller also argues, that man's fears are irrational and his actions irresponsible. But it is even more likely that this diagnosis of the grounds of man's fear is incorrect. Consider, for example, Miller's terminology in the following two passages:

Upon all of us . . . rests the responsibility of securing a hearing from an audience either dazzled into dumb amazement by the prestige of technology [!] or else lulled into apathy by the apparently soothing but actually insidious triumphs of functional science [!] (p. 68).

("Technology" and "functional science" strike me as approximately equivalent terms, and I can comfortably read either one in place of the other in this passage. But "machine" is equivalent to neither, though in the usage employed by Miller this distinction is not noted. Or rather I should say, Miller feels the distinction but doesn't bring it sufficiently to the surface to avoid equivocation. He levels his attack against man's response to "the machine"—a thing, that is; but at critical points in his argument he employs a vocabulary having at least an implied reference to more numerous features of a particular *system*. The equivocation is complete in the following:)

Our disposition to treasure these miscellaneous manifestations of a taste for culture, of a publicly advertised thirst for beauty not yet obliterated by the *weight of technology*, has been accentuated by a tendency among students of the American past to emphasize the minorities who have protested here and there against the majority's infatuation with *the machine* (p. 55; my emphasis).

The fallacy is in this: that when Miller has need to emphasize the sense of oppression under a machine-dominated society he uses—correctly, I feel—a term with the connotation of system: "technology"; but when he wants to minimize this felt-weight he uses the term for thing: "machine."

Miller, however, hasn't focused on the idea of system behind a machine-civilization. "Technology" does not mean the same thing to him that it means to me, apparently. It seems, in his next sentence, to mean "many machines" rather than a system dominated in some sense by something

implicit in machine production, for he writes: "By blowing them [i. e., machines] up to a size out of all numerical proportion to the mass . . ." etc. (p. 55). To Miller, therefore, "the weight of technology" is an illusion, created by fear itself, out of the mistaken belief that what is numerous is necessarily ominous. Ignoring for now what in this expression smacks of the American inclination to turn real toads into psychological states, one notes again that there is no reference to system or to the probability that system or something in the system, rather than machine alone, may have been grounds for feeling "the weight of technology."

The unfortunate flaw in Miller's otherwise admirably pointed article is obvious, perhaps as well as anywhere in the body of his thesis, in his full title: "The Responsibility of Mind in a Civilization of Machines." I strongly suspect that the phrase "civilization of machines" misses the essential point of our culture. And equally I fear that no gain in precision is to be made simply by substituting for "machine" either "technology" or "industrialism" as long as these terms are used indiscriminately, and as long as the image of machine, either singly or in quantity, predominates.

A similar failure to distinguish from among these various terms issues in some obscurity in another recent, and certainly valuable, essay. In fact, Marvin Fisher's article, "The Iconology of Industrialism, 1830-60,"⁴ raises, quite tangentially to its declared purpose, the central issue in this question of terminology.

Fisher proposes using Erwin Panofsky's method of iconological interpretation in order to reveal the response of Americans and Europeans to technological development in the United States in the years immediately preceding the Civil War. The iconological method consists in "analysis of imagery and metaphor [in order to] reveal unconscious or submerged associations and attitudes" (p. 347). Fisher points out that "to the cultural historian [this technique] is a way of identifying the collective representations or the 'myths' of a particular people at a particular time" (p. 347). But actually, I suppose, this efficacy could be counted on only if the myths of a particular people are completely renderable in image and metaphor, and if the analyst can ascertain that the thing imaged—and not some inchoate something behind the thing—is truly representative of the "submerged associations," etc. But Fisher does not satisfy me that images of special machines (some that he discusses: locomotives, steamboats, the spinning jenny) are revelatory of unconscious attitudes toward "industrialism" or "technological development" or "the logic of the machine"—terms which appear in his essay indiscriminately with "the machine."

⁴ *American Quarterly*, XIII (Fall, 1961), 347-64.

Clearly, though, Fisher by his method has shown us some of "the difficulties and inconsistencies involved in the mid-nineteenth-century response" to machines. But can we be certain that this is identical to the response to "industrialism" (see p. 347, fn. 1), or to "technological development" (p. 347)? Can we, for that matter, be certain that "response" is the most productive area in which to search for meaning?⁵

The two basic questions to be asked concerning the iconological method are, first of all, whether it is truly the case that "unconscious attitudes" select the images and metaphors that most accurately embody them? The insistence that imagery is selected in this manner—at least by the unconscious—seems to me highly problematical. And to infer any exact germ of attitude behind the imagery strikes me as critically rash; projective at the very least. But the second question, apparently nonsensical, is still more radical. What kind of images could be created in response to those aspects of experience which one was totally unaware of, or which one found totally beyond one's comprehension? The answer, of course, is that no images at all could possibly be created. And yet this is not to imply that such unknowns do not affect us. Paradoxical as it may be, we can be "affected" without "experiencing"—without, that is, being able to formulate a response. To paraphrase T. S. Eliot, we may have the effect and have missed the experience. Or, to vary the analogy, we might be living in an environment we could not use since the "novelty in thought"⁶ that would make significant response possible had not yet emerged.

We need to have defined categories both of technology and of the arts of expression that will enable us to work in that shadowy metahistorical area of *emergence*; to enable us to speculate on affections that do not yet figure in the response, in any semi-articulate manner even as unconsciously drawn images. Deductions of cause and effect in this realm are likely always to remain speculative. But there will be less fear of speculation if we have a clearer idea of why and where we must abandon the methods of description, the bias of psychology and the reference to what—for me at least—are symptoms.

But such a study will require a subtle analysis and division of concepts like "industrialism" and "technology": an analysis that will free us from primary reliance on the visible landscape of science—the representative machines, as well as from the landscape of the mind—images. Further, our terminology should be such as to provide a closer identity of the

⁵ The reader who has caught my earlier allusion to the American habit of turning meanings inward may wonder if that idol of the theater isn't, in fact, my primary target. It is, of course. Howard Mumford Jones's *The Pursuit of Happiness* is useful.

⁶ A. P. Usher's phrase. See *A History of Mechanical Inventions* (Boston, 1959), p. 2.

analogous parts of our comparison. In such an article as Perry Miller's, for example, his strictures on the contemporary mind would have been more meaningful if, instead of dismissing out of hand our antipathy toward the machine, he had attempted to assign our feelings of enmity to more specific, though less obvious, features of a machine-society. Marvin Fisher comes closer to new insights when he writes:

What holds this network of fears and objections together is the feeling that *various features of the new technology* violated certain commonly held attitudes toward Nature, whether it be natural beauty, natural health or purity, the natural observance of divine ordination, or the natural behavior, emotions and functions of human beings (p. 360; my emphasis).

There is a worthwhile attempt here to divide and classify. But the word "features" (which I find myself using, too) stops too close to the obvious, too far from the explicit. Until some thoroughgoing effort is made to describe those "various features [or perhaps better: *implicit categories*] of technology" we cannot be certain what the imaged fear is analogous to, nor indeed whether the real fear is of the kind available to imagery. Or, finally, whether *fear* is truly the matter into which we should inquire.

Thus, it appears, our method of culture analysis is not served as well as it should be by the synecdoche of "machine" for "industrialism" or "technology" or "logic of the machine"—whatever term we elect for analysis. It allows us to substitute a concrete image for what in all likelihood is not concrete at all. And it encourages us to turn inward meanings which, in their real significance, are perhaps outward and public.

Consider the antithetical, and insufficiently defined, qualities in each of the following pairs—to name just a few of the concepts needing deeper analysis in respect both to technology and to the human mind—all of which are associated in some way with "technology": innovation—perpetuity; interchangeability—fixity (regularity); natural law—unnatural application; purpose (or finitude)—process (or infinitude); method—improvisation; science—luck. There is a prime need, therefore, for an analysis of the variety of implicit categories of technology together with an effort to locate analogous elements in the response—or response-failure—of personality, art and society. But beyond this, we should begin to question our fetish for subjective accounts of the world. Perhaps the mind, conscious and unconscious together, does *not* fully record the world. Mind, paradoxically, may be outside "mind." Technology itself may be a mind: it is, surely, at the very least a coherent *system*.

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Reviews

Conducted by Theodore Hornberger

Darwin and the Tragic Vision

IMAGES, COMMENTS A MODERN POET, "ARE VISIONS OF THE RACE . . .," metaphors of life and death.¹ The "tangled bank"² is Charles Darwin's image: an image of life and struggle, destruction and birth. It is likewise an image of death: the death of varieties, species and cultures. The vision Darwin evokes is not the countless pasts in the history of man's life alone; it is the vision of the entire history of life and the whole history of humanity. In Stephen Spender's supple language, "imagery is the urgent means by which experience arrests attention."³ In Darwin's subtle dramatic purpose the image suggests the insistent means by which attention limits and liberates human experience. The tangle on the bank is matted, gnarled and knotted, and Darwin claimed no more than to have smoothed and unraveled a series of stubborn, unyielding strands. The rest remains the task of civilization, an unending task, the lifework of mankind during the lifetime of man.

Stanley Edgar Hyman's recent book⁴ is an exploration of symbols, metaphors and

Those masterful images, because complete
Grew in pure mind, but whence began?⁵

The question of Yeats is the question of Hyman. The method alone differs. Hyman achieves what he ascribes to his great subjects. They produced "four great illuminations, elucidations, enlightenments." If much "of what has been dragged out into the light is evil and irrational, the heroic imaginative labor that dragged it out is benign and rational. These great enlightenings are humanist, philanthropic in the root sense, for the love of man."⁶ Hyman is also a philanthropist. He has produced a book of lasting import and continuing stimulation.

¹ Stephen Spender, *The Destructive Element* (London, 1935), p. 280.

² Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*. . . (London, 1876), corrected from 6th ed., p. 429.

³ Spender, *op. cit.*

⁴ *The Tangled Bank: Darwin, Marx, Frazer and Freud As Imaginative Writers* (Atheneum, 1962, xi, 458 pp. \$10.00.)

⁵ W. B. Yeats, *The Circus Animals' Desertion*.

⁶ Hyman, p. 447.

No uncertainties hover over the author's intent. *The Tangled Bank* is not a history of ideas. Darwin, Marx, Frazer and Freud are presented as imaginative writers and their works are studied as literature. They are not studied simply as stylists, for this is not an essay in aesthetics. Books are works of art and possess "an ethical as well as an aesthetic dimension."⁷ The books which came out of the minds and hearts of these four thinkers are works of "the moral imagination, imposing order and form on disorderly and anarchic experience."⁸ They are (whatever else they may be) psychic records, unconditioned responses to a total cultural past. "One of the benefits of tradition," the whole unarticulated individual heritage, Theodore Spencer reminds us, "is that it allows the subconscious safely to take the upper hand."⁹ The confirmed pessimist or the confirmed totalitarian, for example, is not confirmed by reason and overt experience alone nor is the tragic mood simply the distillation of individual living and contemplation. Attitudes and convictions when latent or suppressed are communicated metaphorically. They are no less real on that account since "lines of force radiate out from the work of art and order and reorder the world. . . ."¹⁰ These notions will not entrance historians for whom the documentary word remains the ineffable thing in itself. Such scholars should remember that when they speak reverently of the past, they should mean it. There is much more in the past than was ever written down, or made into things, or consciously remembered.

Hyman is explicit about his qualifications. Experts are free to miss the point and to challenge his credentials. They may question the procedure of confining attention to the original sources; commentaries are for the most part neglected. Except in four specified instances,¹¹ Hyman has not ventured a technical judgment, and by a liberal use of quotation his subjects are permitted to speak for themselves. This will enable readers to reach conclusions of their own; it will only bore the disinterested.

A literary critic by training and profession, Hyman has used the established techniques of his craft. These he has already discussed in *The Armed Vision* and exemplified in *Poetry and Criticism*. His major intellectual obligations are cited: to Kenneth Burke for the concept of symbolic action, to William Empson for analogical form and to Gilbert Murray and Jane Harrison for ritual theory. These concepts need no defense and the author employs them with creativity and confidence.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. x.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Theodore Spencer, *Death and Elizabethan Tragedy* (Cambridge, 1936), p. 209.

¹⁰ Hyman, p. x.

¹¹ In all of which he is probably right. *Ibid.*, p. ix.

To establish conceptual affinities among Hyman's quadrumvirate is not difficult. Darwinism, Marxism and Freudianism (neo, pro, post, proto, anti) burden the vocabularies of every western tongue. George Frazer never won the halo of a substantive, but *The Golden Bough* became a surrogate for folklore, myth and comparative anthropology. "Patterns of culture," "the savage mind" and a long list of additional phrases continue to obscure as much as to clarify discussion. Darwin's bank is no more quiet than before, but it is certainly more tangled. Although many works have imposed order on the chaos of experience, every generation must reassess them. Hyman has made a contribution to the perennial reassessment.

Literary techniques applied to scientific scholarship are kinetic instruments of historical reconstruction. Truth may be cumulative; it is seldom additive. The pursuit of insight is much more "a labor of love . . . than of patience";¹² it escapes the devoted paraphrase of prior formulations. Hyman does not seek to establish relationships but to delineate them; he is less eager to assert consequences than to give them meaning. Scientific methods are prerequisites of humanist inquiry, but there are no substitutes in scientific analyses for "the arts of language." Words are responses to human purpose. The distinction, for followers of Ernst Cassirer and Suzanne Langer, between scientific and humanistic discourse is not a difference in kind. Language is a symbolic transformation of total experience. Goethe's observation that all words were once theories also means they were once metaphors, a suggestion requiring no explanation for students of hieroglyphics and paleography. There is art in the writings of those not usually accounted creative writers and whose ends were not primarily literary.

Darwin demands evaluation as an imaginative writer before the hidden facets of his character and personality can be understood. Repetition of unexamined words has shriveled Darwin's spirit and imprisoned his mind. Levels of Darwinian influence erupt in the pages of Marx and in those of Frazer and Freud, but the Darwinian impact has been impoverished by an incredible literalness and a strange lack of empathy. Hyman is neither deficient in breadth nor perceptiveness, but the scope of the Darwinian impact still remains too narrowly conceived; it was a shattering event of tragic proportions. Moreover, Hyman's reading of the Darwin text, though always suggestive, opens large areas for disagreement.

Nonspecialist students of Marx can learn as much from the *1844 Manuscripts* as from an awareness that much of his criticism was aimed at the groin. Partly available in Russian in 1927, fully in German in

¹² Leslie A. Fiedler, *Love and Death in the American Novel* (New York, 1960), p. vii.

1932 and for the first time in English in 1959, they show Marx more passionately humanist than standard portraits suggest. Profoundly concerned with the alienation of man, he strove "to rise above the level of political philosophy."¹³ Alienation, a constant element in the development of the tragic form, provocatively animates the tangled bank. Whether in Darwin or Job, Milton or Freud, estrangement is the mark of tragedy. Alienation exposes paradox, deepens the thrust of choice and accents the cultural fissures between anterior securities and present dilemmas. Psychologically, it is preface to terror that Stephen Daedalus defines as "the feeling which arrests the mind in the presence of whatsoever is grave and constant in human suffering and unites it with the secret cause."¹⁴

If tragedy reflects the tensions between inner compulsions and outer forms, who mirrors the issues more clearly than Sigmund Freud or Karl Marx? What better than the data George Frazer presented? Whether formulated in terms of the dynamics of conduct, the metaphors of science or the symbols of God, the tragic component is always latent. But the life of man is not merely "nasty, brutish, and short" nor the tragic view, despite Hyman's remarks in an earlier writing, necessarily melancholic and passive.¹⁵ Tragedy also involves the human response to the tragic situation, the point and counterpoint of the human retort. In tragic theory, as in life, it not infrequently leads to the exaltation of the human spirit over the forces which in the end must triumph. Frazer and Marx, however important, are secondary to Freud and Darwin.

The Darwin writings in their entirety stand in the tragic tradition. Ambivalence there is, and Darwin oscillates as his mood and mind alter, but there is a clear development. Darwin reported tragedy in nature and whatever "the Victorian compromise," Darwin himself could not accept it. Darwin's experience was unique. He communicated a new orientation, a full-bodied vision, which he alone experienced. For Darwin it was an intimate, spiritual experience; for all others it was vicarious. One may quarrel with Hyman's formula: struggle, adaptation, triumph. Darwinian triumphs are temporal and vital energies are as "natural" as mechanical energies. Teleology was muddled in Darwin's thinking, and his protracted discussions with Lyell, Gray and others reveal that finally he held no such doctrine. In any case, teleological explanations in functional analysis do not necessarily imply a metaphysics of final cause. If "there is a grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers,"¹⁶ per-

¹³ Hyman, p. 87.

¹⁴ James Joyce, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (New York, 1916), p. 239.

¹⁵ Stanley Edgar Hyman, "Freud and the Climate of Tragedy," *Partisan Review* (Spring 1956), pp. 201, 214.

¹⁶ Darwin, *op. cit.*

haps it is because, irrespective of ultimate meanings, there is hope for man, if not for mankind. If so, it is a tragic hope.

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Tie-Wigs Re-tied: Federalism Reconsidered

ALL OF US WHO, YEARS AGO, READ OUR PARRINGTON AND BEARD KNEW WHAT to think of Federalists: one might grant amnesty to George Washington and John Adams, but the rest clearly deserved their banishment from the political scene. Jacksonians were much more exciting politically, socially and economically; and what is more, in the Age of Jackson there was also either a New England or an American literary and intellectual renaissance brought into being by intellectuals and authors who were also (what good fortune!) mainly Jacksonians. But recently, as Parrington and Beard—even Mr. A. M. Schlesinger Jr.—recede farther and farther into the past, historians have turned with new fascination to the years from 1790 to 1828. In 1952, for example, Mr. George Dangerfield reminded us in his lively book *The Era of Good Feeling* that it was not an era of good feeling at all. *The Federalist Literary Mind* by Professor Lewis Simpson and *The Twilight of Federalism* by Professor Shaw Livermore Jr. are further demonstrations that there were Federalists other than Fisher Ames, Parrington's "Oracle of the Tie-Wig School."¹

The accomplishments and the failures of Federalism after 1800 are both revealed in the work of William Tudor Jr., who figures in each of these accounts. Tudor was an active member of the Anthology Society, a "Society of [Federalist] Gentlemen" in Boston that edited the *Monthly Anthology* (1803-11) and founded the Boston Athenaeum. As Professor Simpson shows in his selections from the *Monthly Anthology* and in his editorial comment, Tudor and the other Anthologists were vitally concerned with the cultural future of America. They labored to provide the environment in which literary aspiration could fulfill itself and, as earlier sung by Bishop Berkeley, western "progress of letters" continue. Their vision was of an orderly, law-abiding "Republic of Letters," maintained in health and restrained from sliding into dangerous democracy by the literary critic who was "as beneficial and necessary, though as odious and unpleasant, as that of an executioner in the civil state."

¹ Lewis P. Simpson, ed., *The Federalist Literary Mind: Selections from the Monthly Anthology and Boston Review, 1803-1811, Including Documents Relating to the Boston Athenaeum* (xiv, 246 pp., Louisiana State University Press, 1962. \$6.00); Shaw Livermore Jr., *The Twilight of Federalism: The Disintegration of the Federalist Party, 1815-1830* (xi, 292 pp., Princeton University Press, 1962. \$6.00).

Whatever the weaknesses of Tudor and his colleagues—Professor Simpson recognizes such things as their naïveté and their inability to rise very often above “a second-rate neoclassic prose”—“they made a more determined and a more coherent attempt than any other literary group in America to assimilate the humanistic tradition to the cultural conditions of the early Republic.” These facts help Professor Simpson to refute Ralph Waldo Emerson’s charge—echoed by Parrington—that New England had suffered an “intellectual lapse” in the years immediately preceding 1820. By its founding and support of literary journals, by its establishment of such institutions as the Boston Athenaeum, by its very dedication to humane learning as against the exclusive pursuit of wealth, the Federalist literary mind of the early nineteenth century kept alive the “respect for the vocation of intellect” that led to the better qualities of the New England Renaissance. It must be admitted that it also promoted “a tendency toward an introverted over-refinement” that was one of the weaker traits of the time.

William Tudor and most Federalists were more at home in the Republic of Letters than in the Republic of the United States after 1815. In the course of showing what happened to Federalists in New England and the middle states during the administrations of Monroe and John Quincy Adams, Professor Livermore reveals the incredible crudity and lack of political acumen of William Tudor Jr., who had gone on from the *Monthly Anthology* to become the editor of the *North American Review*. In his insensitivity to the changing conditions of political suffrage and power, Tudor is representative of the majority of Federalists of his time; as Professor Livermore shows, most Federalists, out of touch with reality, seem more often than not to have been motivated by their need to have their innate superiority to other men recognized by appointment to public office. Shortly before Monroe was to be inaugurated, Tudor wrote to him suggesting simply that “he abandon the Republican party in New England and take up the Federalists as his principal political support in that area.” Monroe would thus gain the support of “respectable” men as against the support of the “utterly contemptible,” “cringing and subservient” Republicans; and Monroe could count on the services of Tudor himself, should he want them. Professor Livermore comments, “One does not know whether to be more amazed at Tudor’s bravado or his estimate of Monroe’s intelligence and gullibility.”

As both Professor Simpson and Professor Livermore show, the Federalists were led to such desperate maneuvers as Tudor’s by their sense of crisis after 1800. They saw tumbling around them the rational, orderly Republic, based upon “unchangeable and eternal” laws of nature. To

add to their confusion they saw the party of the cynical, democratic demagogues adopt the Federalist national program almost in its entirety. In their varying reactions of anger, frustration and melancholy, they fell to quarreling among themselves, splintering into small groups—some amalgamating with the Republicans, some indulging in a “waspyish parochialism,” others sulking alone. Despite the inaptitude of its political strategy, Federalism endured because it was a “manifestation of a basic view of human nature and society”; continuing with Professor Livermore’s words, “Federalism *was* far more than a political party.”

These books, then, are both contributions to the reinterpretation of Federalism and of the only period of one-party rule in our history. Each has a limited primary aim: Professor Simpson presents skillfully cut selections from a pioneer literary journal; Professor Livermore reports on the political activities of the Federalists after 1815, basing his account on an exhaustive study of letters, newspapers and other contemporary materials as well as the work of such scholars as Professor Philip S. Klein and Walter R. Fee. In addition to accomplishing well their primary aims, each goes on to make suggestions about the pattern that a broader reinterpretation of Federalism may take. One of the designs in that pattern must be the recognition of the importance of the Federalists’ devotion to humane learning and to their attempt to order a polity that would have permitted John Quincy Adams to achieve his ambition “by some great work of literature to have done honor to my age and country, and to have lived in the gratitude of future ages.”

JOHN STAFFORD, *San Fernando Valley State College*

The Adams Papers

THE NON-AMERICAN STUDENT OF AMERICAN AFFAIRS CAN SOMETIMES BE presumed to have the advantage of objectivity in that his view of America is unclouded by patriotism and unobscured by the imperatives of ideological and national survival. He has, however, one obvious disadvantage. Geographical distance, which may lend clarity to his eye, inhibits his research. For this reason alone publication of the Adams family papers would be welcomed. Although the recent microfilm edition has made them available to foreign scholars, the greater convenience and accessibility of published volumes must necessarily commend the current project being undertaken by the Massachusetts Historical Society through funds happily provided by Time Inc. The first four volumes to appear

cannot be praised too highly.¹ Volume I consists of an introduction and guide to editorial apparatus, together with the *Diary* of John Adams from 1755 to 1770; volume II continues the *Diary* to 1781; volume III carries it forward to 1804, contains fragmentary *Diaries* of Abigail Adams, and the first part of John Adams' *Autobiography*; volume IV concludes the *Autobiography*, and also contains a chronology and index to the four volumes. These are models of scholarship and of the bookmaker's craft. As source material their value is incalculable.

The picture of John Adams that emerges is one of a naïve, self-conscious and rather self-righteous gallant, continually struggling to restrain his wilder impulses and commit himself to study and advancement. Self-improvement appears to be his major concern. As a young man he often dreams the day away, and this idleness worries him. He seems to love things more than ideas, often recording lists of plants, trees and animals for the sheer joy of their names. The pages of the pre-Revolutionary *Diary* are full of humour, but it is at best self-conscious, at worst a primly salacious retailing of country jokes. As he gets older he becomes more pompous. He inflates with pride when complimented on his knowledge of European languages, and the many *Diary* entries in French, although often felicitously phrased, are testimonies to his own vanity rather than simple exercises in composition.

John Adams is a provincial concerned with himself and, down to 1770, with local affairs and gossip. One of the remarkable features of the *Diary* is the extremely scanty comment on the Seven Years War, in which the destinies of the North American empires were temporarily decided by the permanent expulsion of the French from Canada. Even in the *Autobiography*, written after 1802, there are only two short references to the war, one relating to Amherst's passage through Worcester whilst Adams was boarding with the Putnams; the second describing how, in the "memorable Year 1759" when the conquest of Canada was completed, the King sought to enforce the Acts of Trade and Navigation. Adams only wakes up to a serious interest in political affairs at the time of the crisis in Boston over the Stamp Act, and again his interest is focused on the local consequences of the Act and not on the wider issues of imperial policy.

However, later his view widens. In the autumn of 1775 he makes an impressive analysis of the power relationships of Britain, France and America, and with clarity and incisiveness expounds the doctrine of neutrality and non-entanglement. Independence, for Adams, rests upon

¹ *The Adams Papers, Series I, Diaries*, ed. L. H. Butterfield, 4 vols. The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1961. \$30.00.

neutrality. He is not an emotional man, and even in the hectic spring of 1776 is able to dissect the interest of the French in terms of power. He sees clearly that not only does the American national interest demand independence of Europe, but that it is essential for both Britain and France to keep America out of the other's camp. This latter point he plays upon with consummate skill in the negotiations with Richard Oswald in December 1782 at Paris. For the student of foreign policy, as for those interested in the domestic affairs of revolutionary America, there is much valuable information to be found in the magnificent first four volumes of this monumental series of the Adams family papers.

Politically Adams was often far removed from his great contemporary Thomas Jefferson, and there are sharp comments in the *Autobiography* on Jefferson's attitudes toward religion. It is useful therefore to recall, when reading the volumes noticed above, the edition of *The Adams-Jefferson Letters* by Lester J. Cappon (2 vols. University of North Carolina Press, 1959. \$12.50). The planning of these volumes started in 1948, after work had begun on the Princeton edition of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* but well before the Adams project. The Cappon edition prints the total surviving correspondence between the two men, together with the letters that passed between Jefferson and Abigail, in a highly readable form, unencumbered by massive annotation, for which the reader is generally referred to the Princeton edition. The exchange of letters began in 1777 and continued until 1801 when there was a break of eleven years. The wounds of their political differences then began to heal and in 1812 the two men were reconciled. The last letter in this collection is from Adams to Jefferson, dated April 17, 1826, two and a half months before their deaths. Their recollections and views on diplomacy, politics, philosophy, religion, education and the whole spectrum of human knowledge make fascinating reading. As in the case of *The Adams Papers* the editor and sponsors are to be congratulated, particularly perhaps by foreign students, for making this body of material available.

D. K. ADAMS, *University of Keele, England*

EDWIN T. BOWDEN, *The Dungeon of the Heart: Human Isolation and the American Novel*. xi, 175 pp. The Macmillan Company, 1961. \$3.75.

MR. BOWDEN discusses works by Bradford, Cooper, Twain, Cather, Salinger, Wolfe, Hawthorne, James, Howells, Anderson, Faulkner, Steinbeck and Melville, in that order. His theme is the isolation of the archetypal American individual from Europe, from civilized life on the fron-

tier and from other men in the institutions of modern society. His remarks are aimed explicitly though not exclusively at those of us who are making "a serious attempt to correlate all knowledge about America in one formal area of academic study," and the tone is pitched for those who have read some American novels, who might like to read some more, but who have not read much about them. The angle of approach and penetration is indicated by the author's remark at one point that "Wide reading in the novel is the equivalent of wide reading in the social history of America," which may be true in a way, but which takes Mr. Bowden's book not only out of the realm of the specialist in literary criticism, but equally, I should think, out of the much larger territory of the amateur of fiction as fiction, the man who likes a good book for its own sake, or, as we say, because it has aesthetic value, and not because it teaches him anything about history as such.

RICHARD P. ADAMS, *Tulane University*

THE THIRTIES: A TIME TO REMEMBER. *Edited by Don Congdon.* 625 pp. Simon and Schuster, 1962. \$7.95.

THIS anthology is expertly organized and the selections are uniformly excellent. The territory which they cover is extensive: personal accounts of the depression years; profiles of those who were leaders in the dark days (Roosevelt, La Guardia); descriptions of such crises as the great bank holiday and the sit-down strikes; surveys of college life, of the evil goings-on in bloody Harlan County, of disaster in the farm lands, of the "lush life in celluloid."

I do have a small quarrel with Mr. Congdon over two matters. He includes rather too many disasters and sensational events (the New England hurricane, "Morro Castle") which just *happened* in the Thirties. On the other hand he offers only two selections which deal directly with the leftist movement of the early years. Readers who do not know much about these times will gain from this volume little sense of how attractive the radical movement was to many idealists who later recanted.

Possessing hindsight, the younger generation may complain about how badly their elders managed things back there in the Thirties. But they will have to praise the writing which the fears and the hopes of those years called forth. The on-the-spot reporters of the age were John Steinbeck, Louis Adamic, Eric Sevareid, Malcolm Cowley, Stanley Walker, Bruce Bliven, Otis Ferguson, Marquis Childs, H. L. Mencken, Robert

Cantwell, Alvah Bessie, *et al.* Will the records left by the Sixties contain pieces as accurate, well-informed and exciting as Adamic's "New England's Tragic Towns" or Otis Ferguson's "Breakfast Dance in Harlem" or Bruce Bliven's "Boulder Dam"?

WILLARD THORP, *Princeton University*

OHIO AUTHORS AND THEIR BOOKS. *Edited by William Coyle.* xxi, 741 pp. World Publishing Company, 1962. \$17.50.

THE state of Ohio has produced fewer distinguished literary figures than Massachusetts and probably not as many bona fide authors as Indiana, yet *cacoethes scribendi* is a disease more epidemic in Ohio than in most other states. Some 4,700 names are included in this biographical dictionary, and many are given extensive bibliographies even though sermons, pamphlets and articles are generally omitted. Journalists, historians, educators, lawyers, publishers and editors are included as well as numerous poets and novelists, and sometimes the definition of an Ohio author is interpreted with undue liberality. Lafcadio Hearn probably belongs here because of his short stay as a newspaperman in Cincinnati, but do Mayne Reid, Peter Cartwright and Ned Buntline? The allocation of space is another delicate question and sometimes the editorial decisions seem quixotic. The two Tafts, William Howard and Robert, rate a column together; Delia Bacon is allowed four columns and H. H. Bancroft two pages; William Dean Howells quite rightly commands three pages and an extensive bibliography; while Martha Finley, of Elsie Dinsmore fame, gets over three pages. The space given James Thurber is, curiously enough, in part an interview with the late humorist.

The chief value of this directory is the information given about a host of minor figures, many of whom are hard to identify. Appendixes list the chief contributors and their subjects and provide an alphabetical list of native Ohio authors arranged by counties. A brief introductory essay in which the editor discusses regionalism, the variety and scope of Ohio literature, and the general failure of the writers to approximate a school or a recognizable point of view is especially valuable. The inception of this volume owes much to Ernest J. Wessen, the Mansfield bookdealer, who was prevented from completing his job by ill health. Professor Coyle of Wittenberg University brought the work to completion. The book is well edited and carefully printed.

JOHN T. FLANAGAN, *University of Illinois*

DEXTER PERKINS, CHAIRMAN, JOHN L. SNELL, DIRECTOR, AND COMMITTEE ON GRADUATE EDUCATION OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, *The Education of Historians in the United States*. xiii, 244 pp. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1962. \$4.95.

THIS study of the historian's education in graduate school is part of the Carnegie Series in American Education. Since 90% of all Ph.D. graduates in history become college teachers this volume is naturally concerned with the environment of the groves of academe. Within two years, it is estimated, there will be a shortage of historians, unless additional financial support is given graduate students. While aid has increased in recent years it is still inadequate, particularly for research and writing of the dissertation. Teaching, while preparing the dissertation necessarily prolongs the time needed to win the degree; over 70% of the 1958 Ph.D.s took seven or more years to complete the requirements. Happily, since the publication of this volume, it has been announced that Woodrow Wilson Fellowships will be made available to students to speed the writing of dissertations.

Because the usual Ph.D. program "does not really adequately prepare the student for the thing that he will be doing most of his life"—that is, teaching—students and their prospective employers agree that better preparation and greater breadth of training are needed for a successful career. Overspecialization is decried and higher literary standards are demanded. History faculties face severe competition, especially from the sciences, in recruiting outstanding undergraduates. Better stipends and the example of superior teaching and scholarship are the recommended magnets to draw them to this particular academic field.

MICHAEL KRAUS, *The City College, New York*

THE SOUTHERN APPALACHIAN REGION: A SURVEY. *Edited by Thomas R. Ford*. xv, 308 pp. Illustrated. University of Kentucky Press, 1962. \$10.00.

THIS report by a group of scholars, who in 1958 undertook a survey in depth of selected counties in Kentucky, Tennessee, West Virginia, Virginia, Alabama, Georgia and North Carolina, concerns itself with the totality of the culture of the Southern Appalachian region. Working with a grant from the Ford Foundation, they sought to examine population growth, characteristics and mobility; industries; agricultural patterns; government; education; the churches; social problems; health conditions and needs; literature; handicrafts; and social pastimes and attitudes.

More than that, they sought to discover the changes in the region's society and economy that had taken place since the last major report on the region was published in 1938, and they sought to point out the region's current needs and its major problems. Field studies, statistical tables, maps and charts were the backbones of the survey, but the book has ample interpretive text and is eminently readable. It is also adequately indexed and this is of consequence in a study that touches upon so many facets of human existence.

Scholars of many academic disciplines will find useful material in this survey. Historians, sociologists, economists, political scientists, social psychologists, urban and rural specialists, and public health and welfare workers will be able to use it. Perhaps one of its most commendable qualities is that it is a report on specific aspects of a specific region, but it has been prepared and presented with due deference to the larger contexts of the American economy and national culture.

GLENN E. THOMPSON, *The State Historical Society of Wisconsin*

HARVEY SWADOS, *A Radical's America*. xvii, 347 pp. Atlantic Monthly Press Book, Little, Brown and Company, 1962. \$5.00.

IN these essays Harvey Swados describes and judges the American situation since World War II; he conceives of his probings of the texture of the national life as "nothing less than a revolutionary act, calling into question our very social structure." Most pieces in this collection appeared originally in the fifties when it was no easy thing to keep the radical banner aflutter. Brought together now, they remind us that the need for radical witness was met (and well met) by a writer who cared to keep alive the tradition of American social criticism which concerns itself with the relationship of work to leisure. Among these essays "The Myth of the Happy Worker" and "Labor's Cultural Degradation" in particular show the continuing relevance of Thoreau's conviction that our desperate amusements are a sure sign that our work is trivial.

During the American celebration of recent years some literate people ceased to think and speak about righting social wrongs. *A Radical's America* is a well-tempered assault on the forgetfulness of the celebrants. Swados makes us notice that the American locomotive of history continues to run over many victims. He reports on the carnage in a style in which coherence and indignation are made to harmonize. The fidelity of Swados to radical values has not prevented him from winning a hearing beyond the range of *Dissent*, *The Monthly Review* and *The American Socialist*. What he writes for *Atlantic Monthly*, *Esquire* and *Mademoiselle* is as uncompromising as what he publishes in the radical journals. What he

writes anywhere is filtered through a sensibility committed to outrage and "confident that the inexhaustible reserves of rebelliousness of the willful human spirit will one day assert themselves" in the United States.

DAVID HERRESHOFF, *Wayne State University*

EDWIN P. HOYT, *The Vanderbilts and Their Fortunes*. 434 pp. Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1962. \$4.95.

RICHARD O'CONNOR, *Gould's Millions*. 335 pp. Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1962. \$4.95.

THESE two popular biographies deal with familiar material. Edwin P. Hoyt tells the story of a family that in three generations became one of the United States' most important, if not, as the author suggests, "first," families. Hoyt lays major stress upon the dynamic builder of the Vanderbilt fortune and the accumulator of Vanderbilt power, Commodore Cornelius. He then deals more sparingly with the second and third generations, who spent and displayed, rather than built, the family's wealth and fame. Richard O'Connor is concerned almost exclusively with Jay Gould, the financial wizard of Wall Street. O'Connor's first three sections offer only brief glances of others in the Gould family. Even in the fourth section, when the focus is ostensibly upon some of the "heirs and heir-esses" that survived Jay Gould, the author casts everyone within the shadow of the major character.

In centering attention upon the one most important individual in each family, Hoyt and O'Connor are most concerned with describing how each major character acquired his huge fortune. In their descriptions both authors interject judgments.

Although critical of some of the Commodore's methods, Hoyt places his hero in the camp of industrial statesmen of the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s. The Commodore is depicted as a "builder" with an "organizational genius," interested not only in his own fortune but also in the salvation of the transportation system he had built. In his struggles with Daniel Drew, Jay Gould and others the Cornelius Vanderbilt of this book arises as the virtuous antagonist.

O'Connor, on the other hand, views Jay Gould as a Robber Baron: "He was a certifiable crook by the time he reached voting age . . . the most hated man in America." O'Connor's judgment is strewn with some admiration and respect: "If he [Gould] was as ruthless, treacherous, and antihuman as his enemies contended, he also possessed the qualities of imagination, vision, and daring and an unparalleled grasp of the com-

plexities of corporate operation . . . that marked a master in the field of finance."

Discouragingly, neither author deals adequately with the following important issues: were Jay Gould and Cornelius Vanderbilt representative industrial and financial giants of their time? Should they be judged by today's values, ethics and/or laws? To what extent were they and others like them merely cogs in the great, late-nineteenth-century force of American capitalism?

Finally, both authors neglect the full significance of the struggle for power between the Old Rich and the New Rich in New York City. The Old Rich, who by the 1880s included Vanderbilts and Astors as well as the older Dutch families, attempted to unite to save their city and nation from the onslaught of the New Rich. For the Old Rich, the Gould family became a New Rich symbol. The concern over invitations to dinners and balls, mentioned by Hoyt and O'Connor, constituted but a small part of this dramatic struggle.

These two books are generally well written, but neither adds substantially to what has already been published.

NORTON MEZVINSKY, *University of Michigan*

ANDREW SINCLAIR, *Prohibition: The Era of Excess*. Illustrated. Preface by Richard Hofstadter. 480 pp. Atlantic Monthly Press Book, Little, Brown and Company, 1962. \$7.95.

SINCLAIR's chapters on liquor politics and enforcement problems are excellent; some of his intellectual history and comprehensive analysis is not. Science gave the prohibition movement legitimate support from 1900 to 1920. Sinclair's explanation of the dry victory fails to admit this sufficiently and therefore overrates social psychology, Negrophobia, nativism and World War I hysteria. He shows that dry eugenisists misrepresented and exaggerated, but does not describe their position adequately. The role of the medical profession is more plausibly explained by scientific and social teachings than by Sinclair's charge that the doctors sought a prescription monopoly on all valuable medicines. He claims that the liberal wing of Christianity repudiated fundamentalist inspired Prohibition. He shows admirably that fundamentalism and Prohibition were incompatible; but neglects leading Christian dries, including Bryan, who defended Prohibition in liberal terms.

Sinclair concludes that both Prohibitionists and repealers were fanatics, unable to compromise, who prevented a satisfaction, permanent solution—wine and beer sales under Federal control. This unsubstantiated modification plea is as indefensible as the statement that Sinclair Lewis

stood "in no man's land" between the wets and drys. Although the author demonstrates the complexity of the Prohibition issue, truth often suffers from his immoderate attacks on immoderation.

BARTLETT C. JONES, *Sam Houston State College*

H. J. HABAKKUK, *American & British Technology in the Nineteenth Century: The Search for Labour-Saving Inventions*. vii, 222 pp. Cambridge University Press, 1962. \$6.00.

As the author says, this is an "attempt to discuss the contrasts in technology between U.S.A. and England in the nineteenth century. . . ." Mr. Habakkuk, professor of economic history at Oxford, is chiefly interested in the effects of labor scarcity upon industrial development and, especially, technological innovation. He begins his study with a theoretical discussion of the economic effects of labor shortage. He then devotes one chapter each to the early nineteenth-century situation in America and in England. A concluding chapter surveys technology and economic growth in Britain in the later nineteenth century. He is careful, modest and, within the rather strict limits he sets for himself, thoughtful. Economists, both historians and theorists, may well find new and controversial ideas here. But students of American culture will not be surprised to learn that scarcity of labor accounts for many of the special features of the national economy. What is surprising at this late date is Professor Habakkuk's diffidence in approaching the "debatable borderland between history, technology and economics." One might have expected that those borders had disappeared before now. In any case, to wild men who try to make connections between history, technology and, say, poetry, Mr. Habakkuk seems on very safe ground indeed.

LEO MARX, *Amherst College*

EDMUND WILSON, *Patriotic Gore: Studies in the Literature of the American Civil War*. xxxii, 816 pp. Index by Frances S. Radley. Oxford University Press, 1962. \$8.50.

WILSON has spent fifteen years to do for his subject what Moses Coit Tyler did for the literature of the American Revolution. A Cabellian awareness of the role of myth in history has led him to an ethical skepticism making for impartiality, empathy, a fresh look at original documents and judicious use of secondary sources. The times, personalities and books come alive through deft interpretative summary, frequent quotation and flashes of comparative criticism. He opens with Harriet Beecher Stowe and closes with Justice Holmes so as to show how the

crisis humanized the Calvinist tradition. The North is revealed through Calvin Stowe, Francis Grierson, Julia Howe, Lincoln, Grant, Sherman, Olmsted, Trowbridge, Charlotte Forten, Higginson; the South through Kate Stone, Sarah Morgan, Mary Chesnut, Richard Taylor, Mosby, Lee, Grayson, Fitzhugh, Helper, Alexander Stephens. A duffel-bag chapter including Old South fiction, Lanier, other poets and G. W. Harris' *Sut Lovingood* is followed by a survey of Tourgee, Cable, Kate Chopin and Page. Between a sketch of Bierce and an overextended foray into De Forest appears a divagation on the chastening of American prose suggesting that the spectatorial roles of Henry James and Henry Adams may have engendered some of their stylistic mannerisms.

JOE LEE DAVIS, *University of Michigan*

C. C. GOEN, *Revivalism and Separatism in New England, 1740-1800: Strict Congregationalists and Separate Baptists in the Great Awakening*. x, 370 pp. Yale University Press, 1962. \$7.50.

THIS volume, awarded the American Society of Church History's Brewer Prize, depicts the rise, characteristics and decline of the Separatists of the eighteenth century. Reacting against Arminian and Presbyterian influences, the "New Lights" sought to form churches in strict accord with Calvinism and congregational polity, and adhered to the Westminster Confession and Cambridge Platform. Distrustful of the traditional means of grace (but not of grace itself!), they put great emphasis on the "evidences" of conversion.

The author presents histories of churches affected by the movement and some helpful biographical sketches of its leaders: Elisha Paine, the "Moses" of Separatism; Paul Parke, who shepherded one flock for forty-five years; Ebenezer Frothingham, who likened the establishment in Connecticut to the second beast of the apocalypse; Nathan Cole, whose memoirs tell of his conversion; and Joseph Marshall, a frontier evangelist. Goen shows that Separatism was more widespread than has been assumed and that it had considerable influence, in both paedobaptist and anabaptist forms, on the frontier. The movement declined because of legal disabilities amounting to persecution, lawlessness within the churches and removals to the frontier. While some Separates reunited with the established churches, others followed Isaac Backus into the Baptist camp, creating an unusual fusion of anabaptism and Calvinism.

A list of Separate churches, two excellent maps and a thorough bibliography enhance the usefulness of this fine book.

EMIL OBERHOLZER JR., *The City College, New York*

A TIME OF HARVEST: AMERICAN LITERATURE 1910-1960. Edited by Robert E. Spiller. xiv, 173 pp. American Century Series, Hill and Wang, 1962. \$3.50.

ROBERT SPILLER, the editor of *A Time of Harvest*, presents American writing during the first half of the century as a renaissance, a period which "produced some of the finest writing to have come from this continent in all its history." This is not a statement with which anyone is likely to disagree, although later generations may find that we were a little too given to self applause.

The chapters on the earlier decades and movements are very competently done, such as Spiller's on the critical rediscovery of America, Sculley Bradley's on the poetry renaissance, and Daiches' on the New Criticism. But these subjects have been treated before and it is hard, especially in a few pages, to make them sparkle with morning freshness. The chapters on writers who have emerged since World War II necessarily appear more original. Gerald Weales' discussion of the postwar theater, for example, has a pleasant air of newness; Weales is especially good at cutting through the stereotype comments that are so dear to many persons "in the theater." Willard Thorp makes some good points about "raw" as opposed to "cooked" poetry. And R. W. B. Lewis is interesting on Bellow, Salinger, Ellison, Kerouac, Purdy and Mailer, although one could wish that Mailer's limitations, now abundantly clear, had freed literary historians from considering him at all. *A Time of Harvest* contains yet other suggestive chapters.

Mr. Spiller, in his preface, says the various contributors to *A Time of Harvest* worked within a "single and very full outline"; he is implying, one supposes, a certain sameness in their views. In general this may be the case, but certainly one does not expect Arthur Mizener and Lewis to look at the novel in the way Maxwell Geismar looks at it. The former have ways of getting in under a work and seeing it freshly, but Geismar has a talent for sounding like a J. Donald Adams with left wing sympathies.

WILLIAM VAN O'CONNOR, *University of California, Davis*

NEIL LEONARD, *Jazz and the White Americans: the Acceptance of a New Art Form*. 215 pp. The University of Chicago Press, 1962. \$4.50.

THIS is an account of the changing attitudes of white Americans toward jazz, primarily in the period between the two World Wars. The attitudes examined range from Sigmund Spaeth's early statement that jazz is "merely a raucous and inarticulate shouting of hoarse-throated instru-

ments" to Alec Templeton's later statement that "if Johann Sebastian Bach were alive today he and Benny Goodman would be the best of friends." That is, the attitudes examined range (with remarkably few exceptions) from moronic hostility to moronic benevolence.

Mr. Leonard contends, reasonably enough, that the white American's eventual acceptance of jazz was part of the general shift of values following the first World War. Leonard's own attitude toward this shift is earnest to the point of tastelessness; he believes that the acceptance of jazz is related to the acceptance of modernism in the other arts, and thus he praises Paul Whiteman's and Mary Margaret McBride's trashy *Jazz* (J. H. Sears & Co., 1926) on the curious grounds that it "discusses such serious questions as the nature of art and the place of music in America."

The book is heavy with scholarly machinery. (Must we have a content analysis to discover that the lyrics of "A Sailboat in the Moonlight" are more genteel than those of "Big Fat Ma and Skinny Pa"?) And nobody seems to have proofread it. But it is the only book on its subject, and is therefore clearly "a contribution to knowledge." Finally, Mr. Leonard has assembled an astonishing variety of data for our inspection, and some of them are a real delight. How many people remember that the *New York Times* once expressed its hostility toward jazz in such headlines as "Jazz Frightens Bears" and "Cornetist to Queen Victoria Falls Dead on Hearing Coney Island Jazz Band"? Or that the United States Public Health Service was once so concerned over the possible effects of jazz on the national psyche that it distributed anti-jazz pamphlets? For these and kindred treasures we are Mr. Leonard's debtors.

CHADWICK HANSEN, *The Pennsylvania State University*

ALLEN GUTTMANN, *The Wound in the Heart: America and the Spanish Civil War*. ix, 292 pp. The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962. \$5.95.

MANY of us who came into maturity during the 1930s cut our ideological eyeteeth on the Spanish Civil War. For, as Daniel Aaron has pointed out, it was the last great cause in modern times. As we who were pro-Loyalist saw it, the Spanish conflict, aside from its domestic implications, represented a heroic if futile effort to halt the relentless march of fascism.

Professor Guttman, who is too young to have remembered the war with any degree of clarity, believes he can be more detached in studying its effect on the American people than contemporaries who felt its compelling urgency. Perhaps so. But occasionally one feels that his book

is too much the product of a clinical technician who, in trying to be fair to everyone (particularly to American Catholics), tends to blur the sharpness of the ideological issues posed by the war. On nearly all other accounts, Professor Guttman's book is excellent. In good American studies fashion, he sometimes strains to relate the literature of the war years to the totality of the American literary tradition, but in this regard his observations are invariably fresh, cogent and arresting.

HOWARD H. QUINT, *University of Massachusetts*

RICHARD A. BARTLETT, *Great Surveys of the American West*. xxiii, 408 pp. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1962. \$7.95.

HISTORIANS of American science who focus their attention solely on the cities where most research was concentrated have unwittingly neglected an area which not only captivated many nineteenth-century investigators but shaped the nature of scientific thought for generations. For the Far West, where "every day was Christmas" for the scientifically curious, provided such a virgin area for investigation that scholars were forced to spend their energies in collection and classification, rather than speculation.

That this was the case is amply demonstrated in this excellent study of the four "Great Surveys" of the Rocky Mountain-Great Basin country made between 1867 and 1879 by the War and Interior departments—those of Ferdinand Vandeveer Hayden, Clarence King, John Wesley Powell and George M. Wheeler. These remarkable expeditions, poorly financed and inadequately equipped, for the first time revealed the nature of the West's resources. By 1879, as Professor Bartlett points out, Americans no longer asked "What lies out there?" but "When shall we go there?" These expeditions also contributed vastly to the world's scientific knowledge, as each was accompanied by botanists, geologists, paleontologists, ornithologists, zoologists, entomologists and conchologists. The scientific contributions are expertly described by the author in a book that is fascinating as well as informative.

RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON, *Northwestern University*



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INDIANA  UNIVERSITY  PRESS

American Calendar

Winter



1962

JOINT SESSIONS. Despite a crippling fire at the Albany Hotel, the *Conference on the History of Western America* conducted its second annual meeting in Denver as scheduled, where, on Oct. 12, ASA sponsored a session on "The Literature of the American West." With Don Walker, University of Utah, as chairman, papers were read on "The Mysterious Edward Bonney and His *Banditti of the Prairies*," by Philip D. Jordan, University of Minnesota, and on "The Literary West of Theodore Roosevelt," by Merrill E. Lewis, Western Washington College; Edgeley Todd, Colorado State University, Fort Collins, was the commentator. . . . The *Rocky Mountain Modern Language Association* met Oct. 12-13 at Utah State University, where an ASA section presided over by Hamlin Hill, University of Wyoming, and John Lauber, University of Idaho, was devoted to four papers: "Melville's 'Rural Bowl of Milk': Our First Psychological Novel," by Tyrus Hillway, Colorado State College, Greeley; "How-

ells' 'Economic Chance World' in *A Hazard of New Fortunes*," by Alexander Evanoff, University of New Mexico; "Dreiser as a Social Historian in *Sister Carrie*," by Joseph B. Roberts Jr., USAF Academy; "Jack London and the American Image," by LaVon B. Carroll, Weber College. . . . At the Hotel Fontainebleau in Miami Beach, Nov. 10, ASA sponsored a section of the *Southern Historical Association* convention. "Iconology and American Studies" was the general topic presided over by Thomas B. Alexander, University of Alabama, and explored in papers by Paul C. Nagel, University of Kentucky, on "The Union as Image in Antebellum Thought"; by Kenneth J. LaBudde, University of Kansas City, on "Graphic Images of the American Past"; with Donald A. Ringe, University of Michigan, commenting. . . . Also at Miami Beach, with activities centering on the Hotel Seville, the *South Atlantic Modern Language Association* had an ASA session Nov. 24 devoted to the work of Robert Penn

Warren. Arranged and chaired by Carl Benson, Auburn University, the program consisted of a discussion of Warren's poetry by M. L. Rosenthal, New York University; of his fiction by Madison Jones, Auburn University; of his criticism by John Hicks, Florida Southern University; and of his place in history by William C. Havard, Louisiana State University. . . . Also Nov. 24, at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel in Philadelphia, the *National Council for the Social Studies* considered "Some Areas of Convergence" between American Studies and Social Studies at a meeting chaired by Robert C. Cooke, Syracuse University, based on a paper delivered by Donald G. Baker, Skidmore College.

LOWER MISS. At its eighth annual meeting held Oct. 19-20 at Mississippi State University the Lower Mississippi chapter celebrated its river with a salvo of interdisciplinary papers. After the annual dinner the evening of the 19th, Eudora Welty spoke on "Place in Fiction," and the next morning a symposium on the Mississippi River was conducted by the following speakers: William G. Haag, Louisiana State University, on geography and cultural anthropology; Thomas D. Clark, University of Kentucky, on history; Nancy Dew, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, on literature; Roy B. Boe, University of Mississippi, on art; Richard B. Allen, Tulane Univer-

sity, on music. Mary E. Dichmann, Southwestern Louisiana Institute, was elected president at the business meeting, and John Pilkington, University of Mississippi, was returned to office as secretary-treasurer.

MICH.-OHIO-IND. At the Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Oct. 20, the Michigan chapter joined forces with the Ohio-Indiana chapter to sponsor a meeting devoted to the subject "Expatriation as a Force in Modern American Culture." In addition to an informal address at the luncheon by Willis F. Woods, Detroit Institute of Arts, there were papers by Norman V. McCullough, Central State College of Ohio, on "The American Negro Writer as Expatriate," and by Ernst Scheyer, Wayne State University, on "Grosz, Feininger, Beckmann, Ernst: America's Effect on Their Art, Their Effect on America's Art." An exhibition of the graphic work of the four painters was mounted at the University of Michigan Museum of Art.

N. Y. STATE. Concerning itself with "The American Expression of Victorianism," the New York State chapter met in appropriate Victorian splendor at the Fountain Elms Museum in Utica on Nov. 3, and after a brief tour moved next door to the Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, where the following papers were given under the chairmanship of David Ellis, Ham-

ilton College: "Some Considerations Leading to a Definition of American Victorianism," by Genaro Santangelo, Harpur College; "Harold Frederic and Victorianism," by Thomas F. O'Donnell, Utica College; "Henry James and Victorianism," by Sven Peterson, Union College. Harold Blodgett, Union College, presided at the dinner meeting, where Paul Parker, Hamilton College, spoke on "Victorianism in Art and Architecture."

NYC. The Metropolitan New York chapter held its fall meeting in the music room of the Baruch School, Nov. 3, where facilities were available to illustrate its symposium on "The Impact of Jazz on American Civilization," which was moderated by William Gettel of City College. The three speakers, who illustrated their remarks with disks from their private collections, were Marshall W. Stearns, Hunter College, Neil Leonard, University of Pennsylvania, and Alan Lomax. At the business meeting Donald N. Koster, Adelphi College, was elected new chairman of the group, and William Gettel was elected to the executive committee.

NORTHERN CALIF. The Northern California chapter met concurrently with the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, Nov. 24, at the University of California, Berkeley, for a program on "Law in American Society." The speakers and their topics were: William

Wiegand, San Francisco State College, "The Portrayal of the Lawyer in Fiction: James Gould Cozzens"; Howard R. Sacks, Northwestern University, "Some Ethical Problems of the Lawyer-Legislator"; Edwin Fogelman, University of Minnesota, "'A Government of Laws and Not of Men': What Does It Mean?"; Arnold S. Kaufman, University of Michigan, "Does Moral Responsibility Have Relevance in the Criminal Law?"

TEXAS. Meeting on the campus of the University of Texas, Nov. 30-Dec. 1, the Texas chapter sponsored an inquiry into the status of "Individualism in Twentieth Century America." Each of the following speakers addressed the group during the first portion of the program: Louis Hartz, Harvard University; Leslie White, University of Michigan; Paul Samuelson, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; David Potter, Stanford University; Frederick Hoffman, University of California, Riverside. During the second portion of the program the same slate of speakers conducted a panel discussion, with Mody C. Boatright, University of Texas, as moderator. The meeting was arranged by a committee headed by Gordon Mills, University of Texas.

NEW PUBLICATION. ASA Occasional Paper No. 1, written by Melvin H. Bernstein, Alfred University, inaugurates what is hoped will be a useful method of dis-

seminating specialized information, quickly and inexpensively, to a selective audience. This four-page multilithed paper, titled "Recipe for an American Civilization Week," reports on the American Studies Institute held at Alfred last Spring. Giving step-by-step details on how one week-long institute was organized and carried out at an institution having no American Studies program in its curriculum, the report will be of interest to anyone faced with similar problems and having similar goals. . . . Copies will be mailed gratis to all ASA members who send a post card request to the national office. Suggestions for other Occasional Papers are welcome.

OLLA-PODRIDA. Since September, the manifold chores of ASA and *AQ* have been in the capable

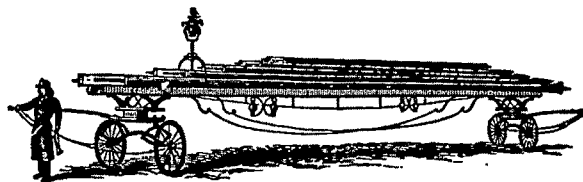
BACK ISSUES. Because of an unexpected but gratifying upsurge in new memberships, supplies of the Summer, 1962, issue of *American Quarterly* (vol. XIV, no. 2, pt. 1) have run low. Needed especially to accommodate foreign recipients of ACLS grants in American Studies, copies will be gratefully received by the national office from those members who do not keep back numbers. Name your price in advance of shipping—or, if you wish, gift-wrap in Christmas paper and send them in cold.

hands of a new office secretary, Mrs. Molly Parkinson, who comes to us from Sweet Briar College via a stint on the *National Geographic*. . . . The national office has recently completed a move to more spacious quarters—one flight up from the old office, to 204 Bennett Hall, on the University of Pennsylvania campus. We still get our mail, though, at Box 46, College Hall—which isn't as confusing as it sounds when you stop to consider how cramped three people would be in a postal box. . . . Sponsored by the University of Delaware and the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, fellowships in the amount of \$2,500 a year for two years are again offered for study in early American arts and cultural history leading to the M.A. degree. Feb. 15 is the deadline for filing applications obtainable from the Coordinator, Winterthur Program, University of Delaware, Newark. . . . Selection of approximately 30 Fellows under the ACLS American Studies Program, now in its second year, is going forward in a competition held for citizens of Western Europe. . . . A Center for American Studies has been established in Milan under the joint direction of the State University College of Buffalo and the Italian Interpreters' School. William D. Baker is the American director. . . . Among recent notable symposia is a special issue of the *Antioch Review* (Summer 1962) devoted to "American

Influences Abroad," edited by Irwin Abrams. A special issue of the *Phoenix*, the newspaper published at Queens College, recently considered the "Varieties of American Experience," by Daniel Walden and others. . . . Mar. 15 is the deadline for filing applications for fellowships and apprenticeships ranging from \$500 to \$2,000, offered by the College of William and Mary in co-operation with the Institute of Early American History and Colonial Williamsburg, and leading to the M.A. degree. Send inquiries to the Dean of Admissions at the College. . . . A conference Nov. 6 at the Winterthur Museum sponsored by the Wemyss Foundation was devoted to the theme "Are American Historians Losing Ground?" The Foundation expects to extend the discussion and start other dialogues on related subjects. . . . The National Trust for Historic Preservation will conduct a conference on museum function and administration, Jan. 21-Feb. 1, at Woodlawn Plantation. An \$85 fee is charged and the conference is limited to 15 persons; information from the Trust, 815 17th St., N.W., Washington 6. . . . The National Union Catalog of Manu-

script Collections assembled at the Library of Congress is now being published, with the first volume, covering the LC cards issued 1959-61, available from J. W. Edwards, Ann Arbor, at \$9.75. . . . Ever since the undersigned struggled up through the ranks of Inspector Post's Detective Corps by downing bushels of corn flakes and sending in the box tops, he has enjoyed writing in for free booklets. Those having a similar acquisitive quirk will find the following gratis items of interest. Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville, Wilmington 7, Del., will send you the new edition of its "Manuscript Holdings." . . . By asking, you can get on the mailing list for the publications of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Box 4068, Santa Barbara, Calif., which has recently issued an interesting pamphlet on "The American Character." . . . And your Congressman, if he has a mind to, can send you a complimentary copy of Admiral H. G. Rickover's 333-page report, "Education for All Children—What We Can Learn from England." Not a box top required for the lot.

C. B.



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